THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

An Illustrated Monthly

THIRD SERIES

JULY, 1930.

PUBLISHED BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JULY, 1930.

CONTENTS

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1930.

CONTENTS

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1930.

CONTENTS

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1930.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1930

CONTENTS

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

'ULY, 1930

ECONOMIC TENDENCIES IN INDIA[1]

Probably the one statement likely to command general agreement is that economic conditions in India are unsatisfactory. The intellectually indolent dispose of the problem by laying the entire blame upon Government: overlooking the fact, rightly emphasised by Mr. Churchill during a recent Parliamentary debate on unemployment in Great Britain, that "the economic forces of the modern world transcend at the present time the power of individuals and individual Governments to foresee or control." The depression is general and no country is passing through a more severe trial than Great Britain herself. That fact is of some importance to India inasmuch as Great Britain remains incomparably the largest single outlet for Indian produce, and despite higher import duties, the natural growth of Indian industries, and even political disaffection, India still remains the largest market for British goods. To no slight extent therefore the economic welfare of the two countries is interdependent. If India moves ahead, develops her resources and raises her standard of living no country will benefit more than Great Britain.

[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta Rotary Club on April 22, 1930.

Whether India's imperfect development is due, as Sir Basil Blackett recently maintained, to the persistence of medieval abstractions, or, as Indian critics assert, to modern superstitions and restrictions, fiscal, financial and political, is entirely a matter of opinion; whatever the explanation, the immediate position is undoubtedly discouraging. Probably no single factor has hit Indian producers harder than the worldwide fall in commodity prices. Indian producers, in certain instances, are also affected by the formation of vast combines to control the purchase, and to a certain extent the prices of raw materials. No important industry has escaped. Jute, which for so many years, contrived to maintain a precarious position on the uplands of prosperity, has recently, as the result of a somewhat precipitous decline, joined tea, cotton, and coal in the valley of depression. Political tranquillity has disappeared; labour is restive; capital (urgently required for India's own development) is going abroad; and, while old-established industries are either working at a loss or earning only negligible profits, no new industrial enterprises of outstanding importance are being launched. Owing to loss of confidence in gilt-edged securities, due to progressive depreciation, Government borrowing has been reduced to a nominal figure, and official outlay on capital projects has been correspondingly curtailed, thereby accentuating the industrial depression. There are no bright lights shining through the encircling gloom; the producers of raw materials and foodstuffs, the factories which produce predominantly for domestic consumption, such as the cotton mills, and those which rely almost entirely upon demand oversea, such as the jute mills, are suffering simultaneously. In one direction, there is cause for real anxiety. India has for decades been a large importer of manufactured goods, but recently she has become, in addition, a large purchaser of foodstuffs, wheat and even rice, and of raw materials, including cotton, which a more scientific system of agriculture would enable her to produce from her own soil. It is no comfort to be told that such imports are abnormal

and exceptional. India's consumption of wheat and rice is apparently increasing more rapidly than her production. If India has to buy foreign foodstuffs and raw materials, her ability to purchase manufactures, Indian or imported, must be diminished correspondingly.

As the result of the Montford Reforms, sidetracking the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, including the creation of a strong Central Industries Department, the sole stimuli applied to industrial development in recent years have been protective tariffs which, while inevitable in India and perhaps to a certain extent beneficial, are a mixed blessing. Revenue considerations, as in the Budget just adopted, have raised the tariff to even higher levels than could be justified by purely economic considerations. Partly as the result of this artificial stimulus, India is undoubtedly more economically self-contained than she was a decade ago. Steel manufacture is firmly established and the opening of new steel works, capable of absorbing the pig-iron now exported, is only a matter of awaiting more favourable conditions, commercial and financial. Tinplate production is a technical although not yet a financial success. The cement industry, recently so decreased, is now increasing its facilities for production. Match factories are multiplying and match imports are approaching vanishing point. Cotton mills in Bombay, under the strain imposed by the competition of the more efficient Japanese mills, have lost a large percentage of their capital resources, but the new protective tariff has created an opportunity, which the mill-owners evidently intend to grasp, to increase their competitive power against inland as well as foreign mills by resorting to rationalisation. A survey suggests that there are very few other industries on whose behalf tariff aid could be invoked. Salt manufacture has recently engaged a good deal of attention, not only on the part of the Tariff Board. A report on the chemical industries is under official consideration. But beyond these there appear to be few outstanding industries which do not already enjoy such assistance

as tariffs afford. Where then is the hiatus? For that India has reached an industrial position proportionate to her resources and opportunities few would contend. I am inclined to think that the most convincing explanation of the failure of high tariffs to yield a larger and more rapid expansion of industries in India is to be found, in many although not in all cases, in the low level, and the very slow rise, in the purchasing power of the rural population whose primitive methods of crop production, and serf-like subordination to the moneylender and the middleman, sufficiently explain their limited demand for factory products. Behind her tariff wall India enjoys free trade among a larger percentage of the world's population than is comprised in any other economic unit in the world. But while the protectionists have concentrated all their energies on increasing production, the necessity of equally strenuous efforts to increase consumption has been overlooked; nevertheless the absolute and continuous interdependence of rural and urban industries is apparent at every stage. If the cultivator, after meeting prior charges, retains only a negligible margin of income available for the purchase of factory products, industrial production will be restricted proportionately. The smaller the crop the cultivator extracts from the soil, the higher the interest he has to pay to the moneylender ; the larger the commission insisted on by the middleman, the less he has available for the purchase of manufactures. It is no use multiplying mills and factories unless there is a demand large enough to sustain them and it is in this vital respect that India at present is most heavily handicapped. The foreign manufacturer is certainly a factor in restraining the development of Indian industries, but an even more formidable enemy is the Indian moneylender, and is hardly necessary to explain why. Including Burma and the Indian States, the total agricultural indebtedness in India is probably not less than 800 crores. It is the habit of the moneylender to keep the borrower in a condition of financial serfdom, and probably the interest charges payable, taking everything into consideration,

do not fall below 200 crores per annum. In the Punjab the Registrar of Co-operative Societies puts the debt at 90 crores, equivalent to 19 times the land revenue, or Rs. 76 per head of those who are supported by agriculture, a sum equivalent to 3 years net income of the land.

The economic consequences of such conscienceless usury are reflected in the depressed conditions of the industries dependent on the Indian market. After all, protective duties imply dependence on the domestic market and if that fails, no expansion is possible.

It is necessary to draw a distinction between industries dependent on capital outlay, and industries dependent upon individual outlay to meet individual needs. Instances of industry dependent on capital outlay are those which supply railway rolling stock and materials, hydro-electric power projects, mill machinery, and so forth. When the investors' pockets are wide open, such industries prosper. When the investors' pockets are only half-open or entirely closed, they experience a lean time.

Of the bazaar trades, which meet individual requirements, the most important is, of course, the piecegoods trade, which incidentally forms a test of progress. In the years 1909-14 the balance of cloth available for consumption in India averaged 3,582 million yards; and in 1927-28 the total was 4,128 million yards, an increase of under 550 million yards, and as meanwhile Indian mills had more than doubled their output it is evident that many consumers have been forced by the higher price-level to abandon the finer and more expensive imported goods for the cheaper and coarser goods manufactured in India. Whereas before the war Lancashire exported over 6,000 million linear yards, last year's shipment was under 4,000 million yards, and of the decline India accounts for 1,200 million yards, due on the one hand, to larger production in India and, on the other, to larger imports from Japan. If the consumption of piecegoods affords a reliable measure of progress, the improvement in the economic condition of the rural population in the last two

decades has been insignificant. Such a conclusion is supported by the calculation that, instead of diminishing, the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture is increasing despite the intervening expansion in urban industries.

Three Facts Emerge.

(1) That industrial development is not proceeding at a pace involving, or likely in the near future to involve, any appreciable withdrawal of labour from agriculture.

(2) That the activities of the Agricultural Departments, although essential and beneficial, have been too limited to effect any substantial improvement in agricultural production or in the cultivators' standard of living.

(3) That the extension of the co-operative movement, as far as can be calculated, is, at best, only acting as a brake on the increase of rural indebtedness.

As a means of reducing the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture the development of urban industries in India cannot be regarded very hopefully, and for two reasons; (1) as already noted, the negligible purchasing power of the average cultivator; (2) the effect of the methods of mass production and rationalisation in reducing the number of industrial workers required to produce a given output. The figures concerning cloth production and cousumption in India afford a good illustration. In 1927-28 the production of India's 306 cotton mills totalled 2,356 million yards against 1,973 million yards imported. That is to say, in that year, the Indian mills met well over half the total Indian demand for mill made goods. In order to achieve this output the Indian mills employed well under 400,000 workers. In regard to mechanical equipment cotton mills in India cannot afford to be less efficient and up-to-date than competing mills abroad, and that means that, sooner or later, Indian mills will be forced to instal automatic

looms which, according to reliable testimony, are more efficient and economical than the present looms and involve the employment of only half as much labour. Allowing for the relative inefficiency of the Indian mill worker, it does not appear risky to assume that Indian mills, equipped with automatic looms, could, with the aid of 500,000 workers (only 100,000 more than are already employed) manufacture all the cloth India now consumes. This is, for many reasons, not an immediate possibility, and the figures quoted are intended only to illustrate the trend of events. In Japan where there are already 15,000 automatic looms in operation, economy and efficiency are further subserved by the concentration of 40 per cent. of the cotton trade in the hands of only four firms.

In India, mass consumption, on the scale rendered necessary by modern methods of mass production, can be created, only by a concurrent modernisation of agricultural processes enabling larger and better crops to be produced, and also enabling the cultivator to retain a larger share of the profits of production. So long as Indian agriculture remains on its present primitive basis, urban industries, employing modern machinery, occupy a position comparable only to a motor car " paced " by a bullock-cart.

To sum up, the three R's of economic development in India are rural reconstruction; rationalisation of urban industries; and " Rationing " of the country's limited investment surplus in order to secure the maximum development and profit within the minimum period.

There might be less apathy in some directions, and less opposition in others, concerning industrial expansion in India if it was more generally realised that economic development is necessary not only for its own sake but in order to enable India to enjoy the amenities of modern civilisation. The Indian Fiscal Commission urged a considerable development of Indian industries on the ground that " such a development would be very much to the advantage of the country as a whole, creating

new sources of wealth, encouraging the accumulation of capital, enlarging the public revenues, providing more profitable employment for labour, reducing the excessive dependence of the country on the unstable profits of agriculture, and finally stimulating the national life and developing the national character." There is nothing to object to in that statement of the case, and I have only endeavoured to indicate that unless rural development proceeds concurrently, industrial expansion cannot go very far. The jute industry is the only Indian manufacturing industry which has succeeded in building up a large export trade and its ability to do so is not unconnected with the fact that jute is a monopoly product never yet grown outside India. Other Indian industries depend on the purchasing power of the Indian market which in turn is determined mainly by the economic condition of the rural population. The limit of industrial development obtainable by tariffs is, in fact, already in sight. This is not to say that State aid to industrial development should be withdrawn or diminished but only that it should take more varied forms, tariffs still being retained and imposed where a case is made out for assistance in that form, but this fiscal assistance being supplemented and reinforced by a more vigorous pursuit of ancillary measures, equally essential, such as scientific research, technical and commercial education, manipulation of railway rates, improvement of all forms of transport facilities, development ef electric power projects and so forth. The Government of India is considering the formation of an Economic Advisory Council, on the British model, and, given the necessary status and staff, such an organisation would probably be able to secure a more rapid, even and co-ordinated development of the country's economic resources than has been achieved so far.

In regard to rural reconstruction, only the rural population can finance rural amenities, and they will not be able to do so until measures are adopted facilitating the growth of larger and better crops thereby increasing the income of the cultivator to a point enabling him to bear larger local taxation without

hardship. To accelerate crop improvement India needs a series of Crop Committees modelled on the Central Cotton Committee. A Central Jute Committee is planned, and the formation of a Rice Committee, financed by a small export cess, is under official consideration. A Sugar Committee has been formed by the new Agricultural Research Council, and a Wheat Committee, financed by a cess on wheat imports as well as wheat exports, is desirable.

One final word in regard to finance. When estimating the demands on India's savings, the capital required for non-industrial purposes should not be overlooked. In England and Wales, with a population smaller than that of Bengal, the outstanding loan debt of the local authorities exceeds £1,000 millions, expended on public utility or trading services, housing and townplanning schemes, etc. In India expenditure of this description has hardly begun. Such outlay, however, represents the price of progress and the borrowing involved cannot be ignored in calculating the demands, immediate and potential, on India's very limited surplus capital.

R. W. Brock

THE ARABESQUE AND GROTESQUE STORIES OF EDGAR ALLAN POE.

That which is recognized to be the most distinctive contribution which Americans have made to literature is the short story. Edgar Allan Poe is one of the greatest writers of the American short story. He wrote a different kind of story than did the men who might be ranked with him: Washington Irving, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Bret Harte, or Joel Chandler Harris; but Poe did not retell any legends, his chief purpose was not to allegorize, he did not bring locality into his work, and there is no folklore in his stories. He did not look to the moods and whims of society for his creative inspiration, but to his unchanging visions.

"There is no more effective way of realizing the distinction of Poe's genius," says Brownell, "than by imaging American literature without him."[1] Poe's stories are usually divided into classes. Of the *Tales of Death*, *The Fall of the House of Usher*, and *Ligeia* are, in tone and climax, nearly perfect. Poe not only told a story, but he produced an effect. Of the *Old World Romances*, the most outstanding are *The Masque of the Red Death*, *The Cask of Amontillado*, and *The Assignation*. Poe's arabesque stories are far better than his grotesque ones, which suffer by comparison. Although it is difficult to find any derivation of Poe's tales, some critics, however, have mentioned Defoe and Bulwer as the writers who have given some direction to Poe's genius. Hoffmann, of course, has been mentioned, and, perhaps, comes nearer to the mark. Brander Matthews, in *The Short Story: Specimens illustrating its Development* says, "Poe first laid down the principles which governed his own construction and which have been

[1] *American Prose Masters*, Brownell, N. Y., Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1909.

quoted very often, because they have been accepted by the masters of the short story in every modern language.[1]

The first to recognize in the sketchy tales of his day the possibilities of a type of literature distinctive in its rôle was Poe. Although his stories fall into many topical divisions, he exemplified two structural types only: those with the suspense relieved at the end, and those with the suspense relieved in the middle of the story. Most of the grotesque and the arabesque stories have the suspense relieved at the end, for the last paragraph is usually the key. Such tales as *Berenice, Morella, The Assignation, Ligeia, The Fall of the House of Usher, The Masque of the Red Death, The Cask of Amontellado,* are masterpieces of this type. This kind of story is necessarily short because suspense, especially the tragic kind in Poe, becomes burdensome if the climax is unnecessarily delayed.

The person who happened in youth to run across *The Fall of the House of Usher* is not likely to have forgotten the impression left on his immature mind—that impression of the gruesome and the beautiful. Nor are there many who, in more mature years have read this story, can forget the power of its everlasting charm. Perhaps this story and *Ligeia* reach the point of the romantic element in Poe's genius. The sombre, gloomy surroundings whose hues Poe alone knew the secret of, the physical appearance of Usher, the last of his race, and Lady Madeline, his emaciated sister, seem like an intensifying force, which draws one to some unknown place. When this place is reached, in the copper-covered vault in which Lady Madeline is entombed, and when Usher's dread discloses itself the house and the race, by the sudden call of death, sink into black oblivion. No wonder Poe says, "From that chamber and from that mansion I fled aghast..."

No matter how many short stories one may have read, the short stories of Poe will be burnt into his memory because of

[1] 1907, p. 25.

their combination of the horrible and of the beautiful. What is any more horrible than the death of the prisoners in the *Pit*, which is inhabited by countless numbers of ravenous, writhing rats, or the vibrations of the *Pendulum*, the glistening axe? Or what is more beautiful than the lovely scenery one sees in *Eleonora*? "And, here and there, sprang up fantastic trees, whose tall slender stems stood not upright, but slanted gracefully towards the light that peered at noon-day into the center of the valley. Their bark was speckled with the vivid alternate splendor of ebony and silver, and was smoother than all save the cheeks of Eleonora..." It was in this earthly paradise beneath the fantastic trees, which burst into bloom with bright star-shaped flowers, that love came to the boy and to the girl. Poe's stories haunt one long after they have been finished, for, long after they have been laid aside, one can still see the teeth in *Berenicė*, the changing eyes of *Morella*, and the drops that fall into the goblet of *Ligeia*.

In *Ligeia*, *Morella*, and *Eleonora*, one can see the prevailing and, no doubt, dominant thoughts of Poe's inner life. In *Ligeia* the sad and stately symmetry of the sentences, their weird and musical cadence, produce on one a peculiar effect.

In one of Poe's letters he says, "There is one particular in which I have had wrong done to me, and it may not be indecorous in me to call your attention to it. The last selection of my tales was made from about seventy by one of our great little cliquists and claquers, Wiley and Putnam's reader, Duyckinck. He has what he thinks a taste for ratiocination, and has accordingly made up the book mostly of analytical stories. But this is not *representing* my mind in its various phases—it is not giving me fairplay. In writing these tales one by one, at long intervals, I have kept the book unity always in mind—that is, each has been composed with reference to its effect as part of *a whole*. In this view, one of my chief aims has been the widest diversity of subject, thought, and especially *tone* and manner of handling. Were *all* my tales now before me in a large

volume, and as the composition of another, the merit which would principally arrest my attention would be their wide diversity and *variety*. You will be surprised to hear me say that (omitting one or two of my first efforts), I do not consider any one of my stories *better* than another. There is a vast variety of kinds, and, in degree of value, these kinds vary—but each tale is equally good *of its kind*. The loftiest kind is that of the highest imagination—and for this reason only *Ligeia* may be called my best tale." But Poe really rewrote *Morella* in *Ligeia*. In *Al Aaraaf* he had framed out of the breath of the night wind and the idea of the harmony of universal nature a fairy creature.

> "Ligeia, Ligeia,
> My beautiful one!
> Whose harshest idea
> Will to melody run.
>
> Ligeia! wherever
> Thy image may be,
> No magic shall sever
> My music from thee."

In Poe's story, though, Lady Ligeia has no human quality, yet her thoughts and capabilities are those of a spirit. In *Ligeia* Poe has not only shown the victory of the soul over death, but he has demonstrated all his poetic and literary skill.

As one thinks of *Ligeia*, he also thinks of *Morella*, for that is its prototype. Poe quotes the following at the beginning of *Ligeia*: "And the will therein lieth, which dieth not. Who knoweth the mysteries of the will with its vigor? For God is but a great will pervading all things by nature of its intentness. Man doth not yield himself to the angels, nor unto death utterly, save only through the weakness of his feeble will." In *Morella*, as in *Ligeia*, the characters are occupied with the same mystic philosophies—absorbed in the same recondite questions of "life and death and spiritual unity," questions of "that identity which, at death, is or is not, lost forever." Towards the end

of these stories, one can see a lingering pity and sorrow for the dead; and ever recurring pang of regret and remorse for fear of having grieved them by some involuntary wrong of desertion or forgetfulness. This remorseful pity for the departed, this haunting remembrance is a distinguishing feature of his stories. The existence of such a feeling as a prevalent mood of his mind, of which there is ample proof, is not in keeping with that cold sensualism with which he has been unjustly charged. To those he loved he showed unusual fidelity. A certain incident connected with his youth will illustrate this. At the age of twelve while he was attending the academy in Richmond (this is related because it has a direct bearing upon some of his tales) he one day went home with a school-mate. Here he saw for the first time Mrs. H...S..., the mother of his young friend. As she entered the room, this lady took his hand and spoke to him so sweetly and so gently that Poe's sensitive heart was penetrated. He was unable to speak. When he returned home he longed to hear the sweet voice again. Later this same woman became the confidant of all his boyish sorrows and her influence had a great effect upon him. After she died, Poe, for months, visited nightly the cemetery where she was buried. The mere thoughts of her filled his heart with a profound sorrow. Especially on cold and dreary nights, when the winds whistled wildly over the graves, he always lingered the longest.

In De Quincey's *Suspira De Profundis*, there are the same ideas which haunted the mind of Poe during his nightly visits to the cemetery, only De Quincey's lost love was his sister. It is not difficult to see what prompted Poe to write *Shadow* or *Silence*. It is no wonder that "the fable which the demon told in the shadow of the tomb" haunted him constantly. "Now there are strange tales in the volumes of the Magi—in the iron-bound, melancholy volumes of the Magi—glorious histories of the Heaven, and of Earth, and of the mighty Sea—and of the Genii that overruled the sea and the earth and the lofty heaven; there was much lore, too, in the saying of the Sybils; and holy,

holy things were heard of old by the dim leaves that trembled around Dodonabut, as Allah liveth, that fable which the Demon told me as he sat by my side in the shadow of the tomb, I hold to be the most wonderful of all! And as the Demon made an end of his story, he fell back within the cavity of the tomb and laughed. And I could not laugh. And the lynx which dwelleth forever in the tomb, came out and sat at the feet of the Demon and looked him steadily in the face."

These lonely visits to the grave give a key to much that seems strange or out of the ordinary in the stories of Poe. He has imagined all the different phases of sentient life in the grave in the *Colloquy of Monos and Una,* which might be compared to *The Conversation of Einos and Charmion.* In both there is a story of death. Monos, who died first, is followed by Una, and, after the end of the century, they are again united. Some of the best of Poe is to be found in the conclusion of *Shadow,* that story which might be called a meditation on death. "Yea! though I walk through the valley of the Shadow." Surely no one ever could have written *Shadow* or *Silence* unless he were familiar with the Old Testament prophets. In dignity and elevation of thought, in absolute simplicity of style and structure, Poe's workmanship in this selection alone "would place him not only among the masters of English prose but among the still smaller number of those whose mastery seems not so much a homage to ancient models as an illumination from the same central sun."[1] *Shadow,* that ominous harmony of some immortal Eld not of Rome, Greece, or Egypt, but from them all; and *Silence,* that fiendish fable of the prehistoric Libyan waste, may well form the epilogue of the opening series of Poe's tales of the grotesque and the arabesque. The tone of these stories is melodious, if fateful. If one complains of these mystic tales of Life and Death, that he does not care for the awe and the mystery, which is found in such tales as *The Fall of the House of Usher,*

[1] C. Alphonzo Smith.

or in *Ligeia*, or if he does not care for the strange, beautiful melody and the enchanting perfume and vivid color of *Eleonora*, he is then admitting that he wants all writers to follow the same mould.

Shadow is similar to *Silence* and yet it is different. "The mountain pinnacles of slumber, valleys, crags, and caves are silent." This story is a dirge of desolation: noisy desolation followed by brooding and boundless silence. As "the curse of tumult" marks the end of desolation, "the curse of silence" announces the approach of unbroken stillness. "In the toga of old Rome" the introduction of a single character shows that Poe, as in "The Coliseum" must have been thinking of silence and desolation against the background of Rome that was; but he does not picture in this story the "grandeur that was Rome," for the theme is "the abomination of desolation."[1] Ruin is depicted "as an incubus upon our hearts, and a shadow upon our brain."

The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion presupposes the fulfilment of those "passages in the most holy of writings which speak of the final destruction of all things by fire." "I will bring fire to thee." In the other world Charmion and Eiros meet. For ten years Charmion has been an immortal and Eiros has been immortal for just a few days, having died in the universal conflagration. Charmion, who knows only a few facts of the disaster, is extremely anxious to know all the details. In the description of Eiros, there is a blazing intensity, but the best passages are those of the "elasticity of frame and vivacity of mind" as the comet comes nearer and in "the wild luxuriance of foliage, utterly unknown before." *The Power of Words* is similar to *The Conversation of Eiros and Charmion*, for two people in the other world are holding a conversation about supramundane things. The keynote of this conversation is that spoken words create vibrations without end in the ether and these vibrations create new forms. The final thought is that the

[1] Matthew, 24 :15

spirit in which words are uttered is also communicated to new worlds.

Poe quotes and requotes Bacon's saying: "There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion." One might well apply this to Poe's grotesque and arabesque tales. If one commences to analyze his stories, though, perhaps he will find that his characters are not accurate transcripts from real life, but Poe has that imagination which sends forth weird shapes. The universality of his themes, his unusual intellect, his imagination, his feeling for form, color, and enchanting melody make him a unique writer of the short story. His strange, unforgettable stories mesmerize one's mind and one's senses: they burn themselves into one's memory. Poe has excelled in ingenuity of construction and in effective painting. He knows how to make one weep or to laugh. His mastery of English, if it is great in his poems, is greater in his stories. His rich style is plastic and pictorial; his language takes on a gravity and a beautiful melody. Lowell has defined style as "the establishment of a perfect mutual understanding between the worker and his material." In Poe's stories one finds the "perfect mutual understanding." One finds it in the flying reveries that surround life as well as death—the natural and the supernatural.

It has been well said that "Poe has chosen to exhibit his power chiefly in that dim region which stretches from the very utmost limits of the probable into the weird confines of superstition and unreality" and that he combines in a very remarkable manner two faculties which are seldom found united—a power of influencing the mind of the reader by the impalpable shadow of mystery, and a minuteness of detail which does not leave a pin or a button unnoticed." In the grotesque story of *Hop Frog* this is particularly true, for in this story each detail is clear cut. The fat king and his seven ministers, the dwarf jester and the little dancing girl pass before the mind's eye as if on a screen. So well is the scene pictured that one can almost

hear the crackling of the flames above the cries of horror as the king and the ministers burn. One finds himself rejoicing that Hop Frog and Tripette escaped.

It would not be an easy task to find many authors who have revealed such varied powers. But Poe's grotesque stories have less charm than the arabesque ones. It is doubtful if anyone could read the latter without being impressed by their serene and sombre beauty. If Poe had written nothing else besides these grotesque and arabesque stories, they would suffice to stamp him as a man of genius and the master of classic style. The nature of Poe's material has had something to do not only with foreign appreciation of his genius, but with the impression of distinct individuality which these tales produce. Since Poe came from a family of naturally optimistic temper, with unlimited confidence in their ability to deal with the varied problems of life, he stands alone among men of his class in fastening, as by instinct, upon the gloomy and tragical aspect of experience. This gloom enshrouds *The Fall of the House of Usher.* Poe's daemonic force, his passion for perfection of form, his love of beauty, and the sensitiveness of his temperament are all subtly combined in the quality of distinction which characterizes his arabesque and his best grotesque stories. His individuality is not only expressed with the utmost refinement of feeling and truth, but it is strongly marked. Into his tales he brought artistic integrity and capacity and suffused them with purpose, dignity, and grace. The high quality of his mind is ever apparent even in some of his grotesque stories, which might be considered not the best. His stories have a first place in American literature not because of their range, their spiritual or ethical significance, but because of their beautiful individuality, their form, their workmanship, and the purity of their art.

It has been said that Poe's grotesque and arabesque stories are the outcome of his drunken mind. While it is

unfortunately true that he drank, it is not fair to say that his stories are simply a reflection of a mind drenched with alcohol. These stories are an outcry against doubt and despair. He is not the writer of stories of death and darkness and decay in the sense in which Wordsworth is the poet of nature. In Poe's stories, there is a ring of spiritual protest. Death and darkness he hated. There is much evidence of love and light, of beauty and harmony. As one recalls that Poe's career came to an end with the chant "All is Life-Life-Life-Life within Life—the less within the greater, and all within the Spirit Divine," he can see golden sunshine on "the misty mid region of Weir," and in "the ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir." Edgar Allan Poe is not the great genius of night and darkness, but of day and light.

LOUISE A. NELSON

A CHAPTER FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The supremacy of Reason over Faith had been taught with great emphasis by the most powerful writer of the 18th century in France. The idea had also been impressed upon the minds of the generality of the people that all the human institutions that then existed were meant only for the oppression of the weak and the poor. Among the oldest of such concerns of human life was the Church of Rome. It should therefore be overthrown. So long, of course, as power was in the hands of those who still stuck to old ideas, this could not be done. But when the temporalities were gradually seized by the new generation, they thought of carrying their ideas into execution. What was religion? Simply a fetish, converting human beings into weak creatures that would be afraid to take any step in any direction without humbling themselves in a hundred ways and whose liberty would be fettered with a hundred restrictions placing immense obstacles in the way of progress. What was God? One who was the creation of fear working in the minds of weak persons and who required to be propped up by the imaginary theories of diseased minds,—slender threads that could be easily snapped by the slightest pull of reason. What was the Church? Why, a joint-stock company of a number of persons whose vested interests were to carry on traffic in human beings, the different concerns of whose life might be exploited to add to the profits of the most nefarious business, which, however, was made to assume the holiest garb in the whole world. These should, therefore, be done away with—to the greatest good of the human society. The Church should be overthrown, God should be dethroned and demolished, and Religion as something that might be of help to lift human beings to a higher level should receive no attention from those whose sole business should be concerned with mundane things.

The people had of course been suffering in the country and it was pointed out with great force that the religious institutions of the earlier times had failed to lessen their miseries. Certain new principles were therefore taught to them, but they caused greater confusion and led them to think that Religion itself had been found to be wanting. They could therefore be easily influenced by those who were then playing the leading part in the great upheaval of the country, and stood by their side in pulling down the religious institutions. A new constitution was first given to the Church to bring it under the control of the secular authorities. But that would not satisfy the new school. God himself should be banished from the world. So, later, everything was turned down. The worship of God was given up, and the churches were converted into halls of public meeting for secular purposes. Images of Christ and saints of the Catholic world were removed and statues of the popular heroes were placed in their stead. Scriptures and other things considered sacred in olden times were also taken away; even the very bells that had formerly sent forth calls of prayer to the inhabitants of the neighbouring localities were melted down and forged into pieces of cannon.

But Religion, however much one may like to dispense with it altogether, cannot be banished from the heart of man, as it is a part and parcel of human existence. The natural craving which is really stronger than any other in man requires to be satisfied. If the people were required to abjure their faith in God, a substitute should be found ; otherwise there would be considerable restlessness. Now the time came for the enthronement of Reason in the place of the old Religion. The worship of Reason was instituted, and that too with great pomp and ceremony. A grand procession was taken through the streets of the capital, and a woman of no character but dressed in gorgeous attire and with a tiara on her head was carried along with it. She was installed in the Church of Notre Dame as the Goddess of Reason to receive the homage and worship of the followers of the New Religion.

For some time, of course, the new Goddess continued to retain her place in the society. Being enveloped in smoke raised by the heat of power and audacity, truth could not be discerned, and the glamour of the new arrangement kept men blinded. But how long would human beings be satisfied with the travesty of Religion? A resentment was sure to come and did come within a short time. The authors of the new system soon lost their position in the state, and paid the severest penalty for their deeds in a way which could not have been dreamed of by them.

Others appeared on the scene and seized the reins of supreme power. They had been associated with the former body of men in their work of destruction, but did not approve of all their measures. God might be dethroned, a decree might be issued that no worship was due to Him. But men could not be divested of the idea of One who is regulating the natural phenomena and guiding the destinies of the world. "If God did not exist, He should be invented," so declared one who was then the popular hero. Otherwise everything would be unintelligible, the guidance of human society would be impracticable. He therefore went to institute the worship of a Supreme Being. The demands of the religious instinct in man were thus conceded to.

But it was a half-hearted and partial concession. The satisfaction of the human heart was not complete. For some time no further change could be introduced. But it appeared that an early opportunity would be seized to give back to the people what had been taken away from them. That happened when one with a great comprehension of the realities of the world and a firmer determination of mind came to be placed at the head of the state. It was when Napoleon Bonaparte rose to be the First Consul that the restoration of the ancient Church and Religion of the country was effected. Once again the bells were to ring out invitation to the religious-minded, the doors of the churches were to remain open to receive worshippers, the priests were to

offer gratitude and prayers to the altar of the Most High. The call of the Divine to the human heart could thus be responded to. Of course as the patriot hero of France the First Consul introduced certain changes in the administration of the Church. The ecclesiastics should be officers of the French people, practically independent of outside papal authority.

But it will be pointed out that this restoration of religion was brought about from political considerations. Napoleon had not any particular religious turn of mind. It was not as a good son of the Church that its authority was re-established by him. Just to strengthen his position in the state he might have yielded to the demands of a certain section of the people. But, what was this political necessity? Why could he not with his absolute command over an excellently trained and experienced body of soldiers think himself quite secure in carrying on the administration? What thing did he recognise to be missing in the society? What did he hope to supply by bringing back religion? The credit of a religous reformer need not be given to him, but as a far-sighted governor of human society he could see that the strongest bond to keep together a number of human beings is Religion, that for the maintenance of peace and order, both in an individual and in a society, the religious stir that is natural in them, should be pacified. It would not do for the good Government of the world to do away with Religion. The spiritual force should not be ignored, but should be laid under contribution to sober down the erratic promptings of the other forces that work in human beings. God, however much denied in the ordinary spheres of life, particularly in times of contest for gaining places in the world, reasserts Himself, reinstalls Himself in the hearts of men. However much they may like to remove Him farthest away from the world, He will be found to be there, demanding His share to control their activities.

But alas! how too often has this great lesson of history been forgotten, both in the individual life of a man and in the collective life of a society. Endowed with various powers, man thinks

in a certain stage of his life that they will be quite sufficient for his purposes. But in the midst of difficulties and trials that beset his path, how often he is found to fail, to lag behind the progress which should be attained by him. A time comes when good sense prevails in him and he thinks of bringing to his help the tremendous force of religion, which, if allowed to operate in proper season, might have given a different direction to his life. So also it is seen in respect of organised groups of individuals. Various problems confront the human society, but it is thought that they can be tackled without any reference to religion. Nay, the opinion seems to have gained ground that religion will only make matters worse. Banished, therefore, it should be from all human concerns. It will be asked, has not religion been found to be the greatest disturber of peace in the world? Further, the necessity that might have existed in the French society in the beginning of the 19th century no longer exists. The world has advanced far during these hundred years. Man has now many other duties to attend to, many other good works to do, many other forces to rely on, than the old-fashioned religion. Of course one is quite free to think in this way. But, if an appeal be made to the innermost self in him, what verdict will come out from there? Can religion be ever banished from the human world? Each one of us is recognising in the heart of our hearts a religion and will be only too glad to take recourse to it to get some rest, some peace, in the midst of the anxieties that are gnawing our very existence. We know religion, know it to be true and indispensable, but, we have not yet learnt how to give proper expression to it. The form that we generally put on it is found to be unacceptable. A hard crust we build upon its surface, which is likely to offend others. But this is because the great lessons of history are too often ignored by man; because the fullest advantage is not taken of all the opportunities that have come to him. Time and again it has been pointed out that religion is not a set of dogmas and is no mere observance of rites and ceremonies. But how very few are found to be heeding

these universal indications. We are still satisfied with our old formalities. The result is that religion makes no impression upon us, brings about no change in our conduct. As no appreciable good is followed by observing religion, it is being rejected as of no value in human life. But, religion as a thing of the heart, as a spontaneous prompting of the inner self to attain something higher and nobler in life, as a sure guidance of one to find out and establish proper relations with others who have been formed in the same mould and been equally privileged. to live in this great world, cannot but be a living force. It will undoubtedly help in the growth of life in an individual and will also contribute largely towards the settlement of the vexatious problems of the world. Again it will be asked, has not religion been tried and found to be wanting? History will be quoted to show that almost in every country of the world people have in sheer disappointment given up the idea of laying religion under contribution for any great purposes of the human society and relegated it to a most private corner of human life, nay, have thought of abandoning it altogether. Failures, undoubtedly, will be noticed on many occasions in the history of the world. But, if carefully examined, it will be seen that religion failed because it was mixed up with something else, and because it was not freed from unholy alliances. Further, one thing is essentially necessary to bring religion into the field of human activities and allow it to do its work. In all other spheres of men's work, he has tried to adapt himself to the changed circumstances. New methods of producing and exchanging the necessaries of life, of imparting secular education, of conducting literary and scientific pursuits have been introduced,—different from those which were followed in earlier times. And it may be said, it is in proportion to the adaptability to the changed times that progress has been made in any sphere of human activity. Religion should also be taken up and cultivated in a new spirit which is consonant to the present surroundings of the world. This condition must be satisfied. The old good things

of the world can, of course never be given up ; what has once come has come to stay here. But these things must be reconciled to the present state of the human society, before they can continue to be blessings to mankind. The world has been changing in fulfilment of the will of the Lord of the Universe. The Spirit of Eternity, which is also the spirit of the time, is always showing the new poet that leads to progress. The guidance of this spirit should be accepted in the first place.

In the midst of the divergent views held of religion, and the clashing interests adhered to by religious communities, it will be possible to find a place of meeting each other on terms of reconciliation, if we advance under the guidance of the new spirit. Let us not be scared away by an apprehension of disagreement and quarrel. The greater the attention, the clearer will the question become. The country, the world, is indeed very much in need of religion. The relations between the students and the teachers, between the employees and the employers, between the rulers and the ruled, and between all sections of humanity, require to be bettered,—we all are very keenly feeling that. But we do not know how to bring that about. Whenever educational and other great problems confront any society, people are fighting shy of religion, and trying to keep it at a safe distance in apprehension of confusion and disaster that might follow its introduction. But is this the right view of looking at a thing whose great power each one of us is feeling in the most secret recesses of our hearts? Every other means is being employed, every other force is being tried, except, one is afraid, that great and true one which can bring on success to the efforts of mankind. Wise heads put together have effected solution of many other problems of life ; sincere hearts working together will certainly be able to untwine the entanglement of religion in human life and society. The old, tried solvent, if properly mixed with human things, will produce wonderful results.

DEBENDRA NATH SEN

POEMS OF INDIA

I.—A Ruined Palace

A tumbled mass of lonely ruins
That lie along a stagnant pool
Neglected and forlorn, where dead
Leaves choke the grace of lotus-blooms
And cobras sun their sinuous length
Upon the broken marbled-steps.
Grown bold in brooding silences,
At dusk the furtive jackals come
And prowl among the empty ruins
Where once was life and light and love.
A breeze sighs as it wanders by,
Thinking how a lovely maid once
Rested by the pool alone, and
Dreamed, as she played upon a lute.

II.—An Indian Mother

Brown and patient little mother,
Still but a child, yet carrying
An infant on your slender hip ;
Already life has touched you, and
Placed wrinkles of perpetual
Questions on your youthful brow.
And yet you never knew the leisured
Hours of girl-hood, playing with
Your coloured toys, and waiting to
Mature. A few years more, and you
Will be a withered flower, pulled
Too soon. Old India's day is brief
And hot, and the bud that at dawn
Was so sweet and fresh and fair,

By night has fallen in the dust,
Lonely, neglected, and forgot.

LILY S. ANDERSON

LOVE'S BITE AND KISS.

Leave not this heart so sore and lone,
A victim to dry Hate—
The hate of self, of what has gone
And what may come from Fate—
With ear to hear but raucous sound,
With eye to see eye foes
With tongue to taste dead, dry food,
To smell but putrid rose.
Food, scorching, kills the pores of skin,
A lifeless void devours the mind,
And starving heart is fed with hate
Of what's me and my kind.
O Love, a drop of smile but shed
And make this dumb heart sing
A song that's heard as joyous life,
The sweet rose-bud of spring.

Sweet Love is this and she is all,
Unchanging joy in rise and fall,
The joy she is to heart and sense,
Of pleasure and joy the quintessence.
What men call pain is but love-bite,
The deepest dark in Love is bright.
Love looks away she leaves her kiss
That ever lives as silent bliss.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI.

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

IV

FROM 1836 TO 1853.

Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

The Select Committee of 1836 did not take long to conclude its labour. Though appointed to report upon the salt tax of the whole of India, it practically confined its investigations to Bengal. For, it was the Bengal monopoly, which, as we observed, had, for a special combination of circumstances, attracted the largest share of attention and earned the greatest opprobrium both inside and outside the country.

It was almost a foregone conclusion that the verdict of the Committee would be against the monopoly. "However modified the monopoly may be, the evils of the system," the Committee opined, "cannot be eradicated but by its extinction." Both the interests of the consumers and of the revenue, the report went on to say, would ultimately be best secured by a considerable reduction of the duty under a system of free competition. But the transition from the one to the other was not to be drastic. It was left to the discretion of the authorities on the spot to determine the time and manner of its introduction.

The Committee, however, suggested a few minor improvements that were to be immediately adopted. They recommended that salt should be sold throughout the year even in small quantities of 100 maunds at a fixed price. The price was to be determined by adding a fixed duty to the cost of production. Foreign salt was to be admitted on terms of perfect equality with home-produced salt. The Committee also emphasised the need of adopting a moderate duty that should not

in any case exceed the average rate of the Government's net profit for the last ten years. The report was duly forwarded to the Government of India by the Court of Directors with their own explanatory remarks on it and it reached their hands in May, 1837.

It will be within the recollection of the reader how only a few months before the date of the receipt of the report the Government had, of necessity, adopted most of the suggested measures. It then remained for the Government only to fix the rate of duty in the manner prescribed and to assimilate the customs duty to it. But it was not to be easily accomplished. There were unusually prolonged discussions about the principle on which the competition was to be based.

Pending a final decision in the matter, the *ad interim* responsibility of fixing and regulating prices was left in the hands of the Salt Board.[1] During this period matters went from bad to worse. Labouring under the delusion that it was adjusting the price in accordance with the laws of demand and supply, it continued changing prices till it only succeeded in pushing up still further the average whole-sale price of all kinds of salt by nearly 4% between 1837 and 1844.

[1] The Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, was created in 1819 to relieve the Board of Revenue from some of its responsibilities.

But the duty, even after the adjustment, continued slightly favourable to the importers. For, a considerable outlay incurred in connection with and apparently on account of manufacture was in reality a preventive charge but it used to be erroneously added as an element of the cost price of the domestic manufacture. Moreover, upon indigenous salt the duty was taken in its impure state but as regards the salt from England the duty was taken upon the pure article. (See evidence of F. W. Prideaux before the Select Committee on Indian Territories, 1852-53, No. 72-78). It was five years after, that the first-mentioned error of calculation was found out and the Board of Revenue drew the attention of the Government to the injustice which the native manufacturers suffered from (Letter from the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated June 29, 1852). A reference was accordingly made to the Court of Directors. The Directors concurred in the correctness of the principle laid down by the Board and authorised its adoption in the next annual adjustment of the sale prices with the confident expectation that it would be found possible to do so without infringing on the spirit of the recommendation of the Select Committee or giving any reasonable ground for cavil."

In 1843 the Court of Directors addressed a despatch in which it clearly elucidated the principle enunciated by the Committee of 1836. It explained that, subject to the maintenance of what the average net revenue then was, the duty was to be fixed as low as possible and was by no means to exceed the average net profit of the last decade of the monopoly. A tentative feeler was then put out. In October, 1844, the duty was brought down from Rs. 3-4 to Rs. 3 and a corresponding reduction in the sale-price of home-made salt was made.

It was a doubly blessed change. Not only did the people benefit by increased consumption but the Government too gained rather than lost ground in respect of revenue. During the first twelve months after the reduction. *i.e.*, between November, 1844, and October, 1845, consumption increased by 1,31,804 maunds and during the next twelve months by 3,20,169 maunds in comparison with the consumption of the year just previous to reduction. As compared with the average consumption of three previous years, the increase during the same period was still more marked, being 3,29,289 and 5,17,654 maunds respectively. At the time of reduction it was estimated that an increased consumption of 4 lakhs was necessary to make up for the loss of revenue. It is thus evident that the actual consumption had soon exceeded the amount and the Government was consequently more than amply recompensed.

The first reduction having succeeded so well, the Government was encouraged to make a second reduction in 1847. The duty was lowered from Rs. 3 to Rs. 2 12 as. There was a simultaneous reduction of the internal price not by 4 annas as should have been the case but by a little more (5⅛ as.). For, the price of salt, when adjusted, in pursuance of the instruction of the Home authorities with reference to the actual expenses of production *plus* the duty, appeared to have hitherto been a little too high. The reduction was followed by largely increased consumption. Between April, 1847 when the duty was first reduced and the close of the following year, consumption showed

a total increase of 4,99,829 maunds over that of the previous corresponding period. The revenue, however, underwent a slight decline. But, on the whole the out-turn was extremely satisfactory.[1]

No doubt the average net revenue of the last ten years was to be kept up. But the Government was not disconcerted. There was as yet nothing to show that the utmost limit of consumption had been reached and all scope for further expansion of revenue exhausted. Moreover, it had gradually come to be convinced as never before that salt was dear enough in the country to press hard on the means of the people in the interior and that no small portion of the community obtained no salt at all but were obliged to substitute for it adulterated and often deleterious articles. And it was only by an extensive reduction of duty that any adequate provision of its supply could be hoped for.[2]

In 1849 the duty was reduced for the third time to Rs. 2 8 as. per maund. The new rate of duty was fixed for a period of five years in order to give steadiness to the market. Economies were also effected in most agencies in the expenses of production, so that the price of the indigenous salt was still further reduced. The extent of economy varied from Rs. 2 to Rs. 9 per 100 maunds. It merely furnished a proof of what was long suspected that in respect of salt Bengal had always been saddled with a weight, which was essentially of the nature of a tax, though barren of revenue—a tax that had no place in the budget but had its existence elsewhere in the extravagant and careless management of a monopolistic business.

After the third reduction, the average net revenue decreased by 9% (from Rs. 15,903,903 to Rs. 14,446,755). Still the

[1] Three-fourths of the deficiency arising from the double remission of duty had been already made up by increased deliveries of duty-paid salt (Statement of the Board of Salt in January, 1849).

[2] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Government of India relating to the reduction of duty on Bengal Salt, dated 7th April, 1847. See Report of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, 1853, p. 267.

Government had no reason to regret its courageous step. For the average annual consumption, as calculated from what was absorbed by the market during the period, went up by more than 16 p.c. But the comparative increase must have been even more than this ; for we should allow for the reaction consequent on the excessive supply thrown on the market at the prospect of reduction of duty and should further take into account the proportionately larger importation and consumption of pure and fine Liverpool salt in order to get at the true index.[1]

The influx of foreign salt that was increasing by rapid strides especially from 1835 had reached in 1851-52 an amount equal to half the total consumption of the country. The Government was consequently forced to abolish one agency and suspend another. The salt revenue system of Bengal, as old as the political power of the Company,—the system which had kept intact its essential feature through successive vicissitudes and had survived the storm and stress of a most bitter controversy—was thus towards the fag-end of the Company's rule in its first stages of disruption though it was not till 1863 that the system was finally abandoned.

It should however be mentioned here that deviation from the strict principle of monopoly had commenced even earlier in 1847 when after considerable hesitation the Government had allowed two small private factories under European management to manufacture the article subject to the payment of an equivalent excise duty. At first they supplied their salt to the Government on the same terms as other manufacturers. But it was found that the Government could get salt at a cheaper rate from other sources. So the Government refused to receive their salt any longer but in consideration of the large capital, already sunk, the special concession, just mentioned, was

[1] See Letter of the Junior Secretary to the Board of Revenue to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 29th June, 1852. Evidence of F. W. Prideaux before Select Committee on Indian Affairs, 1853.

granted. But the Government was not then prepared to extend the same principle to the indigenous process of manufacture. And as a matter of fact it had disallowed in 1848 a similar petition submitted by grantees of Saugor Island, when the Government manufacture in the 24-Pergannahs Agency, of which the above island formed a part, had to be stopped for reasons already stated.[1]

(*To be continued.*)

PARIMAL RAY

TO A PROUD BEAUTY.

I—who can sing as Poets must—
What can I mean to thee,
A lone pale star in a vast blue sky,
A spot in a mighty sea ?
You, with your ivory-tinted flesh,
What think ye of these rough hands ?
Coarse from working with hook and plough
Out on God's open lands.
I have no riches, no gems, nor gold,
They can mean naught to me,
I only crave the wide green fields
And the salt-tang of the sea.
I have only the fragrance of the flowers,
And the sun-gold on the lea,
And my wild free heart, to offer you
In return for your love for me.
I must go singing upon my way,
You must go proudly thine,
But sleeping or waking, in life or in death,
Your vision will ever be mine !

LELAND J. BERRY

[1] Evidence of F. W. Prideaux before Select Committee, 18 58.

INDIA'S POLITICAL CRISIS[1]

"Whether India shall strive at once for complete Independence or for Dominion status: that is, shall India secede from the British Empire and become completely independent and a Sovereign State; or shall it remain within the empire on the basis of a 'ministerial government,' a national executive responsible to a national legislature, such as Canada and other Dominions of the empire enjoy?" This was the main issue before the Lahore session of the All-India National Congress, held during the last week of December 1929, which decided in favour of the programme of complete independence. This action has resulted in a political crisis of immense magnitude in India. However, no student of Indian political history can ignore the fact that the session of the All-India National Congress held at Calcutta in December 1928 paved the way for this momentous decision in favour of Indian Independence.

In "India's Political Crisis," Prof. Hull has given us an excellent, unbiased and concise presentation of the course of Indian politics, especially the activities of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1928 and the All Parties Conference. He has given a very careful and correct digest of the All Parties Conference and the Nehru Report, which contains an outline of a Constitution for Self-governing India approved by the All-India National Congress. He has discussed important issues of communal representation, rights and the rule of Indian Princes, affecting the cause of Indian nationalism. He has presented facts which are very essential to understand the rapid evolution of the revolutionary march of Indian

[1] India's Political Crisis, by William I. Hull, Ph.D., F.R. Hist. S., Professor of International Relations in Swathmore College; published by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1930: Price $ 2-0-0.

Nationalism. In discussing political problems facing the Indian Nationalist leaders, Dr. Hull makes occasional comparisons with the historical incidents of the revolutionary era of American history. The author has nowhere made a dogmatic assertion regarding the political parties of India and their respective programmes. On the contrary he has tried to give the exact position of various Indian political parties by quoting the utterances of their leaders most effectively.

From the perusal of the book, it becomes clear that Mr. Gandhi is not the only leader of the Indian Nationalists, but the youth of India have many worthy leaders whose names are not known to the American public, but who are more ardent champions of the cause of Indian Independence and who probably will play a more important part in the drama of India's struggle for independence. Until the session of the All-India National Congress was held at Lahore, Mr. Gandhi was an advocate of "Dominion status" for India and he opposed the programme of Indian Independence. One may venture to suggest that during the Lahore Congress Mr. Gandhi moved the resolution advocating complete independence of India, possibly because it was clear to him that the younger generation might not have accepted his leadership with a programme of "Dominion status." The attitude of the younger generation has been well expressed in the following extracts of the speech of Mr. Subhaschandra Bose who advocated complete Independence for India, during the session of All-India National Congress held at Calcutta in 1928:—

"The youngmen of India have accepted the responsibility of making India free. We revere our older leaders and love them. At the same time we want them to keep abreast of the times. But if our older leaders do not come to a compromise with us who may be deemed the Moderates among the Extremists, the breach between the young and the old schools will be irreparable. Thanks to the Youth Movement, a new consciousness has dawned upon the youth of India. They are no longer

prepared to follow blind-folded any and every policy. They have realised that they are the heirs of the future and it is for them to make India free."[1]

In this connection, it may be proper to note Prof. Hull's critical estimate of the Youth Movement of India. He writes:—

"There is a very strong and perhaps revolutionary Youth Movement in India, as throughout the world since the World War. This movement is directed largely against the political schism caused in India by the hostility between the Moslems and the Hindu; and its leaders declare that with the passing of the elder generation and dwindling of religion or ecclesiasticism, in importance, the hereditary hostility between the two religions will be ridiculed out of existence, and all Indians will place India's welfare above all religious strife, which last, indeed, will fall into the limbs of outgrown and forgotten things. While the Youth Movement in India is undoubtedly of exceptional strength and promise, time alone can pass judgment on the accuracy of this prophecy."[2]

Prof. Hull's discussions give the important indications that the Indian nationalists, during the last few years, are thinking not merely in terms of non-violent non-co-operation, but in terms of international relations and formation of national militia. Under the presidency of the late C. R. Das, the All-India National Congress held at Gaya in 1922, entered upon an attempt to establish agencies in America and Europe, to organize a Pan-Asiatic Federation and to enlist 50,000 volunteers[3] in 1928, during the Calcutta session of the All-India National Congress. Mr. Satyamurti, one of the leading advocates for Indian independence, presented a resolution requesting the Congress to "establish agencies in other Asiatic countries for the purpose of promoting trade, cultural and political relations among them; these agencies to be established especially at Kabul,

[1] *Ibid*, p. 156.

[2] *Ibid*, Preface, page. xii.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 11.

Teheran, Constantinople, Moscow, Nanking, Tokio, New York, Berlin, Paris and London. [1]

The Congress Volunteer Movement, according to Mr. Subhaschandra Bose is "a nucleus of future National Militia..."[2] Prof. Nripendrachandra Banerjee in his address before the fifth annual conference of the Volunteers held at Calcutta on the 30th of December 1928 made the relation between the Indian Independence Movement and Indian National Volunteers clear. He said :—

"India is now out of the high roads of adventure in quest of full-fledged national independence......Dominion status is internal autonomy within the British imperialist ring, and independence is autonomy in all branches of national well-being and security outside of British control and suzerainty. I stand for the latter. The mandates given by the All Parties Convention and the National Congress have to be enforced ; and the only way they may be enforced is by the creation of a permanent All-India Corps of National Volunteers, auxiliary to and controlled by the All-India National Congress. Every member of this corps, officer and private, will have to take a pledge of loyalty to Congress and accept its creed and ideals, and push on the programmes of work Congress may adopt from time to time. The organization will practically be a federal one, giving great latitude to the provinces. It is to be a fighting organization, but not equipped with powder and shot. I am not quite sure in my mind whether the organization will be absolutely non-violent in thought and word ; but so far as I can visualise the near future, it is bound to be absolutely non-violent in deed—but prepared to face baton and even machine gun charges from hostile organizations based on militarism ; ready to die but not anxious to kill."[3]

In our estimate, young men like Mr. Bose, Prof. Banerjee, Mr. J. L. Nehru, the present President of the All-India

[1] *Ibid*, p. 137.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 135.
[3] *Ibid*, pp. 133-134.

National Congress, and others will be the leaders of the future. It is rather significant that these men are now in prison and have been on many occasions. To Prof. Hull, India's struggle for freedom has a tremendous world significance; and he says :—
" The eyes of the world are upon them (Indian nationalist leaders); and not only the British, but all other peoples are wavering as regards India and other " backward " lands, between two political philosophies. The first of these was expressed by Lincoln, the Democrat, who declared : ' There is no man so wise or so honest that he can be trusted to govern another man without the other man's consent ; ' and by Gladstone, the Liberal, who asserted : ' It is liberty alone which fits man for liberty. This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds ; but it is far safer than the counter-doctrine, ' wait till they are fit.' The ' counter-doctrine ' was expressed by Curzon the Tory, who opined : ' The Resolutions of India's National Congress are like the popping and fizzing of soda-water bottles......By environment, by heritage and by up-bringing, Indians are unequal to the responsibilities of high office, (even) under British rule.'

" History's pages are awaiting the answer of India's leaders to this question, and will record impartially the story of their efforts, failures and successes. Meanwhile, they are not unmindful of Washington's and Franklin's belief, expressed in the poet's dictum :

" Treason never succeeds ; and for this reason :
If it succeeds, who dares to call it treason ?"

" The eyes of all the world are eagerly fixed on India in this political crisis. If her people and the British can solve their mutual problem by *peaceful* process, they will receive a heartfelt tribute of praise and gratitude from all the world, and will establish for posterity the greatest of historic precedents in favour of the peace-method [1] as against the war-method of settling disputes between nations."

TARAKNATH DAS

[1] *Ibid*, pp. 180-181.

HE KNOWS, HE KNOWS !

My soul abhors more than aught else on earth
A man or woman of a narrow mind!
A prudish, selfish being, who thinks nought
Of poor dumb beast, nor yet of human kind.
I look at such in wonder, as I think,
Why, surely here is Darwin's missing link!
A prating egoist, whose tongue doth clack
From morn till night on gossip, me and mine!
Ah, better live with placid cows indeed,
And chew the cud and from sweet meadows dine.
I can but wonder, did the Lord devise
Such things as these ?—and if so, was it wise ?
Or is it true that Lilith, part a snake,
Didst propagate the earth with these half men,
And coiling, hissing women who betray ?
Need of this breed the gods alone do ken!
A viper's tongue attends a narrow mind,
As by observing you will ever find.
Sweet Charity must spread her ample robe
About such creatures, who must upward trend,
As does the worm, until it finds its wings—
And Nature's ways no mortal need defend—
For surely, God the creeping things didst make,
'And with fair Eden also sent the snake!'
Our human minds are finite and poor things,
We dare not question Him of whence or why!
Whence comes the snarling, cruel beast of prey?
Whence comes the child, the maid,—why must all die?
Why gives the transient beauty to the rose?
Why life and death and love?—He knows, He knows!

TERSSA STRICKLAND

CHAUCER'S EXPERIMENTS WITH STORY SEQUENCES IN THE MONK'S TALE, THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN AND THE CANTERBURY TALES.

The Legend of Good Women is mentioned in the Man of Law's Head Link as the *The Seintes Legende of Cupyde* and in the *Retraction* as *The Book of the XXV Ladies. The Legend of Good Women* was evidently left unfinished. It consists of a *Prologue* of which there are two versions : the legends of ten ladies in nine pieces (the last unfinished); Cleopatra, Thisbe, Hypsipyle, and Medea (one piece), Lucretic, Ariadne, Philomela Phillis, and Hypermnestra. The legends, independent of the *Prologue*, consists of 2,144 verses. According to the *Prologue*, Chaucer was to write first the story of Cleopatra, and, at the end, to add a poem on Celceste, the Queen of Love. Nine extant legends follow without links.

The sources of the *Legend* are various. Ovid's *Heroides* contribute to the general conception of the work and were drawn on to a large extent for materials. Chaucer seems to have used many sources for the nine stories. He probably read up on each heroine and adopted whatever appealed to him. The spontaneous delight, ease, and grace put the *Prologue* among the most pleasing works of Chaucer. Much of its charm lies in its personal details. In it one finds out much about the poet's personal interests, his love for books, and his love for the out-of-doors. The separate stories of the ladies can hardly be compared to the separate stories of the pilgrims.

More than once Chaucer had read with avidity Ovid's *Heroides*, and, even since the *Book of the Duchess*, he had designed the plans of poems treating of ideal women. When the commission of the queen happened to give him more spare time, he immediately set to work. For the very first time in his whole

career, he had here to write a collection of tales and to produce a similar work to many others. Although Chaucer brought this piece of work under the title of a legend, it was of a secular nature. *Cupid's Legend of Saints* is the name he gives to a later poem which is known as *The Legend of Good Women.* The separate heroines are martyrs of love. Chaucer's plan consisted of the legend of twenty heroines. Cleopatra is the first on the list, and it is she who does not survive Anthony's fall. The last was supposed to be the story of Alcestis. She outshone all others. It is probable that Chaucer's plan for the choice of his other heroines, and the order in which they follow, was altered. His plan, however, was but half completed and there are only ten women in the whole nine legends. The remaining fragment is introduced by a prologue which executes the plan for the whole in a very charming manner. For the last time Chaucer makes use of an allegorical figure. He does not succeed equally well in all the tales. The impression of completeness and uniform fullness is best produced by the legend of Thisbe and the legend of Dido. In Hypsipyle and Medea, the section in which Jason gains the favour of Hypsipyle by the aid of Hercules, particularly attracts one's attention. This is a passage which depends on the free invention of the poet, and introduces a piece of delightful comic intrigue into the tragic action. This art of building up, and of supplementing a story from hints gathered before is shown in the legend of Phillis. As a whole, the earlier tales are better than the later ones. *The Legend of Good Women* was a study in a new field for Chaucer, and a style he had little cultivated. He had written only a few such tales before.

Chaucer took a great part of his material for the *Monk's Tale* from Boccaccio's work, *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium.* He took some things from *De Mulierilres Claris.* Much he borrowed from the Bible, *The Romance of the Rose,* and from his own translation of *Boethius.* He took the story of *Ugolino of Pisa* from the *Divine Comedy.* There is something of the

didactic tone in these stories ; but perhaps that was Chaucer's idea, for the arrangement of the several stories is not accidental.

The monk is interrupted in his story, for the tender-hearted knight cannot stand so much tragedy all at once. He is then told to relate a hunting tale. The monk insists that some one else should take his place. It falls to the lot of the Nun's Priest. With his story comes the introduction of the animal epic. The well-known story of the Cock and the Fox is related. The figures of Dame Partelote and Chanticleer, Sultana, and the Fox are all drawn with a true and tender hand. The locality, the surrounding, and the season are most vividly depicted.

All the various pilgrims of *The Canterbury Tales,* with all their prejudices, habits, virtues, and vices of their age, and all of them with their individual peculiarities, are put dramatically upon the scene. While each of these tales is a piece of finished art, they are all really intended, taken as a whole, to complete a picture of mediaeval life, especially of English society. On the one hand, there is the variety of the characters on the scene, and, on the other hand, the differences in style of the separate stories.

Several of these tales of Canterbury are linked together by references, backwards and forwards, in the talks on the road; in some other cases, there is no link of any kind between one tale and the next, since Chaucer left the intermediate talk to be filled in when he had written more of the sixty or more stories, which he had at once contemplated.

LOUISE A. NELSON

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF FREDERICK DELIUS.

(A notable musician of the West.)

Articles dealing with Western music are very rarely met with in the columns of Indian journals, magazines or newspapers; at least, that has been my experience up to the present time of writing this article. The gramophone has been making tremendous strides in popularity, which means, of course, that the purchasers of these instruments are able to choose their records from a catalogue that is bewildering in its extensiveness. No institution or periodical has catered for educating the average Indian in the finer elements of Western Music, consequently he is surrounded by a galaxy of stars, of which he very naturally does not understand the true value. It is my endeavour therefore to attempt to place before our readers a series of articles wherein the more interesting facts of the musical world are laid bare.

I am taking Frederick Delius as the subject for my present article because I consider him, personally, to be the most interesting musician alive to day. A Delius Festival was recently observed in London under the management of Sir Thomas Beecham the distinguished Conductor ; the Composer himself was present and received a great ovation from the assembled crowds of admirers and fellow musicians, who had come to do homage to the magnificent genius of the blind musician.

Quite recently I had the good fortune to hear a performance, at the Town Hall, Birmingham, of Frederick Delius's tone-poem "Paris," and the performance left me with lively appreciation of this great Composer's art-sense. It is only when this tone-poem is heard again and again that its hidden beauties and mysteries begin to reveal themselves to the listener. It cannot be appreciated by the casual listener, one must study the elements of the composition to really enjoy it. Now I quite realise that if I do not

explain myself as I go along this article is going to be a lot of 'double-Dutch' to many readers; so, firstly we will analyse the term 'tone-poem.' A tone-poem is an attempt to give in musical sounds what the painter gives by means of paint and canvas, and the poet and writer give by means of a formation of words. Thus the tone-poem "Paris" of which I have spoken above is an attempt on the part of Delius to give us in musical sounds a picture of Paris by night. "Is it successful," you ask. Yes, if you visualise, with the music, the throbbing pulse of a great city at night. With the aid of a gramophone one is enabled to play "Paris" over and over again until its message begins to unroll itself to the listening ear. Always remember imagination plays a great part in the music-lover's life.

The performance of this work had a rather pathetic interest in view of the fact that Delius, who is fighting a lonely battle with blindness in a peaceful old white house with blue shuttered windows at Grez-sur-Long, near Paris, was himself listening to the performance by means of wireless apparatus. Thus it was impossible to listen to "Paris" without vividly recalling that the composer, so many miles away, lay in his house, deprived of the means of savouring Nature's great loveliness, save by his ear. He is unable to write music any more and although, on the occasional visits of his musician friends, he has attempted to dictate a new composition to them, his endeavours have nearly always failed. Listening to music on the wireless and receiving visits from brother musicians of other lands, are the only joys remaining to cheer this life that was darkened so tragically nearly six years ago.

Delius is of Dutch descent, and he was born in Bradford, in the year 1863. He went to live in Grez-sur-Long, between Paris and Lyons, nearly thirty years ago. When he was about twenty years of age he lived for a time in Florida on a plantation owned by his father. From here he drifted into the United States of America, where he taught music for a time, prior to his leaving and sailing for Germany to study music in earnest.

Whilst in Germany Delius had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Edvard Grieg, the eminent Swedish composer, a friendship that developed through the years into an association that is difficult to aptly describe ; it is sufficient to record here that this friendship gave Delius's music a distinct bias toward Scandinavian elements when in the course of composition.

"Paris" has called forth much criticism and comment from the world of music but although it is an early work—and rather extreme in construction, it is fully characteristic of the composer, and is, by general consent, considered to be one of his best works. When we pause to consider the great depths that he has plumbed in writing "Paris" we begin to realise that this composition is one of the best of its kind in the musical world, being made all the more interesting and realistic by reason of his judicious use of orchestration. All the resources of a large orchestra are employed to produce this tone-picture and one remains fascinated by the richness of colour and harmony disclosed throughout the entire composition.

Delius has, on more than one occasion, been accused of fumbling dreamily along in his own way—disregarding the fundamental rules of music, and "hitting on felicities by a kind of happy accident" as one English critic once observed. The music of Delius then is generally regarded as something formless and weak, a something that has no definite scheme to fulfil in the great organisation of musical art. But, of course, that is a mistake, a very bad mistake, and just for that terrible injustice we owe Delius a heart-felt apology. For Delius has wit, and a delicate humour, he has a candour that is delightfully embarrassing, and he has a musical sense, or sympathy, that is second to none in the world of musical art. He is, in common with others, not entirely faultless in his style, but then again his music is admittedly individual in style, and is clumsy and faulty when judged by canons that do not apply to it. So although his music may be a little dull to some, others seek

those stronger and deeper qualities that more than amply compensate for loss in other directions.

Delius did not spring into fame—nor did he spare any pains when engaged upon a work; the probability is that he should have been recognised as a genius long before he actually was. None realised this more than Delius himself and as he was a journalist as well we find him writing of this in an article that propounded the simple truths of labour and its achievements in art :—

"Genius is not a mushroom growth. Inspiration does not come without hard work any more than a crop of corn. There is no short cut to glory. No great work has ever come into the world save as the fruits of years of earnest, unremitting endeavour on the part of its creator," etc. Delius has been known to spend as long as ten years over a single composition. He has several times re-cast a composition long after it was supposedly finished.

In ambition he aspired to the lofty heights of Beethoven, Bach, Schubert, and others of that ilk. Such an ambition is magnificent. From the very beginning Delius seems to have striven to apprehend the mysteries of the human soul and to express his understanding of these mysteries in music.

In 1899, Delius gave a Concert of his works in London, and later on, in 1907, Sir Thomas Beecham began to perform his works freely up and down the country, so that some of the fame accorded to Delius in Germany, was also accorded to him in England. The actual amount of Delius's work would appear to be considerable, but it is difficult to account for most of it as much was published abroad. I give the following list of compositions as a guide to those of his works that are better known to us :—

"Over the Hills and Far Away" (1895); the "Apalachia" orchestral variations (1902); the piano concerto (1908); "Mass of Life" (1905); "Paris" the great tone-poem (1899); "The Village Romeo and Juliet," an opera (1901); "Sea-Drift," a

cantata from Walt Whitman (1903) ; " Brigg Fair," an orchestral rhapsody (1907) ; " The Dance Rhapsodies " for full orchestra (1908 & 1916) ; " North Country Sketches " for orchestra (1914 & 1916) ; a violin concerto (1916) ; a double concerto, for violin and cello (1916) ; the cello concerto (1916) ; the music for Fleckers 'Hassan' (1920); a cello concerto (1921) besides a number of songs, choral pieces, and compositions for a small orchestra.

LELAND J. BERRY

MY MOTHER

Pale silver frames
  The saintly face
And Beauty claims
  The charm and grace
Of my Mother!
Soft hazel eyes
  Goodly and kind
Therein lies
  The purity of mind
Of my Mother!
Like a perfect rose
  In a silver vase
Is the beauty I see
  In the sweet face
Of my Mother!

CHERRY JALASS

PROSE OR POETRY ?

There is an endless controversy raging at the present time concerning the respective merits and de-merits of poetry. The old idea of regarding poetry as the inane writing of a half-wit has gone for ever ; on all sides it is respectfully acknowledged as a great literary power, and educational factor. I am well aware that on many occasions it has been claimed that we could dispense with poetry but not with prose. I am willing to admit that it would indeed be difficult to proceed in any direction without the aid of prose, but surely poetry, in its own sphere, is equally as important.

The principles of poetry are eternal. Baudelaire once stated " poetry is akin to music through a prosody whose roots plunge deeper into the human soul than any classical theory indicates." Poetry is a divine combination of Life, Love and Music.

It is with great pleasure that I note the great interest India is beginning to take in poetry ; there is a bigger demand for it to-day than ever before. India could not possibly do better than encourage the study of poetry, both for education and recreation, for it covers vast fields in its stride and can safely be reckoned upon as one of the greatest forces in the literary world. In some respects it is an even greater force than prose inasmuch as it touches the most intimate characteristics of life in a most delicately direct manner.

Please do not run away with the idea that I have no use for prose whatever. I have plenty of uses for it ! But I cannot stand idly by whilst its lovely sister art of poetry is assaulted without wielding my pen in its defence ! Poetry has done so much for me, surely I can do a little for poetry ! I have spent many happy and profitable hours in reading prose, and I hope to spend very many more, but I must admit that I spend most of my time in seeking the reading that will yield me recreation

among the books of the great poets. It is for such as I and those of you who have the welfare of Indian Education at heart to help to give poetry that prominent position in the Indian literary world that it so richly deserves. In the West we have profited by the study and uses of poetry in our schools and colleges. Why should the Eastern countries neglect such a rich fount of learning ?

There is, of course, both good and bad poetry, as there is good and bad prose ; it is for you to choose your own particular type from the tremendous selection placed at your disposal, but choose it carefully ! Personally I read the poems of such men as Robert Browning, Walter de la Mare, Longfellow, Robert Burns, etc., who are but a few of the many who may be profitably read by all.

Poetry nearly always contains a moral or a beautiful thought for its basis which is impressed upon our minds more readily than if it had been similarly conveyed in the ordinary prose style, due in all probability to the gentle rhythm of the poem or, as it is. in some cases, to its delightful brevity of style when it combines all the essentials of good writing. Time and time again I have found myself repeating the lines of a poem that has impressed me unconsciously. And how often, too, we find instances of grown-up men and women able to repeat at length poems that they learnt at school perhaps twenty, thirty or even forty years ago ! It would be practically impossible to so easily memorise prose over such a long period, thus displaying the powers of poetry as an educational factor.

As I have said above, I freely admit the claims of prose, but at the same time I feel that poetry has an equal right to a wider popularity among people of all classes. Almost every periodical that is published to-day has some poetry in its columns as a delightful break from the monotony of prose. Poetry has, or should have, the advantage of being quickly and profitably read. No, prose has many good points, but I don't think that we could do without poetry altogether.

LELAND J. BERRY

A NEW OUTLOOK ON EDUCATION[1]

Fortunately for mankind, a new day—a day in which the individual child is coming into his own, is dawning in the educational world. The New Educators have faced childhood with a clean slate. The old school concerns itself more with the subject-matter than with the child; while the new school focusses its attention on the child. In the formal schools "children are treated as though they are all alike. They are crammed with dry facts. The inability to see their interests and desires, the inability to see their differences in mind and temperament, results in an effort to push them in herds and droves from one grade of the school to another. Sometimes they actually leave school less confident, less joyous, less able to think independently and meet successfully the problems of life, than if they had not gone at all." Such is the case in our country to-day; and why? Because most people are ignorant of education as a science, and they are concerned more with examination passes than with real education. They have a blind regard for the past and particularly for the way in which they themselves were educated. They forget the fact that the last word on education has not been said. Even veteran educationists speak in disparaging terms of those who have seen the new light. These wiseacres say, "they are cranks"; "that is an American fad"; and so on. The advocates of the old school should remember that the various systems and methods that exist to-day all the world over, are legacies left by men who were similarly looked upon as cranks in their own day. In this ever-changing world nothing can be stationary. Our educational system needs change at times; so also our outlook. We must not rest content

[1] The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to the New Era, New Schools in the Old World and Anthroposophical publications, all of which he has freely used.

with our old-world ideas of education : we should look around and follow a policy of eclecticism, combining all that is best in the old and the new.

If we turn our eyes to the New Schools of Europe and America, we see that freedom is the dominant feature of them all. Freedom has become a slogan of the New Education. But people are apt to confuse freedom or liberty with license. They think of it as freedom to do wrong or to do nothing. By liberty we mean the liberty to do right.

In the New World Miss Hellen Parkhurst is a pioneer in the field of education who has sought to liberate the child from the shackles of time-table and old class-room methods. She has started a school, which has well-organised laboratories with expert teachers in each subject. The term "teachers" may be considered a misnomer, because there is the maximum of learning with the minimum of teaching. Contracts are made, as it were, between the child and the instructor for a certain piece of work. The child is allowed to work at his own pace and in his own way. His progress is recorded in graphs. This method develops in the child the power of taking initiative and a sense of responsibility. It fosters also his desire to learn and know more. The teacher, instead of attacking the children, is himself being continually attacked by most of them, barring a few slackers. Dalton Plan, as Miss Parkhurst's method has come to be called, is now too well-known to need any elaborate treatment. It is a triumph for her system that the principles underlying it have influenced many educators in the West and the East as well.

The schools at Winnetka, a suburb of Chicago on the shores of Lake Michigan, aim at modifying the curriculum in order to make a greater adaptation to the individual than is usual and to provide more time for socialised and self-expressive activities. Children learn the common essentials and have group and creative activities. They use self-instructive and self-corrective materials. Each individual child progresses from one unit of

work to another, never leaving a unit until it is mastered. They need not be held back by the slower pupils of the class. The teacher moves about among the children—a helper eagerly sought after rather than a task-master to be evaded. A noticeable feature of the Winnetka Schools is that self-government is very well organised in them. The curriculum is subjected to continual examination, and changes are made, when necessary. The schools owe much to Superintendent Washburne who is a fair-minded and zealous educationist.

Perhaps most people do not know that the Columbia University has the biggest teachers' training college in the world. The school attached to it—called the Lincoln School—is also a big one, having sixty-seven members on the staff. The members are all actuated by a common purpose, that is, to find out something about education that will be sound and useful. The school has set itself to the task of re-making the curriculum ; and it has already achieved something. There is throughout the institution no printed course of study, no hard-and-fast syllabus for the work of year or month or day, no final and unalterable order of events. "The Lincoln School is neither the fulfilment nor the fulfiller of any one doctrine, theory or method of education. * * It does recognise the worth of activity in the class-room ; it does set great store on the particular values of individual development in social situations ; it does believe that thinking is a greater end than mastery of form, and creativeness than imitation; and it does try to get children to learn without distress."

The Old World is also astir. Great Britain has caught a glimpse of the new light, and she has started some pioneer schools. Frensham Heights near Farnham, Surrey, England, is a school of the new type. Preparing youth for life as it really is—this is the ideal that has inspired its founders. The organisers believe that the school must develop spontaneously from within. The Dalton Plan, modified to some extent, has been adopted for the present. Wide choice of work is given in each subject, and importance is attached to original work. The

school is self-governing ;—it is governed by a council of the students and the staff. The life children lead here is as simple as possible. Under the plan of individual time-tables and work and no arbitrary punishment, it was possible for any student of the school to slack almost as much as he or she liked ; but the children themselves say that no one ever did it for a long time. They found that it did not really pay and that the slackers were looked down upon by the rest. " The whole atmosphere of Frensham is one of friendliness and work ; teachers and children are friends." This sounds like educational heresy in our country.

The Marlborough Infants' School in Chelsea, a congested part of London, next attracts our attention. Here Miss Mackinder has hit upon a means by which individual work can be done with large classes. Here resourcefulness in developing self-instructive and self-corrective materials opens new vistas for individual instruction. "On entering a class-room in this school one feels immediately a breath of freedom, a stir of activity and intense interest." Two hours are spent on individual work daily. The teacher is not bothered about discipline, because each child is too busy to get into mischief. Such materials as Miss Mackinder has developed foster the working spirit and the desire to learn.

Decroly's work in Belgium deserves more than a passing notice.. " Education for Decroly is a development of the child's initiative, his imagination, his ability to observe keenly, to work concentratedly and to co-operate with others." The child's environment is made as rich as possible. Set off against this, there is a definite topic or centre of interest for his work. Children are divided into groups of fifteen. Each member of the group contributes to the central theme, and the members have group discussions of a lively nature. Every individual has to investigate, prepare a report and read it out to the group every week. The training involved in this is admirable. Decroly's influence is an influence," as an

American educationist has put it, "away from the factory methods of grinding out children all alike, and towards the ideal—the full development of each individual child."

The Hamburg experimental schools give a rude shock to the feelings of the orthodox educationist. "Schools with no programme, no course of study, no grades, no examinations, no rules, no punishments—with their whole work centred on the development of each child's soul from within—these are the public experimental schools of Hamburg." The Hamburg educators use their schools not as places for training and instruction but as places where the life energies of the children may be liberated and where they may grow to their fullness in freedom. The freedom allowed to their children is also allowed to their teachers. They do not wish to formalise and deaden their ideas by making a method or general theory. To use their own words, "Our schools are not a completed system. They are a growing and living and changing idea." These schools are quite in keeping with the state of flux that post-war German society is in. The children are probably less advanced in their knowledge of different subjects than those of schools of the old type, but they are more natural and more self-reliant. To some the Hamburg experiment may appear as an extreme swing of the pendulum—one of many swings in the perpetual see-saw of progress. It is, no doubt, the first complete educational revolution in history.

Dr. Rudolf Steiner's Waldorf School at Stuttgart has a peculiarity all its own in that it holds out a message of hope to mankind by bringing spiritual development within the reach of each individual child. There is no application of a particular system, no text-books are used, the knowledge is transmitted as a living thing from the teacher to the class, the very essence being the fellowship and spirituality between the teacher and the taught. The subjects taught in this school are many, but the most prominent thing is the variety of channels along which the artistic faculties of the child may flow. One of these

channels is Eurhythmy, which may be defined as "making visible the impulses perceived to underlie language, poetry, song, melody,—making them visible in rhythmic movements, to the accompaniment of music or recitation." In the Waldorf School one finds an application of the principles of Anthroposophy, which pursues its spiritual search—not by adherence to ancient traditions nor by experimenting on external 'psychic' phenomena—but by training the faculties of pure and direct spiritual perception that are latent in the human soul.

The Humanitarian School situated near Amsterdam in a village called Laren, is a practical expression of the hankering of the human soul for peace after the bloodshed and carnage of the last European War. It is a school which believes wholeheartedly in universal brotherhood and peace. An evidence of this is furnished by the fact that a member of the staff suffered a term of imprisonment during the war, because he objected to it. "The school tries to inculcate its ideas in the children, not by direct moral instruction but by the attitude of the teachers and through the type of emphasis placed in the teaching of history, geography and literature. The teachers try to make their own lives, both in and out of school, an example of the ideals they wish their pupils to hold." Though this school is looked down upon as a school of cranks and faddists, the starting of such an institution is a move in the right direction.

All honour to those who, away from the din and bustle of modern life, have set about solving in their own way the eternal problem—the problem of the child. It is, however, too early to predict what these educational experiments will lead to. But it is a folly to dismiss all these as mad men's projects. We should follow, with interest and insight, the onward march of education and then pause to think. The difficulties in the matter of educational advance in India are many. "New Education can go no further until the teeth are extracted from the twin dragons of examinations and

curriculum "; and to these may be added other dragons, namely, the conservatism of the people, ignorance and indifference of parents, the medium of a foreign language, the sad plight of teachers, paucity of funds and perhaps a narrow outlook on life. Let us hope for brighter days when some experimental schools will be started in our country with state-aid and public benefactions.

BHUPENDRA NATH SARKAR

LOVE UNCOURTED

I.

Heart-rotten fruits and sand-souled sweets
  Be-muse, be-sight, be-lash, the taste ;
The crack-concealing cup of life
  To eye sweet charm, to touch sore waste.
Oh ! shop-man, broth'r unshop thy shop
  Thy dealings fruitless. Let them stop.

II.

Fair woman's love, a charming guile
  She loves thy form and loves thy life
The love of men a shadow's shine—
  A mask to hide poor palsied strife.
Now, love, sweet Love the endless bliss
  She makes all one by touchless kiss.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS

Tests of Progress.

III. Now with regard to the question as to wherein progress consists, it may be observed that, according to general Hindu belief, the progress of man consists in his self-realisation and the progressive society is that order of collective existence which affords sufficient scope for the self-realisation of its individual members.

I am aware that self-realisation is one of those oft-used catchwords which are fascinating on account of their veiled vagueness of connotation. For all that is grand in the modern Hindu utterance the source of inspiration is the Upanishad which teaches in its sweet voice that the true seer or progressive man is he who finds himself in all states of existence, in all species of life, in all classes of men and in all forms of activities.

If self-realisation means just the finding of one's likenesses in others in increasing degrees, I am afraid that it cannot be held out as a thoroughly reliable test of progress because of its inadequacy and one-sidedness. I discover myself in the sun, the moon, the stars, the elements, all species of life, all classes of men, all grades of society, all states of existence, all forms of activities, all modes of expression. I become absolute myself, the infinite being, self-bound, self-determined, there being nothing outside me to determine my limit.[1]

I find the likeness of my Gitā in the Bible, in the Quoran, in the Avesta, and in all that is known as a Holy Book, but I care neither to ascertain whether the Christian finds the

[1] *Cf.* Avadhūta Upanishad, 27-32, for the typical utterance of the self-complacent man who has become the infinite being according to his own conviction :

Dhanyo'haṃ dhanyo'haṃ nityaṃ Svātmānam añjasā vedmi |
Dhanyo'haṃ dhanyo'haṃ brahmānando vibhāti me spashṭaṃ ||
* * * *
Dhanyo'haṃ dhanyo'haṃ dhanyo dhhanyaḥ punaḥ punar dhanyaḥ ||

likeness of his Bible or the Muhammadan the likeness of his Quoran in the Gitā, nor to mark out, criticise and appreciate the unlikeness of the Gitā in other Holy Books. The inevitable result of this is that by the adoption of the policy of the leviathan (*mātsya-nyāya*) my Gitā swallows up all the Holy Books of the world; and that I read the Gitā, the Gitā alone, even when I actually read the Bible or Al Quoran. If I admire another man's son simply with regard to those features in respect of which he appears to resemble my son, in admiring another man's son I really admire my own.

We have seen enough in this country of this one-sidedness, absolutism or crystal vision. The emergence of one into such an idea about oneself is possible where the claims of intuition or acclaimed higher experience pass unchecked, and I would say, inevitable where imagination is allowed to run riot,[1] thought is a foregone conclusion[2] and the aim of life is to fulfil it by being a theatrical self in all matters.[3]

It will be worth while to examine if the matter improves anyway when the test of progress is stated in terms of the Gitā, the Hindu Book of the Divine Song, which proclaims by blowing the awe-inspiring conch-shell that the true devotee or progressive man is he who in increasing degrees finds the Divine element everywhere and perceives the best intentions of God and His noble works of creation in all things and all forms and expressions.

[1] Here allusions are to the deep-rooted belief of the people of this country in the fanciful stories of creation, supernaturalism and miracles.

[2] In the Mūlapariyāya Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya, the Buddha has been represented as discussing "Who am I? "What am I "Where have I come from?" and "Whither am I going?" which are generally believed in this country to be the ultimate questions, cannot be regarded as problems of philosophy for the simple reason that the answer is already suggested in the question.

[3] The *Avadhūta* or perfectly Pure One represents, according to the Upanishads, the final stage of self-realisation. In the opinion of one of the Upanishads, the *Avadhūta* is the most skilled actor (*naṭa*), and in the opinion of another Upanishad (namely, the Avadhūta), he is the great performer, the great practitioner, whose actions are all artistic and awe-striking (*mahāmakho, mahāyogaḥ kritenam etach chitram karma*).

It will be apparent even to a superficial examination that what the Gitā proclaims in a loud voice is nothing in effect but a reiteration of the Upanishad ideal of self-realisation, the cult of the Absolute. The brighter aspect of it is that it takes cognizance of this fact that what I do, what you do and what others do, willy-nilly we endeavour in different ways, according to our best capacities and opportunities, to carry out, fulfil and manifest the best intentions of the Supreme Being and the best creation of the Maker. But the upshot of the entire teaching tends to suggest that each of us should be left in his own place to work out his own destiny and should not be made to brook any interference from others. The dictated wisdom is the policy of non-intervention in the Divine business of each individual of finishing himself as the best possible expression of the art of creation.

This is not, however, to say that the Hindu doctrine of self-realisation is without its great significance in truth and its peculiar grandeur in the affairs of men. Without losing sight of it, the tests of progress may, perhaps, be laid down in a more determinate, intelligible, comprehensive and accurate form in the following manner:—

1. Progress consists in the increasing capacity to devise and the increasing preparedness to give effect to those methods of training of men which will enable them more and more not only to discover their likenesses or points of agreement but also to mark out, criticise, appreciate and profit by their unlikenesses or points of disagreement in others.

2. It consists in the increasing preparedness and possibility of men for the attainment of those forms of development—physical, economic, social, political, moral, intellectual, spiritual and artistic—which will more and more compel others who come in contact not only to find in them the striking expressions of themselves but also to note, appreciate and profit by the unlikeness.

3. It consists also in the increasing capacity of men to formulate and the increasing readiness to earnestly and effectively

try those manifold ways of articulation of human powers, thoughts, arts and institutions which will more and more persuade others who come in contact not only to detect the notable analogies of their own powers, thoughts and the rest but also to discern, appreciate and profit by the distinctive features.

To apply these tests of progress to certain concrete cases: if a physically or morally or intellectually or spiritually strong man cannot discover his likeness in me and finds only his unlikeness just to deprecate it, his defective observation or understanding is as much to blame as the defect in my own form of development. The same remark applies equally well to cases where one finds one's likeness in me but fails to notice and appreciate one's unlikeness. If the West says that it cannot discover its nature in the East, and consequently the East is wholly unlike it, and the East, too, confesses that it cannot find its unlikeness in the West, and consequently the West is wholly like it, the inference, according to these tests, must necessarily be that there is defect either in the method of training, or in the form of development, or in the way of articulation as regards both the West and the East. That the West is West and the East is East, and they shall never meet is but a naive expression of the bias and prejudice of a most primitive character. It is impossible in the nature of actuality that one cannot find in some respects one's likeness and in some respects one's unlikeness in another. If one man excels the other in the strength of his muscles to withstand the attack of the lion, the other man may excel him in the strength of endurance of his organism to withstand the attack of the typhoid.

The absurdity of the absolute claim of unlikeness or of likeness may be exposed thus: to remain wholly unlike is to stand in the relation of the victim and the victimiser, which is to say, to be guilty of the tragedy of terrors, and to remain wholly like is to step into the shoes of one another, which is to say, to be guilty of the comedy of errors. From the position here taken up, it will follow that as, on the one hand, the

felicity of complete likeness is self-hypnotism, so, on the other hand, the talk of total unlikeness is obstinate dogmatism.

In the proposed tests of progress to find one's likenesses in others is to ascertain how far and in how many ways the points of agreement may possibly be increased so as to widen the common ground of life and its various pursuits, how far one may possibly accommodate others without feeling inconvenience and apprehending danger, that is to say, how far mankind themselves, or even mankind and other species, may possibly be consistent with one another as regards the diverse methods of training, forms of development and ways of articulation.

To mark out and criticise one's unlikenesses in others is to ascertain the points in which one cannot .possibly and reasonably be reconciled, and must, therefore, remain inconsistent with others so long as the ground of reconciliation in respect of those points is not somehow or other discovered.

And to mark out and appreciate one's unlikenesses in others is to ascertain how far mankind may earnestly endeavour to realise their possibilities not being inconsistent in relation to themselves, and even in relation to the rest of life and things.

Not to be mutually inconsistent is to be in the true sense individuals, one acting as complement to another. To remain mutually inconsistent is to pass as truly specific, territorial, national, communal or parochial, either to be shunned or attacked by one another. And to be mutually consistent is to appear as truly universals for the fulfilment of the common mission of life. Thus, according to the suggested tests, to progress is at once to individualise, specify and universalise the diverse methods of training, forms of development and ways of articulation, the last two processes being necessary auxiliaries to the first. But for further elucidation of this point one has to discuss the next question concerning the conditions of progress.

(*To be continued.*

BENIMADHAB BARUA

DAPHNI'S DREAMING

Give to me your hand, Love,
Gaze into mine eyes,
Send my dream-thoughts flying
Thro' the azure skies.
Set thy tresses flowing
O'er my breast and arms,
Drug me with thy fragrance,
Bind me with thy charms.
Lip to lip caress me,
In a sweet embrace,
Laugh and plunge together
In passions' breathless race.
Languishing, enthralling,
Love divine and whole!
Kiss and let the dreams free
Flooding my great soul.
Hush! the tender music
Of the nightingale,
Draws the dusk of evening
Over hill and dale.
I would we were alone, Love,
No one near to pry,
Only trees for neighbours,
Quiet earth and sky.
We would live our dreams then
Wafting souls above,
I—a King of Bacchus,
Thou—a Queen of Love!
Weaving crowns of roses
Seeking joy and mirth,

Leaving song-sweet echoes
Round about the earth
But O! what use is dreaming ?
All is as before,
Only after death, Love,
Shall dreams be dreams no more!

LELAND J. BERRY

POSSESSIONS

I have a heart and a soul,
I have a faith that is whole,
I have a love that is loyal and true
I have a trust and I pledge it to you
I have a joy that will live,
I have a passion to strive,
I have a prayer that is pure, fresh, and sweet,
I have a smile that is eager to greet.
I have a path that is bright,
I have a share of delight,
I have all I could wish of dear God above
But O! 'twould be nothing without you My Love!

LELAND J. BERRY

MANIPULATION AND ANTIQUITY OF JĀTAKAS

The verses constituting the Jātaka proper, the story contained in them and narrated in prose was called 'Vatthu'[1] or 'Atthuppatti'[2] while its 'Vitthāra' or expansion was in the shape of either the identification of the past characters with the present ones[3] or an extra moral made suitable for the occasion.[4] The special denomination of the portion dealing with identification was 'samodhāna' which meant proper grasping or understanding in a particular light[5] being thus equivalant to the Sanskrit word 'Samavadhāraṇaṁ' from the root √dhā meaning 'to carry 'or 'to understand.'

The narrative part or the prose portion was again subject to variation not only under different or same titles in different schools (*cf.*, Nalini Jātaka in 'Mahāvastu' and in 'Jātaka Atthakathā') but also under the same title and in the same school.[6]

The original Jātaka book was thus an anthology of these Jātaka verses with stories remaining for the most part implicit and no titles to distinguish them ('Original Nature of Jātakas,' C. R., Jan. 1930).

The proposition which naturally presents itself in this connection, is whether the Jātakas as such might not be looked upon as pre-Buddhistic with occasional Buddhistic colourings given to the collection when forming a part of the Buddhist Canon.

The opinion in favour of assigning to the 'Jātakas' a purely Buddhistic origin seems to be based on the assumption

(Dh. A, Vol. IV, p. 83,)
(Dh. A, Vol. I, P. II, p. 285.)
(Dh. A, Vol. II, p. 106.)
(Dh. A, Vol. II, p. 156.)
(Dh. A, Vol. IV, p. 89.)
(Suva Jataka, note Dh. A, Vol. I, P. II, p. 285.)

that they originated some time after the compilation of the first four Nikāyas, *viz.*, the Digha, the Majjhima, the Saññutta and the Aṅguttara in which some of them are found only as moral stories without any reference to the Bodhisatta. Prof. Dr. Winternitz while discussing their origin in the 'Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics,' Vol. VII, p. 491, writes: "It was thus only necessary to identify the hero of any character of a story with the Bodhisatta in order to turn any tale however secular or even frivolous into a Jātaka.". Then, as to its date he says 'some of the stories which were afterwards turned into Jātakas are told in the Suttas as simple tales without any reference to the Bodhisatta.' In other words, the conception of Jātakas is not only entirely Buddhistic but is even posterior to the Suttas or Suttantas of the first four Nikāyas which themselves form a collection to which a date is assigned much later than the Buddha himself. After their composition the Jātakas as a separate book were incorporated with the Khuddaka Nikāya in the Pali Canon.

This is a very important point in the whole question and all the more so because the word 'Jātaka' is conspicuously absent in the early Nikāyas referred to above in connection with all the stories which recur as Jātakas in the Jātaka book. The word Jātaka occurs once in the Aṅguttara Nikāya only in connection with the nine-fold divisions of the doctrine of the Master. (Rhys Davids'' Buddhist-Birth stories.) But as a matter of fact, even the stories of Suttantas which are associated with the past lives of Gotama Buddha' are not called Jātakas though they retain all the characteristics of a 'Jātaka' in the generally accepted sense of the term. The argument raised is What was the reason of the compilers of Nikāyas for withholding the term 'Jātaka' if it was already adopted ? The reply generally given is, that with the introduction of Bodhisatta-ism every tale of the early Nikāyas or Vinaya, whether previously connected or unconnected with a past life of Gotama, came to be recognised as a past existence of the Buddha fulfilling the conditions of

Buddhahood under the special designation of a 'Jātaka,' which therefore emanating from the Suttanta literature marks the beginning of the Jātaka collections in the whole field of Buddhism. The notion therefore, that a Jātaka is a previous birth story of only Gotama Buddha while passing as a Bodhisatta, is inevitably bound up with this assertion.

We have already dealt with the subject as elaborately as possible in the two previous articles entitled 'Bhārhut Jātakas in a New Light' and 'Original Nature of Jātakas,' pointing out in no uncertain terms that the Bodhisatta idea was in no way responsible for the origin of Jātakas. For clearness' sake we shall reiterate some of the general grounds on which such an assumption that the Jātakas are a post-Nikāya collection serving as illustrations of the Bodhisatta-Pāramitā theory, was found untenable.

Our reasons may be summed up as follows :—

(1) Mention is made of 'Jātakas' in the Vinaya (Sutta-Vibhaṅga, Part I, pp. 8-9) not only in connection with the doctrine (not life) of the Buddha Gotama but also with respect to the doctrine of each of the six previous Buddhas, *viz.*, Vipassi, Sikhi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Kanagamana and Kassapa, thereby definitely proving that the conception Jātakas did not certainly arise with the Bodhisatta of Gotama Buddha but with his doctrine.

(2) Except in the 'Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā' all the Jātaka stories are not necessarily associated with the previous lives of Gotama Buddha (*vide* all the Jātakas in classes A and B of the article 'Original Nature of Jātakas'). In this respect the Jātakas behave in the same way as Avadānas which consist of stories of the previous births not only of the Teacher but also of his disciples and of other Buddhas as well.

(3) One Jātaka might encompass more than one birth-story. As a matter of fact, the 'Sāketa Jātaka' No. 68 of Volume I, includes an account of as many as 1,500 (wrongly called 3,000) birth-stories on the basis of a single verse.

(4) Episodes of the same birth-story, on the other hand, may be found narrated under different Jātakas (*vide* Alambhusā Jātaka No. 523, Vol. V, and Nalini Jātaka, No. 526, Vol. V; also Gāmani Jātaka No. 8, Vol. I, and Samvara Jātaka No. 462, Vol. II). It is clearly expressed in the Gāmani Jātaka thus :

"Imasmiṃ pana Jātake paccuppannavatthuñ ca atītavatthuñ ca ekādasanipāte Saṃvara Jātake āvibhavissati, vatthum hi tasmiñ ca imasmiñ ca ekasadisam eva, gāthā pana nānā."—F., Vol. I, p. 136.

It is thus clear that it was different verses and their groupings which formed different Jātakas dealing with particular episodes and not the different existences of the Bodhisatta.

(5) Jātakas are still traceable in the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā with designations after the verses as Apaṇṇaka Jātaka No. 1; Maṅgala Jātaka No. 87; Giridanta Jātaka No. 184; Kimpaka Jātaka No. 85; Dhamma Jātaka No. 57 ; Kāma Jātaka No. 467; etc. bearing less on the main topic.

(6) The idea of 'Bodhisatta' is divergent not only in the Jātakas of different schools but in the same Jātaka of different versions. Thus in the Mahāvastu and in Sanskrit Avadāna, the horned sage 'Isisiṃgiya,' who falls a victim to passion, is the hero and the Bodhisatta; whereas in the Pāli Jātaka collection, his father at whose admonition he successfully wards off the evil, is the Bodhisatta (*vide* 'Nalini Jātaka' in Mahāvastu and in Fausboll's Jātaka collection). This no doubt proves that the authors have been very free, nay frivolous, in their application of the term Bodhisatta on to the old Jātaka stories which must have been free from it.

(7) The same episode of a particular birth-story finds expression in different Jātakas which are differentiated as Mahā (big) or Culla (short) according to the kind of verse used. Thus 'Mahāsuka Jātaka' No. 429 and Cullasuka Jātaka No. 430 are but the same story represented in bigger and smaller verses respectively.

These are *the grounds which prove* most strongly that the Jātakas were originally verses and are sufficient to counteract

any inclination which may be still lingering in favour of ascribing to them at the time of their formation, a motive for depicting the Bodhisatta in different births.

Decidedly, the Suttas of the Nikāyas are not the exponents of the Bodhisatta theory which, as we have already pointed out, was incapable of standing without the twenty-four predecessors of Gotama Buddha unknown to them. Hence, there is still some possibility of the Jātakas in their non-Bodhisatta forms to have emanated from these Suttas. To determine their exact positions we shall immediately set ourselves to the discussion of the matter. A clear instance of a Suttanta founded upon a Jātaka story in so far as it is related in verse will, it is hoped, solve our problem.

Fortunately for us, the story of the Brahmin Jotipāla is found in four different works of no little importance, *viz.*, in the Aṅguttara Nikāya, in the Mahā Govinda Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya, in the Sārabhaṅga Jātaka of Jātaka collection and in the Cariyapiṭaka.

It is conceded that the Aṅguttara Nikāya in presenting the story of Jotipāla along with six other sages of similar nature in a very general way without identifying them with the Buddha, has preserved the story in a form which, if not the earliest, is much earlier than the Mahā Govinda Suttanta which identifies the sage Jotipāla with the Buddha and which must therefore be looked upon as the later development of the former.

The passage in the Aṅguttara runs thus :—

> "Sunetto Mugapakko ca Aranemi ca brāhmaṇo
> Kuddālako ahu satthā Hatthipālo ca mānavo
> Jotipālo ca Govindo ahu satta purohito.
> Ahiṃsakā atītaṃse cha satthāro yasassino
> nirāmagandhā karune vimuttā kāmasaññojanātigā
> Kāmarāgaṃ virājetvā brahmalokupagā ahu
> Ahesuṃ sāvakā tesaṃ anekānī satāni pi
> nirāmagandhā karuṇe vimuttā kāmasaññojanātigā
> Kāmarāgaṃ virājetvā brahmalokupagā ahu
>
> —(*Aṅguttara N., Part III, P.T.S.P., p. 373.*)

To all intents and purposes the above statement is far from representing the full story of how each sage especially in this case, the sage Jotipāla, happened to be in possession of sensual enjoyments of which sufficient hint is given and then renounced them giving himself up to the meditation of kindly thoughts attaining after death the Brahma-heaven.

The Jātaka, on the other hand, gives in detail the story of Jotipāla as a very successful royal archer with the title of Sarabhaṅga in full enjoyment of earthly pleasures which he renounced afterwards for the life of a hermit and has shown further, how by cultivating thoughts of compassion he became a well-known teacher of mankind showing the path to Brahmaloka to many thousand disciples who gathered round him. The Jātaka collection also contains stories of the six other teachers in more or less detailed forms.

Now, taking into consideration the fact that the details of the Jātaka story contain much that is non-Buddhistic scrupulously avoided in the Nikāya, it may be safely asserted that on these details the general observation of the Aṅguttara was formed later on.

Thus speaks the teacher Jotipāla in the Jātaka, in reply to a question of Indra anxious to learn the attributes of a truly wise man who after death passes on to Brahmaloka :

"Sevetha vaddhe nipune bahussute
    Uggāhako vā paripucchako siyā
Sunneyya sakkacca subhāsitāni
    evaṃkaro paññavā hoti macco
Sa paññavā kāmaguṇe avekkhati
    aniccato dukkhato rogato ca
evaṃvipassi pajahāti chandaṃ
    dukkhesu kāmesu mahabbhayesu
Sa vitarāgo pavineyya dosaṃ
    mettaṃ cittaṃ bhāvaye appamānaṃ
Sabbesu bhutesu nidhāya daṇḍdaṃ
    anindito Brahmaṃ upeti thānan ti.[1]

[1] Cf. Mahāvastu has—'ब्रह्मोपेति स्थानं' instead, III, p. 373

The Buddhist doctrine of 'anattaṃ' and 'nibbānaṃ' is absent in the reply which thus embodies the pre-Buddhistic notion of religion which at its best shows the way to the attainment of Brahmaloka only, falling far short of the ideal of 'Nibbāna.' The Jātaka then comes to a close without even stating in verse that the sage actually realised the Brahma-heaven after death. The Aṅguttara in summing up the details of all the stories with the observation that all of the seven 'purohitas' attained Brahmaloka after death 'Brahmalokūpagā ahu' must therefore be recognised as the record of a later date. Moreover in overlooking the lay period of their lives found stressed in the Jātakas, the Aṅguttara Nikāya further confirms our view that the vulgar element of the Jātakas was shunned as much as possible in the Nikāya literature, perhaps due to the Teacher abstaining from it himself.

"——iti vā iti evarūpāya tiracchāna-kathāya paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotamo ti."——Dīgha Nikaya, Vol. I, p. 8; and for 'tiracchānakathā, *vide* 'Brahmajālasutta' of the Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, pp. 7-8.

With reference to the moral of the stories intended by the author pointing out the retribution of those who injured the sages 'isis,' the Aṅguttara observes the following:

> "Ye te isi bāhirake vītarāge samāhite
> paduṭṭhamanasaṅkappo yo naro paribhāsati
> bahuñ ca so pasavati apuññaṃ tādiso naro
> Yo c'ekam diṭṭhisampannaṃ bhikkhuṃ Buddhassa sāvakaṃ
> paduṭṭhamanasaṅkappo yo naro paribhāsati
> ayaṃ tato bahutaram apuññam pasave naro."
> —Aṅguttara N., Part III, pp. 372-73.

The above statement though very brief is not free from the stamp of Buddhism wherein the disciples, not to speak of the Teacher, are spoken of as enjoying a position better than these sages of old. For, one injuring a follower of the Buddha commits a sin of a greater magnitude than another injuring the teachers of Brahmaloka.[1] The details of punishment meted out

to those who harmed a disciple of the sage Jotipāla and other sages of old, are given in the Jātaka as follows :

" Yathā ahū Daṇḍakī Nalikiro
atth' Ajjuno kalābu cā pi rājā
tesaṃ gatiṃ bruhi supāpakamminaṃ
katth' upapannā isinaṃ viheṭhakā ti
Kisam pi Vaccham avakiriya Daṇḍakī
ucchinnamūlo sajano saraṭṭho
Kukkulanāme nirayamhi paccati
tassa pulliṅgāni patanti kāye

Yo saññate pabbajite avañcasi
dhammaṃ bhanante samaṇe adusake
taṃ Nālikiraṃ sunakhā parattha
samgamma khādanti vipphandamānaṃ
Ath' Ajjuno niraye sattisūle
avaṃsiro patito uddhapādo
Aṅgīrasaṃ Gotamaṃ heṭhayitvā
khantiṃ tapassiṃ cirabrahmacāriṃ."

—Jātaka No. 522, Vol. V, pp. 143-44.

The non-Buddhistic names in the above Jātaka have been very sedulously kept back in the very general observation of the Aṅguttara which must have had, therefore, the Jātaka as its basis and so there cannot be the slightest doubt as to which was the predecessor of the other.

It has already been remarked that the 'Mahā Govinda Suttam' identifying the Teacher Jotipāla under the title of Mahā Govinda with the Buddha in a previous birth, is posterior to the Aṅguttara story which is itself based on the Jātaka. The Jātaka story, therefore, must be still more anterior to the Mahā Govinda Suttaṃ and this is precisely borne out by an analysis of the two. As a matter of fact, the 'Suttanta' is a further development of the Jātaka story and is practically an improvement upon the older tale both as to its ideal and the status of the Brahmin Jotipāla.

The archer Jotipāla of the Jātāka becomes a 'purohita' in the Aṅguttara and in the Suttanta ; he is a 'purohita' not only of one king but of six other kings as well.

" Atha kho Mahā Govinda Brahmano (Jotipālo) satta ca rājāno khattiye muddhāvasitte rajje anusāsi."

In addition, he also teaches seven big Brahmin families and seven hundred Brahmin disciples.

"Satta ca brāhmaṇa mahāsāle satta ca nahātakasatāni mante vācesi."

This is no inconsiderable part of his character and is certainly an improvement upon the Jātaka tale.

As to the main topic, our Suttanta takes up the thread exactly where it ends in the Jātaka with the express purpose of inculcating not only that the meditation and diffusion of 'mettā bhāvanā' (friendly thoughts) adding three others, *viz.*, mudita, karuṇā and upekhā, lead to the attainment of Brahmā heaven after death, but that the actual realisation of this state is possible in this very life without much difficulty, noting in conclusion that such realisation is, after all, far below the standard of Nībbāna.

" Yo vassike cattāro māse patisallīyati karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati manteti ti."

In conclusion the Suttanta says,

" Sarām ahaṃ Pañcasikha ahaṃ tena samayena Mahā Govindo brahmaṇo ahosiṃ. Ahaṃ tesam sāvakānaṃ Brahmaloka sahavyatāya maggaṃ desesiṃ. Tam kho pana Pañcasikha brahmacariyaṃ na nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na a bhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānāya saṃvattati yāva Brahmalokūpapattiyā."

The special object of having a separate Jotipāla story in the Mahā Govinda Suttam seems to be to give a clear definition or rather an exposition of the negative side of this attainment of Brahmaloka, featuring the aspect in a true Buddhistic spirit, wherein lies the main struggle. The Jātaka' stresses the positive side whereas our Suttanta, perfectly aware of it, dilates upon the negative side absent in the Jātaka. The Suttanta

speaks with certainty that it fully understands what is implied by abandonment of egoism (hitvā mamattaṃ), feeling oneness in solitude (meditation?) 'ekodhibhutaṃ,' and cultivation of friendly thoughts "karuṇādhimuttaṃ," but it does not precisely understand what is signified by carnality to be got rid of ('anirā magandhā,') an explanation of which next forms the chief subject matter of the text:

"Ke āmagandhā manujesu Brahme
Ete avidvā idha brūhi dhīra
Ken' āvuṭā vāti pajā kuruṭṭharū
Āpāyikā nivuta-brahmalokā ti
Kodho mosa-vajjam nikati ca dobho
Kadariyatā atimāno usuyyā
Icchā vicikicchā paraheṭhanā ca
Lobho ca doso ca mado ca moho
Etesu yuttā anirāmagandhā
Āpāyikā-nivutā Brahmalokā ti."

These were undoubtedly the later development of the concluding verses of the Jātaka having at the end:

"Sabbesu bhutesu nidhāya daṇḍam
Anindito Brahmam upeti thānan ti"

and prove with the utmost certainty that the Jātaka proper or the verses being of pre-Nikāya times served as the basis of the Suttanta Stories.

The story of Mahā Govinda in the 'Cariya Piṭaka' dwells on a particular aspect of the Suttanta story referring in only three stanzas to the huge amount of sacrifice the Brahmin made in the cause of the attainment of Bodhi. The relevant gathas are:

"Punāparam yadā homi sattarāja purohito
Pujito naradevehi Mahāgovindo brāhmaṇo
Yadāhaṃ Sattarajjesu yaṃ me āsi upāyanaṃ
Tena demi mahādānaṃ akkhobbhaṃ sāgarūpamaṃ
Na me dessaṃ dhanadhaññaṃ pi n'atthi niccayo mayi
Sabbaññutaṃ piyaṃ mayhaṃ tasmā demi varaṃ dhanaṃ."

The Cariya Pitaka thus proves among others, that while the author was depending on the Jātaka for his knowledge of the affluent condition of Mahā Govinda, he was actually looking forward to the Suttanta for his creation of the Bodhisatta ideal. The 'Cariya piṭaka' has more of the Suttanta than of the Jātaka story and is acknowledged to be a post-Nikāya work.

Similarly, it may be shown that other Suttas, or Suttantas, such as Maṅgala Sutta, Karanīyametta Sutta, Mulapariyāya Sutta, Mahā-apadāna Suttanta, Mahā Samaya Suttanta, Pāyāsi Suttanta, Agañña Suttanta, etc., have their counterparts in the Jātakas which preceded them in every case.

It may now be pertinently asked what is then the signification of the 'Suttanta Jātakas'?

According to 'Culla Niddesa' the four Suttantas which were regarded as 'Jātakas' were (1) Mahā Apadāna Sutta, (2) Mahā Sudassana Sutta, (3) Mahā Govinda Sutta, and (4) Makhādeva Sutta. Now, each of these Suttantas has a 'Paccuppanna-vatthu,' an Atītavatthu and Gāthās; and except in the first, the Samodhāna occurs in the last three, *i.e.*, the identification of the hero with the Buddha in a previous birth. If, we now accept the legendary portion or the prose narration of the gāthās, as the story of the Jātaka it will be evident that in the case of Mahāpadāna Sutta, the real Jātaka story is that of Buddha Vipassi exclusively dealt with in the Sutta which is in fact, more of the type of an Apadāna than of a Jātaka in the generally accepted sense of the terms. By calling it first an Apadāna and then a Jātaka having no identification, the author of the Niddesa certainly meant, if anything, that the term Apadāna when applied to Buddhas was originally a more refined equivalent of and preferable to 'Jātaka' which occupied its place later on. We can now logically reduce Mahā-Apadāna-Suttanta into Mahā-Jātaka-Suttanta, meaning thereby the Jātaka transformed into the Suttanta which, if allowed, will clear up all misunderstanding about the origin of Jātakas wrongly believed to have emanated from the Suttantas.

Unfortunately this cannot be said with regard to the 'Mahā Sudassana Jātaka' which is, thanks to the sincerity of the Jātaka compiler, evidently based upon the Mahā Sudassana Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya as it is clearly acknowledged in the Paccuppanna Vatthu :

> "Satthā............atitam āharanto Mahāsudassana Suttam kathesi."
> —(M. Sudassana Jātaka No. 95, Vol. I, p. 392.)

But, as it is not done in the other cases, this Jātaka must be an exception which only proves the rule. The relevant Jātaka seems to have been lost under the title of 'Sunetta' indicated by the passage quoted from the Aṅguttara Nikāya (Sunetto Mugapakkho ca, etc.). The Jātakas of the other sages are all traceable in the Jātaka collection as follows :—The Mugapakka Jātaka is No. 538, Vol. V, the 'Araka' for Aranemi is No. 169, Vol. II, the 'Kuddāla' J. is No. 70, Vol. I, the Hatthipāla J. is No. 509, Vol. IV, and the Jātaka of Govinda as the father of Jotipāla is perhaps incorporated with the Jātaka story of 'Jotipāla himself in Sarabhaṅga Jātaka. The account of all these sages given in their respective 'Jātakas' fully agree on the virtues attributed to them in the Aṅguttara.

So far we have seen that the stories in the Nikāyas when associated with a past life of the Buddha or with the life of any past Buddha underwent tremendous modification from their earlier Jātaka forms. We shall now point out that such was not the case with regard to the stories which remained as moral stories only, having no identification, in which case the 'Jātakas' are represented more or less in their original forms having in some cases the verses intact and without any modification. A few belonging to this type may be cited below :

(1) Apaṇṇaka Jātaka is Jātaka No. 1, F., Vol. I, pp. 95-106 ; it also occurs in the Payāsi Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 342-346 P.T.S.

(2) Litta Jātaka is No. 91 in F., Vol. I, pp. 379, and also occurs in the Pāyāsi Suttanta of the Digha Nikāya.

(3) Dighiti Kosala Jātaka is No. 371 in F., Vol. III, pp. 211-213. It also occurs in the Vinaya Mahāvagga, pp 342-349 (Oldenberg's edition).

(4) Tittira Jātaka is No. 37 in F., Vol. I, pp. 217-220. It also occurs in Vinaya Cullavagga, pp. 161-162 (Oldenberg's edition).

(5) Sakuṇaggi Jātaka is No. 168 in F., Vol. II, pp. 58-60, and occurs in Samyutta Nikāya, Vol. V, pp. 146-148, P.T.S.

The verse Jātakas of 'Litta' and 'Tittira' have been found intact in the Digha Nikāya and Vinaya Cullavagga respectively.

Other Jātaka tales, some with verses, occur in their original forms in the Vinaya and the Nikāyas (*vide* Buddhist Parallels translated from the original Pāli by Mr. Burlingame of Yale University) but the question arises as to what should be the designation of this type of composition having gathās with stories behind them. The answer is simple for, if we have successfully traced the growth of certain portions of Suttanta literature from these Jātakas it is quite possible that some of them would at least be found in their original forms in the Nikāya or the Vinaya literature and must be regarded as Jātaka proper. This is not all. The other view-point that these stories including the verses found in the Vinaya and in the Nikāyas, became Jātakas in a Buddhist sense later on, must be finally got rid of.

The 'Litta Jātaka' consisting of the following verse found in the 'Digha Nikāya :

Littaṃ paramena tejasā
gilam akkhaṃ puriso no bujjhati
Gila re gila pāpadhuttaka
pacchā te kaṭukaṃ bhavissatī ti

is definitely anti-Buddhistic, nay is subversive of all principles of true religion. A gambler to avenge the loss sustained by him through the trick of his rival, secretly smears the latter's dice with a deadly poison and while at play watches him to swallow it in a practice wherein lay the trick. The moment it is swallowed

the cheat succumbs and the verse is uttered as a warning to others. The act of the poison-giver is also extolled. But, in the name of humanity we ask, who commits a graver crime, the deceitful gambler or his secret assailant ? The hollowness of the Bodhisatta idea in Jātakas nowhere becomes so manifested as in this case when we learn from later Jātakas that the bigger criminal was the Bodhisatta! However, the Nikāya version having no Bodhisatta, says nothing of the kind. But, what we assert and say most emphatically is this, that the verse with the story was already a Jātaka or it was absolutely impossible for such verses as there are many of this kind, to have been incorporated with the Jātaka-collection, if these Jātakas were ever made with a Buddhistic end after the ideals were preached in the Nikāyas. The Nikāyas can never be the harbinger of the original Jātaka stories.

The difficulty in assigning a proper date to the Jātakas certainly arose out of a general tendency to mix up the prose of the Aṭṭhakathā with the verse; and owing to the prose of the Aṭṭhakathā being found to be much later than the prose of the Vinaya and of the Nikāyas (backed by the supposition that the Bodhisatta idea was responsible for the origin of Jātakas) it was almost universally accepted that the Jātakas were at least a collection of a later date though they might not have come from the Nikāya stories. This opinion, of course, does no longer hold good.

Accounts of different schools agree on the point that even before the Theravādins divided the cannon into three ' Pitakas ' there existed in the parent school, as early as the time of the First Council, the entire ' Buddhavacana' as one work with nine different types of composition of which ' Jātaka ' was one. The following occurs in the account of the First Council given in the Dīpavāṃsa :

Sattapaṇṇaguhe ramme therā pañcasatā ganī
nisinnā pavibhajjiṃsu navaṅgaṃ Satthusāsanaṃ
Suttaṃ geyyaṃ veyyākaraṇaṃ gāthudānātivuttakaṃ
jātakabbhutavedallaṃ navaṅgaṃ Satthusāsanaṃ.

The account of the Mahāyānists contains in addition to these nine types, *viz.*, sutta, geyya, veyyākarṇa, gāthā, udāna, itivuttaka, Jātaka, abbhuta, vedalla, three more, *viz.*, Avadāna, Nidāna and Upadesa.

These types of composition were the characteristics of the whole work known as the 'Agamapiṭaka.'

(Āgamapiṭakaṃ nāma akamsu suttasammatam—Dīpavaṃsa, Chapter IV.)

in which instead of being denominated individually according to their classification they were all understood by implication only. Later on, they were bodily taken over and rearranged in the Nikāyas in which it was hardly felt necessary that each type should be separately labelled according to the class it fell under. The reason why the 'veyyakaranaṃ' or the 'geyyam' was not called such in the body of the works, holds equally good in the case of why the Jātakas were not recognised as such in them. Therefore it is no argument to say that because the moral stories with their verses are not called 'Jātakas' in the Nikāyas the word was absolutely unknown to or unrecognised by their authors.

Many 'Jātakas' occur in the Mahāvastu, a major part of which is as old as the Pāli Nikāyas [1] both in prose and in verse in mixed Sanskrit' and while some of them are variants of the Pāli-Jātakas others are not found in the Pāli collection and thus prove without doubt that they existed as early as the original collection out of which both the versions arose.

We also learn from 'Mahāvastu' that even the verse Jātakas were not unchangeable rigid bodies. Both the Çarabhaṅga Jātaka and the Mahā Govinda Suttanta occur in it but, while the

[1] Nariman's History of Sanskrit Buddhism: "It (Mahāvastu) is of the greatest importance because it preserves for us many ancient traditions and old versions of texts which also occur in the Pāli canon."—Nariman's 'History of Sanskrit Buddhism.'

"The core of the Mahāvastu is old and probably was composed already two centuries before Christ although it has been expanded in the 4th century after Christ and perhaps even at a later period."—Nariman's 'Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism.'

Suttanta agrees almost *verbatim* with the Pāli version, the Jātaka with one or two more antique words differs in such a way that at a first glance it appears to be a new story altogether. Whether '**यज्ञदत्तः**' for Jotipāla or '**स्वर्गमुपेति स्थानं**' for "Brahmam upeti ṭhānaṃ' were substituted in the Mahāvastu for presenting the Jātaka as a birth-story of the Teacher different from that of Mahā Govinda found side by side or whether they were the original statements of non-Buddhistic stories which were modified in the Pāli version, we cannot definitely say. At any rate, the notion of a Jātaka in the 'Mahāvastu' of the Lokottaravādins which paved the way for Mahāyānists was not the same as in the Jātaka-collections of the Theravādins.

It seems very probable, that in Pāli, even as late as the time of Buddhaghosa about the earlier part of the 5th century A.D., the idea of the Bodhisatta's birth-stories was not applied to the Jātaka-collection as a whole, for if so done, it would surely have been referred to by him in his annotation of the term 'Jātaka' in 'Samanta Pāsādikā' a commentary on the Vinaya, in the introduction of which he simply observes :

"Apaṇṇakajātakādini pannāsādhikāni pañcaśātakasatāni Jātakam ti veditabbam."

The Jātaka verses beginning with "Apaṇṇaka," etc., which number five hundred and fifty are to be recognised as Jātakas.

Had the whole Jātaka collectiou been then regarded as the birth-stories of the Teacher, surely the fact would not have gone by default. Certainly, the Jātakas then existed as a collection of verses grouped according to their number coming under different birth-stories or simply episodes.

The 'Mahāvastu,' on the other hand, seems to interpret the word 'Jātaka' in a light, quite in keeping with the high spiritual ideas generally attributed to a 'Bhagavan' who knows the past, present and the future of all beings. In explanation of the term it has the following :

"**श्रुतधर्मधर [illegible] जिनभाषितानि इमां षष्टमां भूमीं प्रपद्यन्तीति**"
etc. (M. V., Vol. I, p. 105, Ed. by Senart)

Oh observer of the Dhutaṅgas, the Jātakas as spoken by the conqueror all relate to the eighth stage of spirituality being that of omniscience to be attained only by the Buddhas.

A knowledge of ' Jātakas ' cannot be obtained without this attainment of omniscience which belongs only to the Buddhas or Bodhisattas.

In the Bhāgavatgītā Bhagavān Srikrishna speaks in the same strain to Arjuna :

बहूनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि तव चार्जुन।
तान्यहं वेद सर्व्वाणि न त्वं वेत्थ परन्तप॥ (4th Chap. No. 5.)

" Oh Parantapa, many have been the lives lived by you and me in the past :
I know them all, but you do not."

Therefore, it does not follow that the Jātakas which are evidently taken in the sense of ' जन्म ' or birth-stories in the Mahāvastu are necessarily the anterior births of the Buddha, *i.e.*, their narrator. As a matter of fact, Uruvelakāçyapādikāçyapānaṃ Jātaka, Āñākonḍinna Jātaka and Yaçoda Jātaka, as found in the work, have no reference whatsoever to any previous birth of the Teacher, though as stories of the past of his disciples they are all called ' Jātakas being put into his mouth. (Part III, pp. 434, 394 and 415 respectively.) The other Jātakas of which more than 50 per cent. are variants of Pali, terminate with the note put into the mouth of the Buddha, that in each case the herc was the Buddha in a previous birth and not any other person however different the appellation might be :

" स्यात् खलु पुनः भिक्षवो युष्माकमेवं अन्यो सो तेन कालेन तेन समयेन ... ... नाम अभूषि। न खल्वेवं द्रष्टव्यं। तत्कस्य हेतोः। अहं सो भिक्षवः तेन कालेन तेन समयेन ... ... नाम अभूषि।"

This note is in agreement with the same observed at the end of the Jātaka Suttantas found in the Pāli Nikāyas having the following :

" Siyā kho pana te Ānanda evaṃ assa "Añño nūna tena samayena rājā * * * ahosīti. Na kho pana Ānanda evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ. Ahaṃ tena samayena rājā * * ahosi ti."

The above notes in conjunction with the general observation

made in the Nikāyas that in all his previous existences the Blessed One was a sage ("yāva dīgharattaṃ paññavā so Bhagavā") naturally lead one to believe that, in the absence of the Bodhisatta-Pāramitā theory, the notion of the Jātakas attributed to the Buddha at their earliest stage, arose out of the incarnation theory of Bhagavatism. Even in the Mahāvastu, only such 'Jātakas' as contain very high morals, have been recognised as Jātakas of the Buddha or Bhagavā.[1]

The 'Saddharma-puṇḍarika' a work belonging to the Mahāyāna School though much later, observes as follows:

"The Buddha knowing the differences in faculties and energy of his numerous hearers, preaches in many different ways, tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings become not only pleased with the law in this present life, but also will reach happy states after death."

It also says,

"The Buddha teaches both sutras and stanzas and by legends and Jātakas."

The labels of Bhārhut Jātakas prove by their titles, as we have already shown, that they were stories or fables under verses with special Buddhistic morals acknowledging the Buddha in a Bhagavatic sense.[2]

The following observation of R. Otto Franke in W.Z.K.M., XX (1006), 318, will further point to the pre-Buddhistic origin of Jātakas: "The bulk of Jātaka-gāthās is the work of many chiefly non-Buddhist authors, though one editor or compiler (not author) may, in recasting the whole, have altered and even added verses here and there."

[1] "The spirit of the Purāṇas is also breathed by the Jātaka"—Nariman's History of Sanskrit Buddhism, 'Note on Mahawastu,' p. 16.

"In this section (1. 168 ff.) has been interpolated (?) a Buddhānusmṛiti that is a hymn to the Buddha who in no way is here different from Vishnu or Shiva in the 'stotras' of the Purāṇas."—*Ibid*, 'Note on Mahāvastu.'

"Bodhisatta is not generated by father and mother but springs directly from his own properties."—*Ibid*, p. 17. 'Note on Mahāvastu.'

[2] "It is on this phase of belief that the Indian doctrine of incarnation seems to have been based, the doctrine which is characteristically Bhagavatic. And it is precisely in this Bhagavatic sense that the expression 'Ukranti' seems to have been used in the Barhut label and the Jataka texts quoted above from the Buddhist literature."

—Barua and Sinha, "Barhut Inscriptions," p. 58.

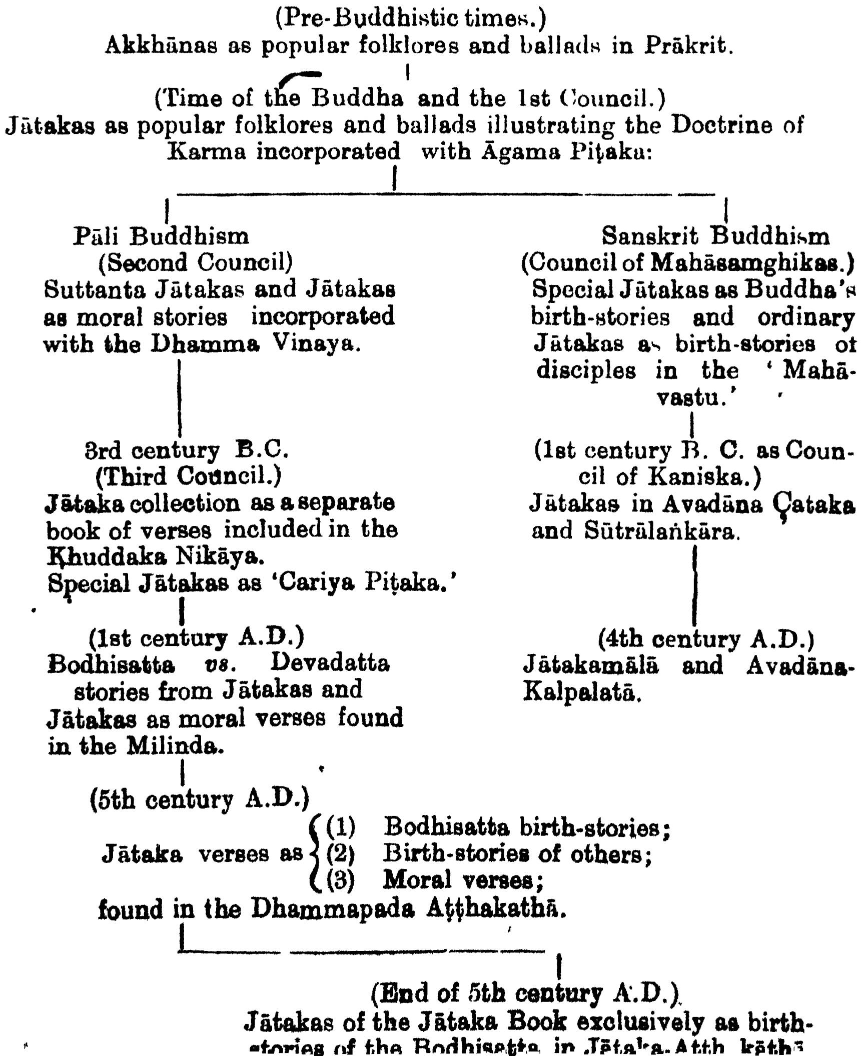
In fact, whatever might have been their shape afterwards the verse-Jātakās can be traced back to the time of the very Buddha if not earlier still.

With his mighty genius the great Teacher of mankind adopted many current terms of his day, but when using them changed their ordinary mode of application into a special one suiting the new standpoint of his Ārya Sanātana Dharma.[1] The verses of the Jātaka types undoubtedly existed before his time as also the word 'Jātaka' though we cannot definitely say in what sense it was used; but, there cannot be the slightest hesitation in asserting that, either due to the efforts of the Buddha or to his immediate disciples the term 'Jātaka' came to mean not only moral stories but stories of the past told in illustration of the Doctrine of Karma as applied to its particular recipients. Sooner or later they came to be associated with him first in a Bhagavatic sense with considerable modifications in the Pāli Suttantas and only in selected Jātakas in the Mahāvastu. The representation of the great Teacher in special Jātakas went on being also copied by other schools till after Buddhaghosa, about the end of the 5th century A.D., the whole of the Jātaka collection forming a separate book of the Khuddaka Nikāya and dating sometime after the compilation of the first four Nikāyas, was recognised as a work containing only the birth-stories of the Bodhisatta. Thus, we can say that the prose stories of the Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā compiled about the latter part of the 5th century A.D., and looked upon as expansions or 'vitthāras' of Jātaka verses, many of which as old as the time of the Buddha, some even still older, are really a compendium of facts with dates ranging from the time of their origin up to that of their final redaction, *i.e.*, from pre-Buddhistic times down to the 5th century A.D., while we maintain, that except in very rare cases, the claim to pre-Nikāya antiquity of the verses constituting the real Jātakas, must be generally accepted.

Lastly, the scene of 'Tikoṭika Cakama' which occurs among the Jātaka-sculptures of Bhārhut and has been traced by

us in the Bhāgavat-Purāṇa in a previous article (C. R., June, 1929) but not in any of the Buddhist-Sanskrit or Pāli works discovered so far, proves almost accurately that the verses called ' Jātakas ' must have belonged to a very ancient parent stock of literature called ' Akkhānas,' probably in a kind of Prākrit allied to Pāli from which Purāṇas and Buddhist literature have developed alike.

The growth of Jātaka literature may be shown in a tabular form as follows :—



BANKERS' BANK FOR INDIA

The main object of creating a Central Reserve Bank for India should be, to bring the management of currency which is now in the hands of the Government and the credit in the hands of the Imperial Bank under common control in the interests of the Nation. For this purpose the Bank should be entrusted with sole right of Note Issue besides acting as Bankers' bank, custodian of public funds and the Government cash balances of the Central and the Provincial Governments. The bank by acquiring the right to issue notes, the banking Reserves will be centralised and it may increase naturally the prosperity of the nation by advancing cheap credits to the national industry of the country, *i.e.*, agriculture as and when necessary. The agricultural indebtedness in India is about 800 crores of rupees of which half of the amount is interest and other accruing charges payable by the borrower principally to the Sowkars. As the present existing form of banking is not suitable to function the work of a Central Bank, *i.e.*, advancing cheap credits to agriculture and other national industries, the need for a Central Bank has become necessary. The Central Bank by its operation should repose confidence by its absolute impartiality and by its ability to view the economic position of the country from the national stand-point. The Central Bank should be an independent body without being affected by parties in power and it may commence its business with a share capital of 5 crores of rupees divided into shares of Rs. 100 (One hundred each). It would be advantageous to have the Central Office of Bank at Delhi and independent branches at Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and Rangoon. Proportionate share capital should be allotted to the branches and separate share registers maintained at each of the branches which are the headquarters of the districts in which they are situated. • Shares should be allotted only to individuals not exceeding 200 shares. Transfers

placed before the Court of Directors for their approval and sanction.

The Court of Directors should meet once in a month, at least, to discuss and pass important matters. They should be paid a monthly allowance of Rs. 500 each and also First Class fare to and from the Central Office.

The local body members should be paid Rs. 75 all-told for each weekly meeting attended.

The President of the Court of Directors should have full power to dispose of all matters. He should refer to the Government only important cases affecting Indian finance for their information.

The qualification of the Court of Directors and the members of the Local boards should be that they should have at least 15 years of active business experience and they should not hold any office in any Banking Institution.

The Managing Governor (European) should have at least 15 years' Banking experience in the superior capacity before accepting this post and he should be given 2 Deputy Governors, one Indian and one European. Both the Managing Governor and the Deputy Governors should be appointed by the Government in the first instance for a period of 3 years subject to a renewal of a further period. Any subsequent vacancy caused in the Managing Governor's or Deputy Governor's post should be left to the choise of the Court of Directors. The branch Managers should be appointed by the Court of Directors and each applicant to the Branch Manager's post should be recommended by the Managing Governor. This post should be reserved in almost all cases to the sons of the soil.

In the above proposal the administration of the bank is vested in the hands of a body who are the best business brains of the country with no undue domination by the Government or by parties in power.

In 1927 the Reserve Bank Bill was dropped as there was a dispute over the control of the bank and its form. Now the

Banking Enquiry Committee has taken up in right earnest to find out the ways and means of improving the financial and economic condition of the country. Let us hope that its findings will be unanimous and a Central Bank to improve the Industrial and economic condition of the country, its foreign trade and regulation of banking and banking education will come into operation at an early date.

O. S. KRISHNAMOORTHY

A NIGHT WALK

Stealing some leisure, I indulged myself in a walk.
The whole city—stories upon stories—was afloat in electric light.
Beneath the street lamp, as under a moon, I had two shadows,
One long and one short.
Along a side walk, up a hill, I rambled slowly,
Looking back now and then in the direction of my Mother country.
Heaven and earth, excepting artificial beams, were dark-enshrouded.
I was in a foreign land, with nothing to do but to admire
Other people's automobiles, speeding like the flow of the wind.
But one thing I noticed : Everywhere more and more
Men are made to become horses and cows.
To meet the world's misfortune was not the fate of only Old Cathay.

CHI HWANG CHU

NEPAL'S RELATIONS WITH THE OUTER WORLD[1]

With the Gurkha conquest a new chapter opened in the history of Nepal. This, of course, did not mean the end of the old order. The people were in no way molested so far as their religions and beliefs were concerned. Nothing was forced upon them. The Gurkha kings showed a wonderfully liberal outlook. The conquered races followed their own faiths. To some extent it may be that this toleration was perhaps more a virtue of necessity. The first immigrants were but few. Naturally they had to propitiate the indigenous people. By the time they had a respectable following they were more or less engrafted with local traditions and customs and thus became accepted to the conquered people as their kindred. But it was inevitable that the religious rites and social customs of the new rulers of the country should to some extent influence the people of the country, though in some cases indigenous customs remain unaltered even now. Without any effort on the part of the inhabitants many Hindu manners and customs found their way to the homes of even distant tribes and became naturalised in the country. But in many cases a compromise was made and Hinduism and Buddhism existed side by side without any spirit of acrimony or animosity to each other. No small contribution was made to this attitude of toleration by the Gurkha rulers. Had they been bigoted or actuated by base motives they could have compelled by force of arms the entire population to accept their own faith,

[1] The greatest difficulty in the way of studying the early history of Nepal is the difference of versions in the Vansavalis or dynastic histories of Nepal. Two Vansavalis are in vogue, in Nepal-Buddhist and Hindu. Probably the earliest ones were written in Sanskrit. Vansavalis written in Newari are yet found and from after the Gurkha conquest are written in Parbatiya. Buddhist princes were extravagantly lauded in the Buddhist narratives and the process was repeated in the case of Hindu Kings in Vansavalis written by Hindu historians.

manners and customs. On the contrary they allowed existing systems of religions to continue and as time passed on a compromise was made of the two different faiths. Therefore, to-day, in Nepal one sees Hindu deities being worshipped by Buddhists (*e.g.*, the goddess Guhyeśvarī) and Hindus offering oblations to Buddhistic gods like Mañjuśrī and Mahānkāl[1] and participating in Buddhist festivals like Machendranath Yatra.[2]

Eleven years before the Gurkha conquest of Nepal, the East India Company had established its power in India. Naturally Prithwi Narayan looked with suspicion upon all ambitions of the British. Not content with driving out the Christian missionaries, he stopped passes to European merchandise and even wrote to the Dalai Lama to help him in forbidding entrance to everything foreign.

In 1790 the military activities of the Gurkhas entangled them in a war with Tibet and China *in which Nepal met with* a reverse. British help had been sought and though it was refused, Lord Cornwallis, then Governor-General of India sent Colonel Kirkpatrick as mediator in 1792. But the Colonel arrived late. He however wrote the first connected account of the valley and published it in 1811. Peace was restored in 1792 and Nepal acknowledged nominal Chinese suzerainty and agreed

1 The Siva Purana mentions the temple of Mahakala or Mahakaleswara at Ujjain. But neither the Nepal Mahankal nor Pashupati is mentioned there. (Dowson, Hindu Classical Dictionary, p. 178.)

2 Machendranath is said to be the Guru of a saint named Gorakhnath who came from India. This Gorakhnath is mentioned in older Bengali poems like "Gorakhsha Vijaya." He was one of the founders of the 'Nath' sect which at one time drew a large number of followers in Bengal. In Nepal there is even now a class called 'Naths.' The story runs that once there was a serious drought for 12 years in Nepal due to Gorakhnath's holding the 'Nagas' in bondage. It was through the intervention of his Guru who was brought from Kamrup Kamakshya in Assam that there was again rainfall in Nepal. At first the king of Patan did not care to show any respect to the Saint when it was being drawn in a procession through the city. But the car refused to move just as it was brought in front of the royal palace and the king had a dream that the Saint was an incarnation of the Hindu Trinity and since that time the Pujah has been offered from the Patan Palace and that custom has since then been observed. Such is one of the many local legends in Nepal about the Saint.

to send every fifth year a mission to China with formal presents. In time this became a mere conventional affair. These embassies, to use the words of Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere, were merely channels of keeping up a friendly intercourse with distant China, expressing respect for the Celestial Emperor and cultivating the goodwill and friendly feeling of the Chinese Government. But it never meant subjection or anything of that kind.

The East India Company managed to enter into a commercial treaty with Nepal in 1791. In 1801 by a new treaty the British persuaded Ran Bahadur Sah to accept a Resident at Katmandu. But Captain W. D. Knox who was sent as Resident left Nepal in 1803 after a residence of eleven months only. This treaty was formally dissolved by Lord Wellesley in 1804. Taking advantage of the insecurity of the British power and the unsettled nature of political affairs in India, the Nepalese began to make encroachments into the British territories and in 1813 a mixed Commission of British and Nepalese representatives was appointed to enquire into the respective claims of the two Governments. Unfortunately the negotiations fell through and Lord Moira closed the discussions.

Apprehending further trouble, the Governor-General declared war on Nepal in 1814 and after various reverses on both sides, peace was signed by the Treaty of Segowli on 4th March, 1816. Accredited ministers were agreed to be received by both the contracting parties. The position of the British Resident in Nepal (later on the British Envoy at the Court of Nepal) has all along been that of a representative of the Government of India. The most well-known of the Residents in Nepal and the man to whom much of our knowledge of Nepal is due was Brian Houghton Hodgson, whose labours and researches inspired others to increase the stock of knowledge about this country. Among such scholars mention may be made of the names of Professor Burnouff, the pioneer worker on Buddhism, Cecil Bendall, Dr. Bühler, Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji and Professor Sylvain Lévi whose work on Nepalese history in three volumes has not been

surpassed as yet by any other scholar in scholarship and learning. During times of trouble in Nepal when danger was looming ahead and breach with the English was imminent Hodgson's wise policy and conciliatory attitude averted serious consequences. He proposed a new commercial treaty between Nepal and India which though accepted by Bhimsen Thapa, the Prime Minister, was not sanctioned by the India Government. In 1836 Hodgson was able to arrange a scheme for the mutual extradition of criminals. This was finally settled in Maharaja Jung Bahadur's time by a new treaty proposed in 1853 and ratified in 1855.

Maharaja Jung Bahadur came to power in 1846. He was the most arresting personality in Nepalese history in the second part of the last century. He wrested from the king of Nepal the reins of administration of the country which since then have been in the hands of Prime Ministers. After making his position secure in the country, in 1850 he left for England with his brothers Jagat Shum Shere and Dhir Shum Shere (father of Nepalese Prime Ministers from Maharaja Bir to the present incumbent of that exalted office, Maharaja Bhim) and a party of other officials as Ambassador from Nepal. This visit was of great significance to the history of Nepal. Caste restrictions were very strict in Nepal and to cross the "black water" was entirely prohibited. In England he was received with great honours by Queen Victoria. He returned to his country in 1851, the first Nepalese to go to England, imbibing no doubt many enlightened ideas about government and society.

In 1854 incensed by the brutal treatment of the quinquennial mission to China while on its way through Tibet, Jung Bahadur declared war upon Tibet. The Tibetans were completely defeated and considerable portions of their territory were captured. In 1856 a treaty was signed between the two countries with the cessation of all hostilities. Both Nepal and Tibet agreed to continue to hold the Chinese emperor in respect. Tibet was to pay Nepal every year ten thousand rupees. Nepal promised to help Tibet in case of foreign invasion. Tibet would

not levy taxes on goods from Nepal and a representative from Nepal was to be present in Lhasa to look after Nepalese interests in Tibet. In 1857 a terrible upheaval burst out in India and Jung Bahadur helped the English to quell the disturbances. As a mark of appreciation of these friendly services the British returned to Nepal the Oudh terai which the Nepalese had ceded to them in 1815. (Treaty, dated the 1st November, 1860.)

Merely mentioning the administrations of Maharajas Ranadip and Bir Shum Shere, we pass on to the modern period in the history of Nepal. The administration of Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere, who came to power in 1901, was marked by new ideas and new influences finding their way to Nepal. Himself an enlightened man, the Maharaja introduced many reforms into his country and brought it in contact with the outside world by various means. By codifying the laws of Nepal according to modern legal conceptions, by introducing University education, by patronage of learning and showing keen interest in the improvement of Nepalese vernacular and the spread of primary education, by the abolition of slavery in 1924 at enormous cost—an act which rivetted the attention of the whole civilized world upon him, by founding hospitals fitted with the latest medical and surgical paraphernalia, by the inauguration of electric lighting system in the city of Katmandu, by connecting Nepal with India by good roads and a railway, Chandra Shum Shere has brought Nepal into close touch with the modern world. One of his first acts after the assumption of power was to send in 1902 some youngmen to Japan for technical education. In the Imperial Durbar of 1903 the Maharaja was present in Delhi as the accredited envoy of an independent power. During the progress of the Younghusband Mission to Lhasa in 1904, Chandra Shum Shere brought home to the Dalai Lama's mind the utility of cultivating friendly relations with the British and practically he acted as mediator in the opening of the Chumbi Valley route between Tibet and India.

The last mission to China had been sent from Nepal in

1908. In 1911 China reminded Nepal that the quinquennial embassy was due to start in 1912, but Chandra Shum Shere asserted that it had never meant nor would ever mean vassalage. Since the establishment of the Chinese Republic no mission has been sent and China has kept silent in the matter. But Nepalese relations with China still remain friendly. In 1911-12 relations with Tibet became strained due to Chinese intrusion in Tibet. Chandra Shum Shere's firm policy averted anything unpleasant and Tibet had to pay an indemnity of more than a lakh of Tibetan rupees for loss sustained by Nepalese nationals in Tibet.

Maharaja Chandra undertook a voyage to England in 1908 in a special ship chartered by him so that he might observe the religious rites and ceremonies of his caste. In England he was given a warm and honourable reception by King Edward VII. Under the lead of his old friend, Lord Curzon, who was then Chancellor of the University of Oxford, that great and ancient seat of learning conferred upon the Maharaja the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Laws during this visit.

In the World War of 1914-18, Nepal placed her resources at the disposal of the Allies and her services of friendship were appreciated and recognised by England and France. These services of friendship were of immense help to the Allies and the Gurkha activities during the War can best be described in the words of a critic of the War : "Almost wherever there was a theatre of war Gurkhas were to be found and everywhere they added to their name for high courage. Gurkhas helped to hold the sodden trenches of France in that first terrible winter and during the succeeding summer.. Their graves are thick on the Peninsula, on Sinai, and on the stony hills of Judæa. They fell in the forests of Africa and on the plains of Tigris and Euphrates, and even among the wild mountains that border the Caspian Sea." Another writer says : "One saw them in the mud of Flanders, in the deserts of Mesopotamia, on the rocky slopes of Gallipoli, in the forests of the Persian Gilan." In a

speech in February, 1919, H. E. the Viceroy of India said: "In France, in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Palestine, and Salonika your fellow-countrymen have covered themselves with glory and worthily maintained the high fighting traditions of their race." The Maharaja sent two of his sons, General Baber Shum Shere and General Kaiser Shum Shere and some of his nearest relatives to be in charge of the Nepalese regiments stationed in India during the War. Two sons of the present Prime Minister, Maharaja Bhim Shum Shere, Commanding-General Padma and Colonel Prakash were on duty in India at this time. On the 21st December, 1923, a new treaty was signed between Nepal and the Government of India (on behalf of His Britannic Majesty the King-Emperor) for further strengthening of the friendship between the two countries. In 1920 the style of the British Resident was changed to that of British Envoy at the court of Nepal. But the pivot of the Maharaja's foreign policy was the preservation of the independence of his country. As has been rightly remarked by Mr. K. M. Pannikar in his book on Indian States the independence of Nepal is due to the sagacious policy of the Prime-Ministerial family (p. 41), and to this Chandra Shum Shere contributed in a great measure. To the great grief of those who knew him and his numerous friends and admirers, Chandra Shum Shere passed away at the age of 67 after a brief illness on the 25th of November, 1929, leaving the traditions of his office safe in the hands of his younger brother Maharaja Bhim Shum Shere who had served him faithfully as Commander-in-Chief of Nepal for 29 years and who has administrative experience of nearly 44 years under several Prime Ministers.

Thus far we have seen Nepal's political relations with foreign countries with incidental observations on relations of other nature. It now remains to be seen what kind of cultural, religious, ethnological and linguistic commerce she had with her neighbours. Examined ethnologically, the people of Nepal present a variety of anthropological origins. The Gurkhas forming the aristocracy of the country are of Rajput descent.

The Newars are of Tibetan extraction and their features are more Mongolian in type. As time went on there was intermixture of the Newars with other settlers in the valley. The Magars and Gurungs belong to the Tartar races. They are of Mongolian cast of features. The Limbus and Kirantis are decidedly Mongolian in appearance. The Limbus in their Vansavali claim descent from some residents of Benares (Vansittart, Ch. IX). The Lepchas living in the hills near Sikkim and the Bhotiyas living around the valley and between it and Tibet are of Mongolian origin.

So far as the religious beliefs are concerned, therein also we find difference of faiths. The Gurkhas are Hindus of the strictest type and their religious customs are very much the same as the people of Hindusthan. The Magars and Gurungs are Hindus but of low caste. The Brahminical influence over the Magars is seen in the adoption of their names, in their customs and ceremonies. The Gurungs accepted Brahminical supremacy at a later period and less heartily and consequently the Brahmins denied them some privileges such as the wearing of the sacred thread. But both the tribes have diluted their blood with that of Indians. Hindu action in Eastern Nepal was effective in a lesser degree than in Central Nepal and the reason must be attributed to the unwillingness of the inhabitants to come within the fold of Hinduism. The Limbus, Kirantis and Lepchas are Buddhists. So are the Newars and Bhotiyas. But their religion has become mixed up with Hinduism and therefore it is doubtful how much of the purity of the older Buddhism is found among its present adherents now.

Judged from the point of view of languages here also we come across several types. The Gorkhali or Parbatiya, the official language of Nepal, is a modernised dialect of Sanskrit. It is also known as Khas Kura. Hodgson says that eight-tenths of its vocabulary are substantially Hindi. (*The Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, 1874, p. 2.) Newari is a distinct language and it has much in common with Tibetan.

The Limbus and Bhotiyas use the Tibetan language. Magar and Gurung belong to the "unpronominalised type of Turanian tongues." (Hodgson, *Tribes of Northern Tibet*; Prof. Turner, *Languages of Nepal, "The Gurkhas,"* 1928.) The scripts used in the Nepalese inscriptions would also afford an interesting study in evolution. In the early inscriptions (*cf.* those of Manadeva, Jayavarman, Shivadeva, Amshuvarman) the language is Sanskrit, while the letters are those of the Gupta period. Later on (*cf.* Jayadeva's inscription) the characters become a modified form of the letters of the Gupta period though the language is Sanskrit. In the Malla inscriptions both the Newari and Nepalese characters are used, while the language is sometimes pure Sanskrit, sometimes Newari and sometimes incorrect Sanskrit. Among other links of Nepal with India we find that in the matter of the law of inheritance Nepal is guided by the Mitakshara system of Hindu law. The principal eras in vogue in Nepal at different times were all borrowed from India. Both the Samvat of Vikramaditya and the Salivahana Saka era are of Indian origin.

But the most important link with India was in the matter of Sanskritic studies. Nepal at one time was a great seat of Sanskrit learning. The State Library in Nepal is still perhaps one of the richest Sanskrit libraries in the world containing many rare and valuable manuscripts which are not available elsewhere. The learned President of the Oriental Conference held at Lahore in December, 1928, eloquently spoke of the rich manuscript library which Nepal contains. But valuable manuscripts from this country were taken away elsewhere when people had little idea of the value of such texts. To-day they enrich the Bodleian at Oxford, the British Museum and the Library of the India Office in London, the National Library of Paris, the Asiatic Society's library in Calcutta and the libraries of some of the German Universities. The reason why Nepal was so rich in Sanskrit manuscripts was certainly that when the Mohamedans were putting an end to every kind of non-Moslem culture

in northern India, scholars with their books of learning fled from their homes in the plains, sought refuge in the hills and found there a safe asylum where they could continue their studies free from all molestation. Manuscripts in Nepal are also in a better state of preservation than those of the same date in India because of the climate. Even in a remote Tibetan monastery, a Buddhist pilgrim from Japan found Sanskrit texts written on palm leaves which were brought from India by Sakya Pandit, the founder of that monastery. It is not at all improbable that these manuscripts found their way to Tibet through Nepal.

The cultural activities of Nepal during the past centuries were fostered to a great extent by the literary taste evinced by some of the kings of Nepal and specially those belonging to the Malla family, some of whom were dramatists and poets themselves.[1] Of them, Jaya Sthiti Malla, Jagat Jyotir Malla and Bhupatindra Malla deserve special mention. Pratapa Malla also dabbled in verse-writing. Jaya Sthiti was a great patron of Sanskrit learning. There was a remarkable revival of letters in his reign and lengthy Sanskrit inscriptions in prose and verse characterise his time. He encouraged on one occasion the performance of a four-act Ramayana. The "Mānava-Nyāya-śāstram," a Sāṁhitā of Narada on the law book of Manu, with a brief commentary in Newari entitled "Nyāya-Vṛkāśinī" (1380 A.D.) was introduced in Nepal during his rule. MM. Hara Prasad Sastri says, "The object was to bring the administration of justice more in unison with the Smṛti than before. The advent of a new dynasty was followed by reforms in every direction, and the aim of these reforms was Aryanizing the Newars." But curiously enough that had to be done through their language and by themselves. Except the Gurkhas no other conquerors brought a language of their own.

1 It is interesting to note that some years ago Lt.-General Kaiser Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, K.B.E., son of Maharaja Chandra and one of the most cultured men in Nepal brought out a Nepalese translation of Kalidasa's "Vikramorbashi."

Jagat Jyotir Malla was interested in music and poetry. The works attributed to him are, "Sangitsārsamgraha," "Sangita Candra," "Sangit Vāskara," and "Ślokasamgraha." Sangita Candra is a work of some importance. It is based entirely upon Bharata Nātya Śāstra which was brought to Nepal from Southern India by this monarch. The last-mentioned work is an anthology in the nature of collection and compilation as the title suggests. Between Tirhout and Nepal there seems to have been a close association. There were many Tirhouti scribes in Nepal and on the other hand there were numerous Nepalese scribes in Tirhout. In Nepal many manuscripts are found which were written in Maithil character. Dramas and songs written in a dialect akin to Maithil were in abundance during the Malla period, specially in the 17th and 18th centuries. These seem to be allied to works of Maithil poets like Vidyapati and there are both devotional hymns and love-songs. King Bhupatindra Malla is credited with the authorship of some of them. There were altogether 17 plays written by the Malla kings themselves in such a dialect. Then between Bengal and Nepal there was a cultural relationship. Some interesting manuscripts written in Bengali script were discovered in Nepal by Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri but their language is a corrupt form of Prakrit. Some of these are, Prapanchasaratantram, Hastamuktavali, Prabodhchandradayatika, etc. His more valuable finds are Ramcharit and the Buddhist songs. In the last quarter of the 17th century a drama named "Gopi Chandra" was written in Bengali language by King Jitamitra Malla of Bhatgaon. A MS. of this drama in Devanagri character written in 1690 is preserved in the Durbar Library of Nepal. This Gopi Chandra or Govinda Chandra is the theme of works in older Bengali literature specially in poems like "Maynamatir Gan." The Bengali Ramayana of Krittibas mentions the presence of the king of Nepal among other princes at the Aswamedha sacrifice of Sri Rama Chandra. (Uttara Kanda.)

Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra and the Cambridge scholar Cecil

Bendall have written respectively on Nepalese Buddhist literature (1882), the MSS. of which are preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal which are preserved in the Library of the Cambridge University (1886). Bendall secured several valuable manuscripts from Nepal which include works on Purana, Itihasa, Kavya, Vyakarana, Dharmasastra, Art, Tantric rituals and purely Buddhist works. A large number of manuscripts was taken away by Hodgson and Wright. In the Indian Institute Library at Oxford which forms a part of the famous Bodleian, there are 79 rotographs of important Sanskrit manuscripts presented by Maharaja Chandra Shum Shere.

JAYANTA KUMAR DAS GUPTA

TO ROSE

The perfume of your flower-name,
The lilt of your gay voice,
How should man dwell betwixt these twain,
There dwell, and not rejoice?
When first your gracious, fragrant self
Played Venus to my Mars,
Then Day swooned in the arms of Night
And brought forth little stars.
For all your winsome, sweet conceits
Like modest flowers are,
And all your ways are lovers' ways,
Dan Cupid's avatar.
Persephone in lily-fields,
Helen in Paris' arms...
What are they but frail ghosts beside
The magic of your charms?
Oh, dear of mine, this lovely love
Ever 'twixt thee and me
Will blossom forth in further loves
Incarnate yet to be.

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

ROBERT BRIDGES

Intimate connection between his Earlier Works and the Last Poem :—

Numerous materials scattered in Bridges' poetical works from 1883 to 1921 show that his development, as evidenced by *The Testament of Beauty* (1929), is a continuous process. In giving expression to his individuality they reveal unity too. There is a shadowing forth of life's philosophy as mastered and interpreted by him. "The secret of a poem," says he (IV. 992-3 of T. B.), "lieth in this intimate echo of the poet's life."

As a genetic process it must include variety of phases comprising changes and differentiations. Yet a single connecting thread is visible marking his unique personality.

If all scattered hints were put together a separate essay would be made up. So only a few, as they occur, are noted below.

Argument or theme of the Testament of Beauty :

To begin with the theme of the poem or its "argument." It may be briefly stated as follows :—Evolution [1] from plant [2] and insect to man ; and in [3] man from animal life to the highest spiritual level (I. 616-25—a passage of really sublime poetry—and II. 204, 40-53).

Two Instincts are the starting points.[4] The first is

[1] The scheme of the poem is based on this foundation (*cf.* II. 32-48).

[2] II. 75-9 ; 183-266 ; 267 *et seq.*

[3] Spiritual elation and response to Nature is Man's generic mark (I. 818-19, and "desire of perfection is Nature's promise" (*ib.* 581).
III. 40 *et seq.*

Cf. "Instinct at long last wooed expediency ;
"Thence blossomed law" (*Prometheus in Piccadilly*, p. 152).

[4] I. ll. 445-7, II. ll. 13, 32-41. Here Plato's myth (*Phaedrus*) of two horses is re-interpreted by the poet, ll. 182-224.

III. 1-4 ; 151-62 ; 205-19 ; 498 *et seq.* ; 741-2 ; 755-63.

Self-hood[5] [*i.e.*, instinct of self-preservation or gratification subject-matter of Book II].

The second is Breed[6] (*i.e.*, of race-continuity or propagation). Breed, again, is self-hood's "foal" [subject-matter of Book III]. Out of these grow a third instinct (as if it were) which may be called the artistic. This is not primary or primitive. Yet (as Darwin has elaborately shown) its *unconscious*[8] play is distinctly visible in the animal kingdom.

The value and utility of this sense of beauty in man in bringing about his highest spiritual growth is practically the main trend of all the *discussions* with which this long poem is filled. He concludes, in his characteristic way, such a discussion, (for instance, in IV. 1267-1313, a passage of superb poetry of sincere self-portraiture quite different from that of the poets of the Romantic Movement,) by affirming (ll. 1305-6) "Verily by Beauty it is that we come at Wisdom, yet not by Reason at Beauty." This discarding of Reason is somewhat after the manner of Wordsworth when his mental crisis was over, of Shelley in the last phase of his development, of Newman after his "conversion" and Gladstone when he fought strenuously with Huxley.

We are tempted to quote the four lines following (ll. 1306-9) for their entrancing sincerity of an anxious artist (a true lover of beauty) lest he should betray his mistress by indulging in rhetoric in poetry :—

" And now with many words
pleasing myself betimes I am fearing lest in the end
I play the tedious orator who maundereth on
for lack of heart to make an end of his nothings."

[5] "The motive of Selfhood is common to all Being" (III. 741).
The myth of the charioteer and his two horses in Plato's Phaedrus is utilised in ll. 13-15. Reason is the charioteer and Selfhood and Breed his horses.
Cf. II. 80-94, 134, 551-52.

[6] III. 151-52.
I. 446-50. Instincts rule animal and man alike, reason being exceptional. "Pick-lock Reason is still a-fumbling at the words" (463), III. 205-19 (Sublimation of Instincts).

[7] III. 185 ; 316-46 ; 387-93.

[8] I. 93-98.
III. 783-794.

In man, these two legitimate elements are regulated by Reason.[9] [The function of Reason and its relation to other aspects of human nature are next elaborated.] Rightly regulated, instincts are potentially good.

Impulse[10] is the driving power or urge. Its use, when right, makes primary instincts end in man's ascent to godhood. On the contrary, wrong use makes them end in man's descent to brutality.

Reason,[11] for instance, converts the animal's instinctive love of the beautiful into a *consciously* realised element in man ; *i.e.*, it then becomes "conscient" as the aesthetic sense.

[The antithesis between Nature and Art is sought next to be explained away or, if we like, removed. Really this is the poet's way of reconciling apparent contradictions.[12]]

Vital urge thus gets *associated* with Beauty. Beauty is described or defined by the poet, as conceived by him, carefully.[13]

[9] I. 187-206 ; II. 863-68.

But by itself Reason is useless, I. 57-87.

A fragment of Unconscious Mind (and of Nature's plan) 1. 152 ; *cf.* also 174-86.

II. 448, 699-706, 698 (function of Reason), 725-31, 732-73 (Reason a servant to Art).

[10] III. 440-53.

Cf. P. P., p. 179.

The idea of ascent or descent is used also in P. P. (which will stand for *Prometheus in Piccadilly*), p. 146, where man's evolution is described in section XII (full of *actualities*).

[11] III. 163-204, 205-271, 392-93.

[12] III. 440-73.

Desire of knowledge will "find the goal where Truth and Virtue and Beauty are all as one" (IV. 876-7) and the soul's nobility "consisteth in harmony of Essences" (947). In alluding to his admiration for Greek art (I. 698 *et seq.*) Bridges speaks of "such lively accord of Sense, Instinct, Reason and Spirit" (I. 708). Again we have (II. 818-19) :

> "Man's true wisdom were a reasoned harmony
> and correlation of these divergent faculties."

[13] Reason gradually gaining importance needs association with Art (making even philosophers treat of Art) (II. 732-73). Beauty defined in his "*loose Alexandrines*" (I. 841) as the highest of occult influences. Its relation to Art and God (II. 843-47).

III. 281-87 show how spiritual beauty is born of physical beauty.

Cf. P. P., p. 141—

> "As gleaning in the shell,
> The pearl, so gleaming close shut in the soul,
> the strength of beauty."—III. 740-54.

Selfhood and Breed (*i.e.*, love of life and love of the race), divorced from love of Beauty, makes life [14] futile. Even the savage's *instinctive* terror of unseen or unknown powers in Nature, when *sublimated* into awe, will develop into some sort of aesthetic appreciation.

Beauty *associated* with Breed produces [15] Love. [Love is next elaborated.]

Ideal love, in origin, is sensuous [16] beauty. So, after all, it is Beauty which vitalizes instincts, refines them, makes them ethereal.

Beauty leads to the consummation of man's highest destiny —*viz.*, peace[17] with God. The aesthetic is the way to the spiritual.[18]

[14] III. 748-49 : " But since there is beauty in nature, mankind's love of life apart from love of beauty is a tale of no account."

The following lines (750-54) describe how man's apprehensive wonder at unknown power being transformed by beauty into awe led him step by step to religious joy (*cf.* 794-802). Comparing Nichols' P. P. (p. 168) we find he too says exactly that—

"If a thing, however strong,
Be without beauty, neither shall it have
Eternity. Life is eternal, so a beautiful weft"

[15] III. 195-204, 272-9 ; 300-24 ; 755-63, 764-87, 795-808.

[16] III. 421-39 with which it is interesting to compare P. P., p. 129 IV (the 11th stasimon), particularly stanzas 6 to 8, from which I quote the last two lines—

" For by such rapture Time was stirred
To set Love on his burning throne."

We need hardly remind our readers how Shelley through his Platonism had, before all these poets, made the passion of love ethereal, distinguishing (after the Symposium) between the two Venuses, as Bridges does.

[17] This is practically the poem's keynote. It is struck early enough in I. 255-59 where in his admiration of St. Francis of Assisi the poet speaks of winning to peace through tribulation. Even such a saint could praise Nature

" tho' from such altitude whatever pictur is drawn
must be out of focus of our terrestrial senses" (ll. 260-61).

In a fine passage of subjective self-portraiture (I. 393-410), disclosing his early Catholic affinities—" the Semitic matrix of my father's creed "—he speaks of his religious conviction that at last (if God mercifully grants it) *reconciliation* in reason of all wisdom, passion and love will lead to "Christ's Peace on Earth." The Great War tormented this cultured soul too much, as we find from his poems alluding to it [such as *New Verse*, Nos. V (ll. 36-40), IX (1—10), XVIII and his anthology called "the Spirit of Man" (of 1916)].

No wonder that he should leave to humanity such a soothing message of Peace and Goodwill.

Cf. Later Poems (1907)—" He dreameth of beauty

He seeks to create
Fairer and fairer
To vanquish his Fate" (Page 400, Oxf. Edn.)

III. 783-794.

[18] " The high goal of our great endeavour is spiritual attainment " (II. 904-5).

Faith[19] has an important rôle: specially faith in Christ—"whose humanity is God's personality and communion with whom is the life of the soul."

Prayer[20] plays an important part. Faith and Prayer are means to an end—the end of the completion of the Ring[21] of Existence. It "reaches upward the original creativ Energy which is God." In its state of inactivity the Ring is Unity and Being.[21]

II. 918-27; III. 201-4, 220-44, 245-62, 440-53; (Christian marriage) 478-97; IV. 1132-37.

III. In 1118-22 he thinks his thesis is proved by the art-symbol used by Titian in his picture of Two Women at a Well.

IV. 1-25.

[19] Faith heartens Reason (II. 510).

Faith in Beauty (III. 300-324). By faith only a man can save his soul (III, 975-1001). P. P., pp. 164-65 (reminding us also of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*).

III. 975-1000.

[20] IV. 1138-1252.

Cf. P. P., pp. 152-3 (13th stasimon). The last stanza is highly suggestive but st. 4 and 5 show contrast between the two poets.

At page 165 reference is made to "submission's ecstasy." "Rebellion has no beauty" (p. 168). So the rebel hero humbled by intimate knowledge of life's *actualities* is schooled and realises that "one serves not beauty save in humility" and he lifts his voice in supplication to God, "since love needs love to meet it." Here the coincidence between the two poets is striking.

[21] Mr. Nichols' "circle of activity" (P.P., page 179) corresponds to Bridges' "Ring" and in the Ring of Existence, "Reason will rise to awareness of its rank" in that Ring "where man looketh up to the first cause of all" (IV. 1073-75).

T.B., IV. 123-30, contain a Vedantic idea of the Absolute in its inactivity—

"The Ring in its repose is Unity and Being:
Causation and Existence are the motion thereof.
Thr'out all runneth Duty, and the conscience (*i.e.*, consciousness) of it
is thatt creativ faculty of animal mind
that, wakening to self-conscience of all Essences,
closeth the full circle, where the spirit of man
escaping from the bondage of physical Law
re-entereth eternity by the vision of God."

This is not only philosophy but highly abstract philosophy. In II. 910-12 we have Aristotle's view presented by Bridges as God's being consisting in the unbroken exercise of absolute intellect. The highest ethic is described in IV. 244-47 in which "by personal affiance with beauty" it escapes and soars away "to where the Ring of Being closeth in the Vision of God." This higher and spiritual Ethick has been called (in l. 197 of IV) "Satisfaction of soul."

Mr. Nichols and Bridges.

So far as the fundamental idea of a gradual evolution from plant and insect to man's highest spirituality is concerned, Mr. Nichols' *Prometheus in Piccadilly* presents that poet's way of working it out *specially* in Book IV (The Triumph of God), sec. IV, characteristically and significantly entitled "The Beast in Heaven."

Here Cheiron, self-sacrificing benefactor of Prometheus and his *alter ego* as a friend, when admitted, after returning like Christ *from his sacrifice*, into the company of the "flaming horde" of Gods, is greeted, however, by the Furies with astonished and indignant cries of—"A beast in Heaven! a thing of hoofs!" But Pan renewing his music "sang of Time and Fate and eager Life"—of "How all mysterious things move to their end in seasonable delight." In short, he sang of Evolution or Cyclic change—of "how all mysterious things moved from their wombs

> "Into immortal growths, from worms to beasts,
> Beasts to the Gods, the Gods to men, and men
> Back to the Gods, in ever-changing web."

When *rapt*, Pan sang "of Man and Love"; and eventually, "tearing asunder his reed," cried in a fearful voice:

> "Even as I am
> Art Thou, and never Thou and I shall change!
> Ah, God!"

And we read in the stasimon that follows—

> "Life is as a tide which creeps
> Over sands as yet untrod,
> Till at last it overleaps
> Time's high sea-mark, finding God.'

I may apply to Bridges' *Testament* the lines (1-4 of Sec. IX of P.P.) : it is

"a fruit
That has matured, a ripened ecstasy.
O joyous peace that art the sap of Love
How shall I hymn thy praise?"

Mr. Nichols too, like Bridges, sang in his beautiful longer poem (half epic, half dramatic and mainly lyrical)

"I am one with the Earth
* * *
Magnificent Life,
Thy name is joy, thy name is love, thy name is power!
* * —and the universe
Is but thyself in travail to be free
And conscious and divine * *
* * *
And when Death sifts the varying essences
Through vermeil gauzes on a sunset height
What then will live but beauty?"[22] * *

Nichols' poem ends with the Policeman's warning—"don't argue! Move on!" But Bridges is all argument, as if by way of a dignified protest. Nichols is full of mysticism but Bridges of Science, which eclipses his mysticism completely; and, where *The Testament of Beauty* is through and through Christian, *Prometheus in Piccadilly* is well-nigh *Vedantic*. Both are highly philosophical and they have more in common than it is our need in the present essay to illustrate.

Being much impressed by their resemblances even in difference, I have just shown how Bridges' poem is anticipated[23] by that of Nichols, while proposing to deal with anticipations and intimations discernible in the earlier poetical utterances of Bridges himself.

[22] *Cf.* also P.P., pp. 53, 102-3 "blow the trumpet of beauty over this world," 106, 118, 129 and 141.

[23] This is a digression.

As regards the *Testament*, I have tried to condense the topics comprised in the theme to a bare anatomy, so to say, of a living work of art. My object is simply to keep, as guide, this before the reader's eyes in the attempt I am next making to show how *one developing personality finds expression in all the works of Bridges*. Where necessary, a little elaboration of the theme, already given in its skeleton, may afterwards be made.

His early work the Prelude to his latest.

We have noted, in a general way, how his early poetry celebrates Beauty, Love and Joy.[24] We omit references to these and pass on to his recognition of Instincts[25] in his earlier poetry which in the *Testament of Beauty* forms the very foundation of his thesis —for, a thesis is actually worked out in this last poem.

Instincts.

We have referred to Persephone's character, as conceived and delineated in *Demeter*, as the product of the essential tendency of the Renaissance. That modern movement specially recognised the claims of the flesh. That leads to recognition of Instincts as the foundations of life in man, biologically considered. We next note in *Eros and Psyche*, a natural curiosity in Psyche, who is transformed by our poet into one of Eve's daughters that, despite warnings, must follow her instinct, be it to her temporary suffering which in the end will evolve happiness. Since Psyche has with her own eyes "seen forbidden things," "with salt and

[24] *Cf.* P.P., p. 76 : " The beauty broken ! And the joy
Besmirched ! Ai, ai ! The love foredoomed and waste"—cries out Prometheus inveighing against the meddler Zeus who marred the handicraft of the hero.

[25] In P.P., p. 52, Instincts of spiders, bees, birds accounted for and p. 152 shows the use of Instinct but Nichols' view, in contrast to that of Bridges, is that " God hath scant lot in this," creation being for creation's sake only—without any design or ulterior end. It is only an act—result of Will to Do. Their radical difference comes out in

" Yet Life opens manifold doors
To adventurous sense and eye ;
And Chance and Change on the Earth
Bring Love and Beauty to birth." (P.P., p. 40)

fire her spirit is purged" (*Demeter*, ll. 933-34). For, "how come to resurrection without death?" (*Ibid*, 909.)

Psyche (we read in *Eros and Psyche*, July 9) being "soft and simple lost her self-control" and egged on by her sisters "made question of her lover's bidding as unjust." Nay,

"But thirsting curiosity to learn
His secret overcame her simple trust,
O'ercame her spoken troth, o'ercame her fear ;
And now she prepared, as now the hour drew near,
The mean contrivances, nor felt disgust" [stanza 14, July, p. 124, Oxf. Edn.: Poetical Works].

We just refer also to stanzas 25, 26 and 30; and stanza 7 of February.

Breed.

"Breed" is made much of in st. 19 of June and 21 of September; and finally, in the last stanza of the whole poem (which according to the poet's curious scheme is the 365th) the result of "breed" is the child Hedonè—

"Whom in our noble English JOY we call" [line 5 of that stanza].

When love is degraded we have lust (for which we refer to st. 18 of March and 24 of August). We may refer to *Prometheus in Piccadilly* (p. 152) :

"He shifted good from evil upon Earth ;
And love from lust."

More indirect, but suggestive, is st. 11 of March, having reference to "breed."

One may contend that the very nature of the subject-matter of *Eros and Psyche* involved such references and therefore inferences drawn from them are invalid. We turn to "*Prometheus, The Firegiver*," ll. 511-14, where Inachus says—

"This fire I seek
Not for myself, whose thin and silvery hair
Tells that my toilsome age nears to its end,
But for my children and the aftertime," etc.

We rest content with references also to ll. 313-818 and 898-903, lest quotations grow too numerous.

This we find in the poet of 1884-85. In 1921 the same thought persistently recurs in *Come Si Quando* (*New Verse*, 1925, p. 35, ll. 171-76)—

> "Ask her that taught man filial love, what she hath done
> the mother of all mothers, she unto her own dear son?" etc.

How "brutish instinct" impels "the human hero" is elaborately described in ll. 232-246 (which give us beautiful poetry too in his later manner). In another beautiful passage of poetry (ll. 260-275) stress is laid on the irrepressible power of the natural instinct of pity in "the good wife" who gives shelter to the "hunted fox;" and in ll. 144-152, Reason is set over against Instincts. Curiously enough this passage showing the poet's growing habit of "interrogation," begins with the question "And what man's Mind?"—exactly as in the *Testament of Beauty* (IV. 881) we have......"*What the Mind is*, this thing bidden to know itself?"

Duty (Reason).

Similarly Duty[26] is conceived and presented in a manner, not exactly Wordsworthian, both in *The Testament of Beauty* and in his earlier works. This relates to the idea of *law* (already referred to at pp. 399 and 405, *Calcutta Review* for June).

Beauty.

His ideal of Beauty, and, what is for our present topic more important, his conception of its function in evolution may be more convincingly shown to imply a continuity of thought, by quotations of parallel passages from his early and later poetry. Considering its importance, this aspect of the question cannot be disposed of in haste.

His earliest longer poem *Prometheus* suggestively lays down

> "And no strength for thee but the thought of duty
> Nor any solace but the love of beauty."

26 T. B., IV; ll. 181-204; *Eros and Psyche*, October, 10; *New Poems*, 22; *Prometheus* ll. 616, 622 and 624.

The semi-chorus avers (with reference to this Fire-giver)—

"I praise him whom I have seen:
As a man he is beautiful, blending prime and youth

As a god."

Is it on some such hint that the remarkable "Sermon at the Fountain" (XVII, pp. 153-58) in *Prometheus in Piccadilly* was composed by Mr. Nichols? In "telling of beauty" that poet's stress is on Joy, Peace, Love, 'beautitul as opposed to unlovely *living*,' Man and God 'as branches of a single tree,' order and harmony, man's 'ascent from the ooze'—all presented in the musical and highly lyrical strain of a magnificent poetic passage. The parallelism between the two poets happens somehow to be very close. I note elsewhere where their difference is fundamental.

Invoking the god earnestly "to return," the Semichorus in Bridges' *Prometheus* adds significantly—

"Remember and soon return!
To prosper with peace and skill
Our hands in the works of pleasure, beauty and use."

In *Demeter*, the ocean nymphs remonstrate that Poseidon gave them no command to leave their "opalescent pearly caves" but they were drawn from their sea-abode by the beauty of Persephone (ll. 373-79). *Eros and Psyche*, which establishes allegorically the relation of love to the soul, is full of similar suggestions. We confine ourselves to only 3 stanzas (April, 4-6) where eloquently the poet sets forth that Beauty is nothing unless it fires "the loving answer of an eager soul," being "the native food of man's desire" and the controller of the varying

world to good. Even if by chance some beauteous things lie unregarded on the earth by reason of man's gross intelligence—

"These are not vain because in nature's scheme
It lives that we shall grow from dream to dream
In time to gather an enchantment thence."[27]

We may compare with it the lines—

"As the art of man makes wisdom to glorify
The beauty and love of life born else to die (New Poems).

His *Growth of Love* proves how love combined with beauty[28] leads to joy and being itself spiritualised subserves religion (Son. 35).

"All earthly beauty hath one cause and proof,
To lead the pilgrim soul to beauty above."

In *Shorter Poems* (IV. 9) he says—

"My eyes for beauty pine
My soul for Goddes grace."[29]

The poet, after exhorting youth possessing high hope and aspiring to truth never to look back nor tire, heartens him by adding—

"Beauty and love are nigh,
And with their deathless quire
Soon shall thine eager cry
Be numbered and expired" (Shorter Poems, III. 19).

[27] Is not here to be detected the germ of the idea of beauty being left to man as a legacy to a trustee?

[28] *Cf.* also Son. 56, 65.

[29] *Cf.* Shorter Poems, II. 1, p. 248, Oxf. Edn.

Conclusion.

Why does he, unless from the beginning his idea of a close intimacy between Beauty and God was his inspiration, say (*Ibid*, IV. 1)

" I love all beauteous things
I seek and adore them
* * *
I too will something make
And joy in the making " ? [30]

Like Milton, who in a number [31] of ways is Bridges' exemplar, this later poet too, I infer, was " choosing long but beginning late."[31] "I too *will* something make"—as if till then (1890) he had not! His readers had, however, decided the period to which the poem quoted from belongs to have been that of his full production (*vide*, *Calcutta Review*, June, page 392). We may draw our readers' attention to the remarks and quotations at page 402 of the Review in question for Bridges' improvement on the Keatsian " Beauty is Truth." There is a magnificent passage of poetry too long to quote on Bridges' way of realising the identity between Love of Beauty and Beauty of Truth in III (ll. 1030-57) of the *Testament of Beauty*.

If we now turn to the *Testament of Beauty*, Book III, 220-364, we are at once convinced that there is a regular process of development in Bridges' ideal of Beauty as a principle which helps evolution from animal instinct to spiritual love and religion.

Reason.

In ll. 201-4 is indicated sex-sublimation into altruistic emotion and spiritual love by the operation of Reason.

30 *Cf.* Growth of Love, 26 :—

" Now the third joy of making, the sweet flower
Of blessed work, bloometh in godlike spirit."

31 Bridges too had, like Milton, what Professor Elton (in his Introduction to *Comus*) calls " Silence of his muse from which it emerged deeper and nobler." Bridges' silence covers 1921 to 1928. Pages may be devoted to show elaborately the relation of Bridges to Milton in many respects. But space forbids.

Now this function of Reason is implied, not clearly worked out, in his early poetry ; for instance in *Prometheus*, ll. 616, 622, 624 ; in *Eros and Psyche*, October, 10; in *New Poems*, No. 22 (The Duteous Heart) ; and in *New Verse*, VIII (*Come Si Quando*).

In No. XVI (*New Verse*—"Low Barometer"), st. 3, the earlier claims of Instincts than those of Reason are finely put—

" And Reason kens he herits in
A haunted house. Tenants unknown
Assert their squalid lease of sin
With earlier title than his own."

The use made in this piece of Psychoanalysis (st. 4 and 5) goes to show not only the primacy of Instincts but also the method of dissertation employed in the *Testament of Beauty*. Bridges' is the Socratic method applied to poetry with the help of Plato and Aristotle, modified by his own interpretation of these Greeks in the light of modern science and modern philosophy. Bridges is in his own way a Behaviourist, Psychoanalyst and Evolutionist.

Love

Love results from the aesthetic sense of beauty according to the last poem of Bridges and in No. XV (of *New Verse*—" Vision") we read—

" Not ev'n the Apostles, in the days
They walked with Christ, lov'd him so well·
As we may now, who ken his praise
Reading the story that they tell,

* * *

So 'tis with me; the time hath clear'd
Not dull'd my loving: I can see
Love's passing ecstasies endear'd
In aspects of eternity: "

etc.

Apart from the scattered evidences, we have in *Prometheus* (ll. 436-504) the hero's long speech on man's desire called "the unquenchable original cause, the immortal breath of being."

"The College Garden" in 1917 (No. V of *New Verse*) refers to man's impulse in the lines—

> "The infinitude of Life is in the heart of man,
> a fount surging to fill a lake that mirrors heav'n,
> and now to himself he seemeth stream to be and now pool
> as he acteth his impulse or stayeth brooding thereon." (ll. 1-4)
>
> "He will have surfeit of passion" (l. 25).

Yet the poet is quite hopeful. Says he—

> "Surely I know there is none that hath not taint at heart:
> Yet drink I of heav'nly hope and faith in God's dealing
> basking this summer day under the stately limes
> by the immemorial beauty of this gothic college" (ll. 29 32)

In Bridges there is no trace of the spirit of the Sadducees or the Pharisees. On the contrary, as in *The Testament of Beauty* so also in his earlier poems, he elaborately shows how man's primitive and primary instincts are gradually sublimated into Love, Joy or Friendship. We have to rest content with bare references to *Eros and Psyche*—January 11; February 9, 22, 24 and 27 ; July 19 and 29 ; and September 11 (on friendship) ; to *Growth of Love*—son. 60 and 65 ; to *Short Poems*, I. 11; III. 13; IV. 2; V. 5 ; to *New Poems*, Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 16 and 20 ; to *Later Poems*, 6; to *New Verse*, Nos. III (Tapestry), V (The College Garden), VII (Come Si Quando), XV (Vision) and XVI (Low Barometer).

Friendship.

In the *Testament of Beauty* a high place is assigned to friendship (as if in imitation of Shelley) in a magnificent passage (ll. 1369-1393, Book IV) too long to quote. It is reminiscent of the poet's own friendship with Messrs. Dolben and Hopkins whose influence on his work was immense. This emotional attitude reflects love and joy as supreme in his life and poetry.

Personal Note.

This continuity in his matter and manner, in his thought and artistic expression, gives, in my view, added significance to the charming personal revelation contained in (ll. 37-43, Book I of T.B)—

"To such a mood I had come by what charm I know not,
where on that upland path I was pacing alone ;
and yet was nothing new to me, only all was vivid
and significant that had been dormant and dead:
as if in a museum the fossils on their shelves
should come to life suddenly, or a winter rose-bud
burst into crowded holiday of scent and bloom."

The mood alluded to is that of the Wordsworthian wise passiveness or "standing and staring" of W. H. Davies—beautifully portrayed in the second and third paragraphs (ll. 8-36) of the poem. He there speaks of his old age, with ever-diminishing companions, rejuvenated with fresh vitality and enthralling him "with a glow of childlike wonder—

"as if my sense
had come to a new birth purified, my mind enrapt
re-awakening to a fresh initiation of life."

The spirit of the Renaissance is working in him here too.

Faith.

The manner of beginning of his latest work lends support to my contention. It is curious that towards the end of such a long poem (IV. 1326-39) Bridges should, as if on purpose, revert to this absorbing topic of childhood's sensibility to *Wonder* and its grand simplicity likely to be eclipsed by two eager "interrogation"—over-earnest questioning *thought*—meaning as it were to correct Wordsworth. This lost wonder according to Bridges is recaptured by nature's Love, which, confirming Faith, leads to salvation.

To this Bridges gives the name of mighty *"second vision"*—

"which cometh
in puberty of body and adolescence of mind
that, forgetting his Mother, he calleth it "first Love;"
* *
till every moment as it flyeth, cryeth "Seize!
Seize me ere I die ! I am the Life of Life"
(IV. 1340-56).

A Mystic Note.

This beautiful passage should not have been, as we have done, mutilated in quotation but it is too long for us. Keeping the famous *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* before his mind, our poet here in a Blake-like mystic mood expresses what he has felt, not merely as a "fashioner" but truly as a "seer" possessing the prophet's vision, regarding the ineffable glory of childhood. Like all famous mystics he recognises too the rich promise, potentiality and value of the *unique moment* that cryeth while it flyeth, seize me, ere I die, I am the Life of Life!

In my Yeats Essay, published in this *Review*, I have dwelt at length on this feature of that mystic-poet's works. (*The Calcutta Review*, October, 1928, page 103, and also, September, 1928, pages 423-425, and May, 1928, pages 150-151.)

This subdued mysticism bears witness to the supremacy in Bridges of the Christian's religious self-surrender to God, through personal spiritual relationship established by Faith and prayer which are elaborately referred to in *The Testament of Beauty*, but well-defined and clear preludings of which are distinctly visible in three pieces among his earlier works, *viz.*, Son. 69 (his Lord's Prayer) of *Growth of Love*, No. 30 of *Shorter Poems*, Book IV (*Laus Deo*) and No. 19 of *Later Poems* (An Ode, Hymn of Nature, Sec. VII, quoted in part at page 402 of *The Calcutta Review* for June, 1930). *Cf. Eros and Psyche*, October, No. 12 (page 148 P. W.)

We have so far discussed mainly the matter of his poetry: now as to his manner. Three well-defined phases of growth are

discernible; the first represented by his " Masks," the Sonnet-sequence, and lyrical poems composed from 1880 to 1912 (*i.e.*, up to the Pre-War period) ; the second by those composed in 1921 (appearing with other pieces in the *New Verse* volume of 1925); and, finally, the last, which gives to *The Testament of Beauty* all the glory and splendour of mature art.

The Poet's Manner.

This long poem of 4,374 lines, in four parts, is very like a connected *discussion*[32] or dissertation, carried on logically (almost mathematically as in proving a geometrical problem) yet in a highly artistic[33] fashion. The intellectual element, so paramount, is often, but *not always*, tempered with emotional fervour.[34] The imagery is concrete and mainly sensuous and the diction, though peculiar and not free from defect, very appropriate and musical. The style (not simple) is suited to the manner though tending to be too reflective, and, here and there rather stiff,[35] yet not obscure. Ours is merely a descriptive formula. Certain passages[36] appear to us to be far from what we understand by poetry. We shall quote one or two later on,

[32] *Cf.* Specially—" Now any deficiency
is more discernible in an object known than in
a thing unknown to us, and in the discussion of it
there is better likelihood of agreement."

(ll. 204-7, Book IV of Testament of Beauty). *Cf.* also IV. 207-361 and 688-845 (especially 769-792 and 825 to 833) for arid discussion. Similarly in page 140 preceded by the regular debate (between the hero and the Bishop of Glastonbury, appropriately named, in III and XIV) at pp. 100-107 of Nichols' P. P.

For Bridges' " geometrical demonstration" compare IV. 155-182.

[33] *Cf.* III. 365-384 and New Verse Vol. Nos. XII, XIII, and also III, IV, VI and VII.

[34] I. 393-410; 713-21; 743-54. Book II. 11; 464-508; 531-540; 640-50; 693-715; 882-926. Book III. 87-150 (for "pure poetry" ll. 90-103 are matchless). It appears to us that this element is more striking in Nichols (with whom the late Poet-Laureate challenges a comparison).

[35] Book IV. 372-380 (typical). We doubt whether this is poetry. Even Meredith, so intellectual, never goes to such a length. Swinburne found Jonson stiff but what would he say to this? This stiffness (except in No. VII) is less visible in his *New Verse* not to speak of earlier productions. It seems to have grown upon him after 1921.

[36] *E.g.*—II. 708-24, 769-78, 863-7; III. 169-74, 182-83 (bad prose), 178-33, 259-66 : IV. 123-130, 781-92; 834-77 (specially 860-65). It is very significant to note that even this important aspect of his manner is anticipated in *Prometheus* (ll. 395-411) and more

but, for the present, give only a few references as a footnote. It has already been shown that, owing to dominance in him of thought and reflection over feeling and emotion, his poetry is from its very beginning marked by intellectuality and that problems are actually discussed in an argumentative Popean style. Debates in verse thus constitute his individual manner throughout, connecting *The Testament* with even his *Prometheus.*

Some of the new features of his growing *manner* reflected in the second phase (as in *New Verse* of 1921) have been noted under "actualities" (page 416, *Calcutta Review*, June). These are further developed in *The Testament* (1929).

These actualities, again, comprise the way in which he utilizes in poetry his vast and varied knowledge of all available scientific theories, discoveries, and even investigations and interrogations characterising the twentieth century. The result is an impression of a new *composite artistic manner.* Passages of *partially emotionalised* scientific knowledge, reading like science (rather than poetry) in verse, as often in Lucretius, occur in close juxtaposition with fine, beautiful, exquisitely melodious descriptive or illustrative ones, constituting pure poetry embodied in sensuous rich imagery which possess all the flavour of the thrilling poetry of Keats, Shelley or Swinburne, and surpass the art of Tennyson or convey to the reader the idea that the Miltonic simile has once more been restored to life in a new environment of modern science.

Like Meredith, he too is, we detect, in intimate touch with Mother Earth.

prominently in Later Poems, No. 14 (To Robert Burns—An Epistle on *Instinct*), Stanzas 5 to 9, of which the last alone is quoted—

" But Instinct in the beasts that live
Is of three kinds; (Nature did give
To man three shakings in her sieve—
The first is Racial.
The second Self-preservative
The third is Social." (Page 387, Poetical Works, Oxford Edn.)

Is any remark necessary on such a piece of flat prose? Here Bridges beats Wordsworth.

Experiments in versification, begun in *New Verse*, continue and yield richer results. His diction, all a scholar's, too evinces the same continuity and growth. Wordsworth, in theory and practice, rebelled against the " correct school " and only wanted to vindicate the claims of the language actually used by the common people (under certain conditions imposed by the needs of art). But Bridges gives fuller play to actuality here; and his diction, true to the actuality of his own age, becomes scientific, nay technical, and if simple, simple in that special way and by a simplicity ensured by perfect sincerity. The keynote is furnished by his ideal—" to be myself is all I need " (*Growth of Love*, son. 2-1-12). Once, later in 1914, we find him addressing Burns thus—

" Blithe Robbie Burns, we love thee well
Because thou wert so like thysel' : "

[*New Verse*, XXI. *A Toast for Greenoch Club Dinner, January, 1914.*]

In *The Testament of Beauty* (IV. 999-1002) we have—

" for
every man, whom Beauty hath laid beneath her spell, ...
feel about to express some mintage of himself."

* * * *

That explains all his peculiarities in *The Testament* that we notice. How would Arnold as a critic have appreciated the perfection of sincerity in this artistic manner which, it must be recognised however, sets up a modern type of poetic diction, surely not correct but as surely artificial in its new artistry! Elsewhere I have referred to this idiosyncracy (page 394, *Calcutta Review*, June). Here I shall give a few samples—first from the *New Verse* and next from *The Testament* :—

Bible-thought, dutiful-desperate, love-names, dream-stream, fire-flocks of eternity, boundless nomadry of the stars, the Never-the-same repeating again and again, storm-spredd cloke, rank musk-idiot, penful of little scazons.—*New Verse*.

but, for the present, give only a few references as a footnote. It has already been shown that, owing to dominance in him of thought and reflection over feeling and emotion, his poetry is from its very beginning marked by intellectuality and that problems are actually discussed in an argumentative Popean style. Debates in verse thus constitute his individual manner throughout, connecting *The Testament* with even his *Prometheus.*

Some of the new features of his growing *manner* reflected in the second phase (as in *New Verse* of 1921) have been noted under " actualities " (page 416, *Calcutta Review*, June). These are further developed in *The Testament* (1929).

These actualities, again, comprise the way in which he utilizes in poetry his vast and varied knowledge of all available scientific theories, discoveries, and even investigations and interrogations characterising the twentieth century. The result is an impression of a new *composite artistic manner.* Passages of *partially emotionalised* scientific knowledge, reading like science (rather than poetry) in verse, as often in Lucretius, occur in close juxtaposition with fine, beautiful, exquisitely melodious descriptive or illustrative ones, constituting pure poetry embodied in sensuous rich imagery which possess all the flavour of the thrilling poetry of Keats, Shelley or Swinburne, and surpass the art of Tennyson or convey to the reader the idea that the Miltonic simile has once more been restored to life in a new environment of modern science.

Like Meredith, he too is, we detect, in intimate touch with Mother Earth.

prominently in Later Poems, No. 14 (To Robert Burns—An Epistle on *Instinct*), Stanzas 5 to 9, of which the last alone is quoted—

" But Instinct in the beasts that live
Is of three kinds; (Nature did give
To man three shakings in her sieve—
The first is Racial.
The second Self-preservative
The third is Social." (Page 387, Poetical Works, Oxford Edn.)

Is any remark necessary on such a piece of flat prose? Here Bridges beats Wordsworth.

Experiments in versification, begun in *New Verse*, continue and yield richer results. His diction, all a scholar's, too evinces the same continuity and growth. Wordsworth, in theory and practice, rebelled against the " correct school " and only wanted to vindicate the claims of the language actually used by the common people (under certain conditions imposed by the needs of art). But Bridges gives fuller play to actuality here; and his diction, true to the actuality of his own age, becomes scientific, nay technical, and if simple, simple in that special way and by a simplicity ensured by perfect sincerity. The keynote is furnished by his ideal—" to be myself is all I need " (*Growth of Love*, son. 2-1-12). Once, later in 1914, we find him addressing Burns thus—

> " Blithe Robbie Burns, we love thee well
> Because thou wert so like thysel' : "

[*New Verse*, XXI. *A Toast for Greenoch Club Dinner, January, 1914.*]

In *The Testament of Beauty* (IV. 999-1002) we have—

> " for
> every man, whom Beauty hath laid beneath her spell, ...
> feel about to express some mintage of himself."

* * * *

That explains all his peculiarities in *The Testament* that we notice. How would Arnold as a critic have appreciated the perfection of sincerity in this artistic manner which, it must be recognised however, sets up a modern type of poetic diction, surely not correct but as surely artificial in its new artistry! Elsewhere I have referred to this idiosyncracy (page 394, *Calcutta Review*, June). Here I shall give a few samples—first from the *New Verse* and next from *The Testament* :—

Bible-thought, dutiful-desperate, love-names, dream-stream, fire-flocks of eternity, boundless nomadry of the stars, the Never-the-same repeating again and again, storm-spredd cloke, rank musk-idiot, penful of little scazons.—*New Verse.*

Euristic vision of mathematical trance, " Atomic, Organic, Sensuous, and Self-conscient " (single line of verse !), a foregon conclusion of illachrymable logic, " they neither wrote nor wrought thougt not nor created " (fine instance, no doubt of " sound and sense " yet Popean in epigrammatic antithesis), discerptible in logic, autarchy of self-hood, ground-root folly of this pitous philanthropy, proliferateth freely, the senses ministrant on his apperception, a dizzy buordon haunteth the sweet cymes, farrago of incongruous kickshaws, interchange of transmitted genes, muliebrous dump which gave Catullus pause, in quest of some system or mappemoud, penetralia of ethic lore.

Last (simply because one must stop somewhere) but not least—

" Consider then their task, those unimaginable
infinit co-adaptations of functioned tissue
correlated delicately in a ravel'd web
of unknown sensibilities * * *"...........!!

(T.B., II. 275-78.)

Bridges in his own way is occasionally very humorous. But his humour evidently never suggested to him that his neologism (how catching infection is !) might tempt a reader to quote from his own poem "To Catullus" (*New Verse*, XXIV)—

" Would that you were alive to-day, Catullus !
* * * *
Only to justify the outlay
Of your most horrible vócabulary"——

on something not very much less horrible !

We bear in mind the poet's view about inadequacy of ordinary language (IV. 1178-80), which distinguishes him from Wordsworth, expressed finely ; *viz.*, that " man's language must upgrow from makeshift unto mastery of his thought."

This, I contend, is not want of admiration for a really great artist. We yield to none in that. It is certainly not irrever-

ence towards a recently departed soul so worthy of loving regard both as a poet and a gentleman. We simply want to take our stand on this side of idolatry. No one can appreciate more heartily than we do the rich and spontaneous profusion of what Dryden calls " God's plenty" with which *The Testament of Beauty* is, considered even as " pure " poetry, magnificently endowed. " Craftsmanship," as Morris holds, " may be all." The style too is the man. Every great poet is an innovator. So is Marlowe ; so Shakespeare ; and Milton. Bridges is fully entitled to his own suitable (perhaps even agreeable) manner.

Mannerism.

But is there no such thing as mannerism ? Do we not condemn Browning for his ?—even Tennyson for his mannerism and Arnold for his unemphatic repetitions-trick? "*Victorian*" came to be in Bridges day a by-word, not merely because of the Queen's age being "stuffy" as Georgian highbrows in their easy and cheap contempt for the past may affect to imply. And the Georgian should remember that it too will have a posterity not less capable to weigh things in the balance of criticism and bound to be impartial. Bridges' mannerism is an illustration of the cultural inheritance I have been at pains to emphasize in showing his artistic "ancestors," though he assiduously built it up as a scholar with fastidious care to make it a "personal " tradition as it were. He persuaded himself as an artist that it was due to his culture and " in keeping too."

Now compare—

"(1) And ever as to earth he neareth, and vision cleareth of all that he feareth, and the enemy appeareth" (ll. 513-14).

(2) "Once names of terror and furious bombast, foremost men humbled, as were the seventy kings who with their thumbs and their great toes cut off, fingered the crumbs beneath Adonibezek's table" (ll. 608-11)—

Sound echoing sense with a vengeance!

How interesting it is to study this habit gradually growing upon our poet unconsciously which to use his method of interpretation may be called a more complex and developed *instinct* (which is made the basis in man's evolution to spiritual exaltation in this last new *Testament* of the new century). It is (to use a familiar word) a "gesture" approved by his Instinct of Propriety, "in keeping" with the modern age as much as his own ideally constructed self. It is "sublimated" self-regard and imposed by his own peculiarity as a fetter—only done "*inconsciently.*" We raise no objection to the idiosyncracy of new spelling, rejection of initial capital letters, practical abolition of punctuation, even minting of queer words or equally queer use made of old words (*e.g.*, Stomach Emeritus in III. l. 119 which though not humorous is at least *wit*-ty) and the like. We do not fail to appreciate such mannerism as in

> " What man deigneth ear
> to his grovelling tale? His gluttony rotteth and stinketh
> in the dust-bin of Ethic " (III. 138-39).

where the effect produced by *explosive consonants* is admirable in this terse sketch of "the epicure," very like a cameo-painting. He is extraordinarily successful in beautiful *single lines* of verse (which also is a praiseworthy form of mannerism) of which we have plenty in this last poem. One or two instances will do —"in the whirr of its multitudinous hurry it hummeth like the bee" (III. 379-80), which indeed gives us "a new poetry of toil" (l. 374). "Remotest orient lands whose cock-crow is our curfew " (III. 346-47). His exquisite workmanship is remarkably proved by III. 365-84, particularly in the *cadenced* music of 371-3 and fine use of "explosive consonants in 367-69 which must be quoted :—

> " that in the sinister torpor of the blazing day
> clicketeth in heartless mockery of swoon and sweat,
> as 'twer the salamandrine voice of all parch'd things :
> and the dry grasshopper wondering knoweth his God "
> (ll. 370-73).

Again

" where reapers, bending to the ripen'd corn,
were wont to scythe in rank and step with measured stroke,
a shark-tooth'd chariot rampeth biting a broad way,
and jerking its high swindging arms around in the air,
swoopeth the swath" (ll. 365 69).

In his essay on poetic diction reference is made to the Romantic Revolt against the *irrational* diction of the "correct school " and to the dislike of the poets of his age towards traditional forms or the so-called literary forms, so conventional. Here he pleads for simple terms (such as fatherly for paternal), restoration of old English words (*e.g.*, inwit, wanhope) which will lend "subtlety" to expression of ideas, moderation in the desire to avoid the commonplace, the grand style of Milton or of Shelley's *Adonais*, having the stamp of Hellenic culture, and against imitation of Burns' *dialectical* manner. All this is wise and suggestive of valuable innovation from a professed innovator.

Thought, he holds, must determine diction and he adds finally, "in æsthetic no property (used in the dramatic sense of the word) is absurd if it is in keeping, different properties being indispensable for different imaginative efforts." This too is admirable. It ensures *individuality* in art—another result of the Renaissance.

I have carefully noted the sage words of the Poet in I. 698-704:—

" Knowledge accumulateth slowly and not in vain;
with new atainment new orders of beauty arise,
in thought and art new values" etc.

" Best is mature," he says next II. 715—let us add, in thought and artistic form as well.

The poet's inspiration according to new Psychology is the play of the unconscious, but his art is the product of consciously controlled activity without which inspired imaginings can have no form and balance. Dionysius vouchsafes the inner impulsive urge but Apollo must regulate this spontaneous surge with the

logic of achievement. In *Orpheus* (To-day and To-morrow Series) we are told that matter relates to emotions, moral ideas, philosophical thought but form includes rhythm, balance, melody and movement. Even life tends inspite of its infinite variety to take symmetrical form. All this means "conscious" management. The future man will, we are made to believe, be a better craftsman—more artistic. Bridges very epigrammatically reminds us in his " loose *Alexandrines* " (ll. 848-50)

> " But highest Art must be rare as native faculty is,
> and her surprise of magic winneth favour of men
> more than her inspiration."

Then follows strong condemnation of fashionable art, inferior art staking her charm on ethic excellence (ll. 851-62).

While fully admiring the extraordinary artistic skill and beauty displayed by Bridges which charm us, we make bold to express our own opinion in the following manner. If we are "rushing in," the punishment will be ours too.

We admit that in *The Testament of Beauty* the thought is novel, more scientific than is usual with poets and that the poem's "*properties*" have been attempted to be made "in *keeping*." Yet is Bridges free from the charge he himself brings against Arnold's *Thyrsis*? Says Bridges—" it lacks passion, as if it handles emotions instead of their *compelling utterance*, the result being an impression of insincerity. The poem eaves the reader cold." As a whole nobody judges *The Testament of Beauty* thus. But a good portion of it is on a level with *Thyrsis*. And diction is not without its share of responsibility for creating an impression not surely of nsincerity but of an artificiality of a *new order*. The effect here and there is—"to leave the reader cold." Let us heartily admire his classical reserve and restraint and be grateful that his wonderful art expresses "feeling devoid of any suspicion of spasmodic violence;" inspite of the influence on him of the " Spasmodic school." Have we no right, therefore to soberly

pause and enquire if feeling to be artistically thus expressed is *always* there. Elsewhere we have defended him from such a charge. Yet there is no inconsistency in what is indicated here with reference to his diction on which, again, a separate essay may be profitably written. We cannot exhaustively deal with the topic in our short study of his mind and art which is really a great subject.

We have yet to treat of—(1) this new poem critically viewed as a whole, (2) Bridges as a poet and (3) his philosophy of life, after having offered a few critical comments on the theme of *The Testament of Beauty* as it is handled by our poet.

Critical comments.

Bridges' view of Evolution rejects materialism showing the dominance of his religious temper even though his knowledge of the sciences —the Biological ones particularly—is fully adequate in range and depth and equally accurate with rare exceptions.[87] His intimate personal note reveals his early Roman Catholic sympathies (I. 393-410) and Scriptural leanings (III. 855-64). He is scientific but not a rationalist. Far less is he a sceptic (I. 390-94). Hence the predominant spiritual note.

His two elementary motive forces, Self-hood and Breed, are as in Bergson,[88] expressions of the life force or *élan vital*—all-pervasive as an immanent principle. That philosopher has given by his interpretation of older mechanistic theories of Evolution a new turn to thought. It makes human existence not *subject* to

[87] The modern biological idea of Nature's urge is referred to in I. 99-105 (with its allusion to the *actualities* of the Great War).

[88] *Vide* Mitchell's Translation of "Creative Evolution" (1911). Mr. Nichols also refers (P.P., IV. 1: The Divine Proem) to "creative urge" and in VI (page 179), on the Circle of Activity, Zeus in bidding farewell to Prometheus says—

" Thou hast yet a myriad paths to tread
* *
Ere thou returnest to the secret calm;
* * * we who create
Have but one lot among us, gods or men:
Never from our creation to be freed
Till the last sunset cringe into its cave,"
etc.

change but change itself. Bridges utilises it in his new poem more scientifically than philosophically. Mr. Nichols' *Prometheus in Piccadilly* handles the same matter but lays greater stress on Bergson's theory of intuition[39] and that poet's manner is comparatively more *mystical.* Something more will have to be said on this question as the coincidence is, indeed, strange of a certain amount of parallelism between *Prometheus in Piccadilly* (1927) and *The Testament of Beauty* (1929), even in matters of detail. The modern evolutionary theory, explaining life (as Bridges does), is practically a more scientific and accurate form of the Socratic view. The Greeks before him in their pagan abandon freely indulged in *natural life.* He demanded self-control, self-analysis and definition of ideas. *The Testament* is simply full of such definitions (*e.g.*, I. 204-6, 458-60; II. 448, 842 and 845; III. 742, 1058, 1123-4; IV. 1-2, 374-6).

Socrates enjoined cultivation of self-consciousness by reflection and introspection, whereas, Nietzsche for instance, is for the play of the unconscious. In Bridges' poem Reason regulates instincts. He eliminates operation of "multi-factors" (*i.e.*, chance) by emphasizing dominance of *one* factor, *viz.*, selfhood (*i.e.*, accepting Evolution as the key to man's life). Herein Bridges is more a Psychoanalyst than a Behaviourist, and accepts the Freudian idea of consciousness in man being a kind of after-growth in the Evolutionary process. Reason, though requisitioned as a regulative principle, is however considered to be something like an inert, if not imaginary, entity until helped by the senses.[40] The poet is not accurate in affirming a definite relationship among the three (as is his scheme) Instincts (one of which he avers is not primitive). Breed is with him the "foal" of Selfhood and sense of Beauty a product of the primary ones. At all events man, as the

[39] Oddly enough Bridges incidentally and by way of argument glances at *intuition* where he says—(II. 804-11)

"If so be then that Reason our teacher in all the schools,
Owneth to existences beyond its grasp, whereon," etc.

[40] "Reason is insolvent to sense" (I. 157).

"highest study" of mankind, is studied not in Pope's way but *biologically*. Bridges relates Instincts to emotion through, however, the æsthetic sense. Selfhood, by being "thwarted," and Breed, by getting scope for free play, become transformed into emotion (of love). Accurate Science will not either enumerate or relate definitely the Instincts, as has been done in this poem. Again less importance has been attached to Environment than to Heredity.[41] Instincts according to latest theories, are habits not of individuals but of the race—essentially irrational—useful for the biological end of self or race preservation. Freud gives to what Bridges names as Breed exaggerated importance, and the poet accepts Freud's lead here. "Scientific minds," says he, "in search of truth digest assimilable hypotheses." Primeval instincts—inherited dispositions—are powerful in moving man but Freud considers a great part of man's mental life to be impersonal and so beyond control. Desires and fear belong to the Unconscious. Bridges seems to differ here. What he calls "conscience," again, is with psychoanalysts a question of degree, man never being wholly aware of his awareness. The major part of mind being "unconscious" forms man's other self as it were, these innate dispositions do not, as Bridges holds, lead to emotions though tentative classification of these impersonal forces can be made on the basis of biological ends

[41] I. 340-90 implying leaning towards Neo-Darwinism. "Impercipient" Nature and men, brutal or divine, are essentially the same Nature is the foundation even of man's highest spiritual activity.

> "Man, in the unsearchable darkness, knoweth one thing
> that as he is, so was he made"—

says Bridges but Aristotle tells us that "the nature of man is not alone what he is born with, but what he is born for." In his "Prometheus, the Firegiver," Persephone arguing with Athena (pp. 57-59, Poetical Works, Oxf. Edn.) says regarding man' tendency :

> "His spirit setteth beauty before wisdom,
> Pleasures above necessities, and thus
> He ever adoreth flowers" (ll. 220-22)
> * * they forget
> The hour of hunger and other homely feast
> So they may call the delicate primrose " etc. (245-7).

(such as selfhood, or manner of "reaction" produceing fear or attraction, or the emotions of fear or love they may excite). We do not yet know whether Instincts, as Bridges alleges, are two, three or more in number, or how they are related to each other, and what their essence is. It has only been ascertained that Instincts are midway between pure reflex action and habit.

Heredity is used, no doubt, to explain man's æsthetic tastes impulses, desires and to some extent even beliefs (*cf.* Dr. Schiller's *Problems of Belief*). Abnormal psychology explains fear (even when it ultimately leads to awe) as an expression of repressed sex-hunger. But Mr. Russel has his doubts (*cf.* also III. 940-951 and Bridges' use of the Freudian " correlation characters of sex").

War and its morals may be traced to the hunting instinct just as sportsmanship to play instinct and socialism, politics and morals to the herd instinct. Bridges uses many of these theories. Kipling's imperialism may be an instance of "*descent*" due to abuse of the herd instinct as Bridges' war poetry with its exalted note of "*ascent.*" Patriotism and love demand greater study before final conclusions may be available. The problem of free will is more difficult. Bridges begins as a behaviourist but psychoanalysis converts him to an idealist. His is a biological[42] evolutionary "*poetry of man*" (distinct from that poetry as evolved from the 18th century to the end of the Victorian age) presented in a scientific and modern spirit. As an idealist he thinks human nature can be changed, improved, perfected as Shelley did along with Condorcet (III. 763 *et seq.* and I. 581-98).

We reserve our remarks on questions relating to " Ethick " as he. calls them for the portion of this essay which will deal with his philosophy.

As against Tennyson's cock-sure " one far-off divine event " we have from Bridges a warning that we should confine ourselves to. " *What is.*"

[42] III, 205-219.

Here again we are reminded of what Mr. Nichols says in P. P. "On Creation."

Emphasis on "childhood wonder" is surely suggestive of the new idea of a *scientifically improved* future race of man. This leaves far behind Shelley's fervent, nay ecstatic, vision of regenerated or emancipated humanity, no better in essence than a fascinating or even inspiring abstract idea, based on hopes created by the Revolutionary era, and glorified into something transcendental by the influence of German Philosophers and Plato. Wordsworth's idealised "dalesmen" and "statesmen" cannot be anything approaching a universal symbol of humanity. Tennyson's idyllic and lovely creations are too local and his Arthurian group a hybrid. Hardy's men and women are too cold and hard, if not pessimistic. Some will consider Swinburne's to be a "decadent" type. Browning's men and women are more varied, robust, natural, optimistic, full of moral arduousness but more psychological specimens than representatives of the coming race of man.

Ours is a very rapid bird's-eye view which cannot be expected at all to do justice to a subject so vast. We have to rest content here with only a few hints given in a comparative form. Next to Socrates, Plato with Aristotle and Lucretius may be said to guide our poet who, however, are reinterpreted in this poem.

> "The vision of the Seer is truth's Apocalpyse
> yet needeth for our aid a true interpreter" (II. 11-12).

Here Bridges reveals his admiration for philosophy as also his (Miltonic) egotism. Other egotistic hints or statements can be easily enumerated but many of them, we admit, have the persuasive charm of his perfect sincerity which disarms criticism. Criticism certainly is not fault-finding yet Bridges teaches us as a critic—all great poets are in their way great critics as well, like Jonson, Dryden, Wordsworth, Shelley, Swinburne, Arnold,

and L. Abercrombie—that there is no harm in the legitimate determination of the proportion of the roses to the thorns. We have simply taken that great poet-critic's lead.

Other important "conclusions" arrived at in the series of debates constituting *The Testament of Beauty* are :—

Conscience is a natural flower-bud (I. 414).

Religion (specially Christianity) instead of dwindling with the growth of modern culture does thrive and grow (I. 775-790).

The future race of men has been adumbrated in the child's or savage's intellectual wonder (I. 330) which Shelley possessed to some extent (IV. 515-16).

Exactly the same was the case with his prototype Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682), whose manner reappears in this twentieth century *Religio Medici* (Browne's published in 1643) in such passages as—

> " And since we observe in all existence four stages—
> Atomic, Organic, Sensuous, and Self-conscient—
> and must conceive these in gradation, it was no flaw
> in Liebnitz to endow his monad-atoms with Mind."
> (I. 427-30.)

> " Glory is opinion,
> the vain doxology wherewith man would praise God."
> (I. 597-98.)

> " But if 'tis ask'd to name what special function it was
> that fell sequester'd out of Adam in his last rib,
> and which, when launch'd by Reason on his sea of troubles,
> should be his perigoric and comforting cure,—
> 'twas no unique, ultimately separable thing,
> as is a chemic element;" etc. (III. 924-940.)

Sir Thomas Browne of Pembroke College, Oxford (where he graduated M. A. in 1629 and took his medical degree in 1637),

whom Taine characterises as 'a naturalist, a philosopher, a scholar, a physician, and a moralist,'' was a versatile genius who freely moved about in the world of Plato, Aristotle, the Christian Fathers, the Schoolmen and was one of the richest products of the Pagan Renaissance, presents in his *Faith of a Physician* a parallelism with *The Testament of Beauty*. One may point out in this case the *differences* in their resemblance as we have just referred to the *resemblances* in difference between Bridges and Mr. W. B. Nichols.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

A Sketch of Hindi Literature—By Edwin Greaves. Published by the Christian Literature Society of India.

The present book is a welcome addition to the existing scanty literature on the subject, which, so far as I am aware, consists of the following works.

(1) Sir George A. Grierson's Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan (2) Keay's Hindi Literature (Heritage of India Series), (3) The introductory remarks of Rai Bahadur Lala Sita Ram, B.A., on the authors and their works in the Hindi Selections in 7 volumes published by the Calcutta University, (4) The Misra Bandhu Vinod by the three Misra brothers, Sj Ganesbehari Misra, Sj Syambehari Misra and Sj. Sukdeobehari Misra, and (5) The discourse on Hindi Literature which serves as an introduction to the Sabda-Sagar, a big Hindi Dictionary published by the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha. The first three books named above are in English and the last two in Hindi.

Sir George Grierson's book is the earliest and is based mainly on the Sivasinha Saroj, a work of great value, by Thakur Sivasinha Sengar, containing biographical notes on 1,000 Hindi poets with short extracts from their works. The Saroj mentions a work of the kind written by Kalidas Trivedi (b. 1693) named Kalidas Hazra containing an anthology of Hindi poetry collected from authors who lived between 1424 and 1719 A.D. The Misra Bandhus have generously acknowledged their indebtedness to the work of Thakur Sivasinha although they brought the results of their indefatigable labours and their own independent judgment to bear upon their excellent and exhaustive works. Mr. Keay's is a small book, but it contains all that is of use to the general reader. The subject has been handled very ably in it.

In the book under review the subject-matter has been divided into eight chapters, of which the first gives a short history of the growth and development of the Hindi language, echoing the views of Sir George Grierson and a few others, who divide the Prakrits and the Modern Aryan vernaculars of India into an Inner and an Outer group. Then follow some general considerations on Hindi literature suggesting its division as follows:—

1. The Early Period—From 1200 to 1400 A.D.
2. The Constructive Period—From 1400 to 1580 A.D.

3. The Elaborative Period—From 1580 to 1700 A.D.

4. The Static Period—From 1700 to 1800 A.D.

5. The Revival and Transformation Period—From 1800 A.D. to the present time.

The subsequent chapters of the book have been arranged according to this plan. The author has, however, introduced, very fittingly, between the Early Period and the Constructive Period, a chapter on Hindi Prosody, *Bhāva*, *Ras* and *Alankār*. The concluding chapter, which is the eighth, contains the author's views on the future of Hindi.

Most of the general remarks in Chapter I are very sound. I quote below some of the author's views—" In Hindi literature there is much to evoke genuine admiration and yield keen pleasure; there is not a little of high level of moral earnestness and of religious emotion and passion, but this high level has not always been maintained. At certain periods and among certain coteries of writers low ideals and sheer sensuousness have dangerously threatened the sound progress of the literature. Trivialities, tricks, style and paltry ambitions of writers to display their own cleverness have been more than menaces." "Originality either of subject or treatment is not one of the striking features of Hindi literature * * * Before the last hundred years the subjects treated of were distinctly restricted in their range." " In many instances the originality found pertains rather to form of expression than to the subject-matter or general treatment. And in the case of the great majority of writers conventionality of form of expression is by no means studiously avoided; as a matter of fact, conventional phrases and metaphors appear to possess a peculiar attraction for Hindi writers."

Chap. II: The Kumārpāl Charit has been called a Hindi poem. But it was written in the later Apabhransa Prakrit by Hemchandra.

Chap. III: In his attempt to explain *Bhāva* and *Ras*, the author confesses that these are unfamiliar to Europeans. He is not very happy in his exposition of the two terms. The first is, I venture to suggest, the cause and the last the effect *Sthāyi bhāva* is the raw material and *Ras* is the finished article made from it.

About the love depicted in Hindi poems the author says, " In many cases, the love lacks the essential conditions which ennoble the passion in Western eyes. The heroine, according to the customs of the country is precluded, as wife or widow from encouraging the advances of the lover." The Hindus think they are very happy as they are, and do not deplore their customs in this respect.

The author has next tried to give a brief outline of Hindi Prosody, which

he has done fairly successfully within the limited space at his disposal. His meaning is not very clear when he says (page 30), " it is not allowed for one instant of a syllable to belong to one section and the other instant to another," for I am not aware if a Hindi long syllable is divisible as such into two instants. Then again, the second and fourth sections of a *Soraṭha* (page 31) rarely rhyme with each other as he says.

Chap. IV: I do not think that the poems of Vidyāpati (page 38) were ever translated into Bengali. They might have been modified to some extent in passing through the lips of successive generations of Bengali reciters.

Devout Vaishnavs will be shocked to hear Rādhā spoken of as the *mistress* of Krishna (page 52). The materialistic mind of the European is unable to grasp the esoteric significance of Rādhā and Krishna. The Vaishnav conception is that the absolute self, sick of singleness and inaction, manifests himself as Personal God and evolves out of Himself Prakriti or Cosmos to enjoy her companionship and to work jointly with her. The infinite changes in the phenomenal world are so to speak the dalliances of Purusha (Personal God) with Prakriti. Krishna is Purusha and Rādhā represents Jivatma, the essence of Prakriti. Their sports are the themes of the Vaishnav poets.

Chap. V: The writer's estimate of Behari of Satsai fame is unexceptionable. I agree with him in thinking that Behari can claim credit as a very clever epigrammatist, but that that alone does not entitle him to the high place assigned to him. Where is the appeal in a Doha of his to the heart?

In page 68 the author says, the writers of the Misra Bandhu Vinod give him (Behari) the fourth place among Hindi writers, only giving precedence to Tulsi Das, Sur Das and Lal Kavi." Evidently " Lal Kavi " is a mistake for " Deva Kavi."

At the end of this Chapter the author brings to our notice a prose work of the Pre-British period, hitherto unknown. It is a commentary on Bhartrihari's *Sringar Satak* which appeared in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, September, 1917.

The period covered by Chap. VI, *viz.*, 1700 to 1800 A.D. has been called the static period, because there was practically no genuine development or growth. The Misra Bandhus will hardly acquiesce in the justice of the nomenclature and will maintain that a fairly high level of art was still maintained. I venture to think that the output, though not deficient in quantity, was much inferior in quality, being a repetition of what had already been said by previous writers.

Chapter VII opens with a discussion of the period since 1800 A. D. The author rightly says that the outstanding features of this period are the growth of Hindi prose literature, the much wider range of the subjects of literary composition and the dissemination of knowledge caused by the multiplication of books due to the establishment of the printing press.

I miss, however, the name of Insha Allah, who preceded Lallaji Lal as a writer of Hindi prose.

The concluding chapter deals with the Future of Hindi. The author's advice is sound. I have, however, noticed a common peculiarity in the European writers on the Hindi language and literature, *viz.*, that they are impatient of the use in Hindi of Sanskrit words. May I humbly request them to find out what percentage of Greek and Latin words is to be found in the English language and why they were introduced into it? A language still in its infancy has not the wherewithal to clothe its ideas and must draw upon its present language for the material necessary for the expression of the wide range of ideas in all departments of literature in the present advanced state of civilization.

The defects pointed out above are very trifling and dwindle into insignificance when compared with the excellence of the work. I can unhesitatingly assert that the book, sketch though it has been called, is a work of great value.

N. Sanyal

Prophet Muhammad and His Teachings—By Ahmad Shafi and Moulana Yakub Hasan. Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras.

In this very brief sketch, Ahmad Shafi, the author, has made an attempt to present in an unvarnished and straightforward manner a bare outline of the chief incidents of the busy and crowded life of the Prophet of Islam. There are two phases of the life of the Prophet—civil and military. The European Orientalists who have written biographies of the Prophet, have generally speaking emphasized the military aspect of his life to such an extent that they have reduced the Prophet to the level of an adventurer with imperialistic ambitions. The civil phase which forms the essential portion of his life has been painted in such a manner as indicates that it only forms a prelude to his military successes. The author has tried in this short sketch to rectify this error to some extent.

Maulana Yakub Hasan has written the portion containing his teachings with selections from the Quran and sayings of Muhammad. This has rendered the work extremely useful. Moulana Sahib points

out the Quran was revealed to the Prophet in the course of 23 years. A sort of trance used to come over him and after it passed away, the Prophet used to send for one of his followers who could write down the verses that were revealed to him, he himself not knowing how to read and write. Some of the chapters in the Quran were revealed in their entirety at one time and in one trance, but other chapters were revealed in different times and at different places. This incident, if true, is highly miraculous. This makes the Prophethood of Muhammad a fact of unquestionable certainty.

The book though small contains matters which are highly interesting. It ought to be a constant companion to students. The get-up of the book is not bad.

A. GUHA

A Short Life of Apollonius of Tyana—By M. Florence Tiddeman.—Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India.

The author has done a great service in publishing a highly religious but generally unknown life of Apollonius of Tyana by collecting materials from different sources who appeared upon the stage of the Western world in the first century A. D. Apollonius must have been one of the greatest travellers of antiquity. We learn that after leaving Nineveh, Apollonius stayed in Babylon, visiting different cities and centres in the neighbourhood, thence to the Indian frontier, probably by the Khyber Pass, as Taxila is the first city mentioned—and finally he spent four months at the "Monastery of the wise men." This was probably at Nepal. After this he visited Babylon, Nineveh, Antioch, Selencia, Ionia, Smyrna and Troy. He spent some years in Greece, and in the time of Nero he was in Rome. In A. D. 66 Nero by a decree sent away the philosopher from Rome. Then he visited Spain, Africa, Sicily, and other important places of the then known world and founded the so-called magnetic centres in various countries. As he possessed miraculous powers, he is taken especially by the Theosophists as the second incarnation of Christ. As to the kind of food we should eat he held that "all food that had animal life in it densified his mind and made it impure and what he considered the only pure form of food is that which the earth produced, fruit and vegetables". Indian yogis also maintain the same view. The Chhandogya Upanisad proclaims in loud voice. आहारशुद्धौ सत्वसंशुद्धिः, सत्वसंशुद्धौ ध्रुवा स्मृतिः। When asked by the Pontifex Maximus Telesinus, as to the subject of his prayer in the temples,

he replied, "I pray that righteousness may rule, the laws remain unbroken, the wise be poor and others rich, but honestly." The book though of small size contains excellences which are of the highest order. We can safely recommend it to the educated public. The get-up of the book is not bad.

A. GUHA

Indian States under British Protection—By P. L. Chudgar, Bar.-at-Law. Cr. 8vo, pp. 240.

In these pages Mr. Chudgar, a lawyer and a member of the Indian States Peoples' Delegation, professes to give a clear survey of the personal rule of the Indian Princes and the evils arising therefrom. The book is the result of a careful study and the mass of evidence collected is bound to make an impression on the public mind. The question of the status of Indian Princes in the coming political re-organisation of India is an important one and no settlement of the Indian question can be satisfactory until and unless the grievances of nearly 80 millions of Indians are redressed.

The condition of the subjects of the Indian states is hardly enviable. They are compelled to live under a system which is more than antiquated and which cannot be changed at their instance owing to the prowess and authority of the paramount power which is pledged to maintain an anachronic condition in the interests of a set of men, who would have otherwise mended their manners and methods. The British protection of the Indian princes makes them a set of tyrants accountable to none and having no moral obligation to their subjects.

Such a state of things cannot and perhaps will not last and it is high time that these princes should take care to clean their own houses. With their own internal autonomy and personal expenditure guaranteed, they must prepare themselves to join the coming Indian federation, rather than clamour for the perpetuation of personal power.

Mr. Chudgar's arguments and exposition of facts are clear and his conclusions are moderate. Every one ought to go through this little volume.

N. C. B.

Ourselves

INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE.

The fourteenth session of the Indian Economic Conference will be held at Lahore early in January, 1931, under the presidency of Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., Barrister-at-Law, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University. The subjects selected for discussion are: (1) The Theory of Distribution, (2) Credit and Banking Problems in India, and (3) Indian Labour Problems. The last date for the acceptance of papers by Mr. R. M. Joshi, Secretary, Indian Economic Association, is the 15th September, 1930. If any papers are to be sent after that date, they must be in the form of 100 printed copies which must reach Prof. D. N. Bhalla, University of the Punjab, Lahore, not later than the 1st December, 1930. No papers will be accepted after the 1st December next. Papers must not exceed in length 10 printed pages of the Indian Journal of Economics (published from Allahabad). In case any papers exceed this maximum length, the writers will have to pay the extra cost of printing.

RESULT OF THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Matriculation Examination, 1930, was 16,619, of whom 16,433 actually sat for the examination. The number of candidates who passed the examination is 10,296, of whom 4,126 passed in the First Division, 4,911 in the Second Division and 1,259 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes is 62·86.

RESULT OF THE I.A. EXAMINATION, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Arts, 1930, was 3,892, of whom 3,732 actually sat for the examination. The number of candidates who passed the examination is 1,841, of whom 492 passed in the First Division, 967 in the Second Division and 382 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes is 49·6.

* * *

RESULT OF THE INTERMEDIATE EXAMINATION IN SCIENCE, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Intermediate Examination in Science, 1930, was 3,514, of whom 3,352 actually sat for the examination. The number of candidates who passed the examination is 1,554, of whom 654 passed in the First Division, 763 in the Second Division and 137 in the Third Division. The percentage of passes is 46·4.

* * *

RESULT OF THE L.T. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the L.T. Examination, held in April, 1930, was 10, of whom 9 passed and 1 failed. Of the successful candidates 4 passed with distinction.

* * *

RESULT OF THE B. T. EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the B. T. Examination, held in April, 1930, was 90, of whom 77 passed, 1 was absent and 12 failed. Of the successful candidates 17 passed in the First Division

RESULT OF THE FINAL M.B EXAMINATION, APRIL, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Final M.B. Examination (New Regulations), held in April, 1930, was 244, of whom 79 passed, 159 failed, 6 were absent and 1 was expelled. Of the successful candidates 6 obtained Honours in Midwifery.

RESULT OF THE D.P.H. EXAMINATION, MAY, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, Part II, held in May, 1930, was 5, of whom 3 passed and 2 failed.

* * *

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

AUGUST, 1930



BEETHOVEN AT HOME [1]

A most famous musician; one who has been regarded as the colossus of modern music, as he most assuredly is of instrumental music.

Has not our own *amour-propre* something to do with the sense of gratification we feel when we please—and are welcomed by—some cross-grained or ill-disposed person, far more than when we receive like attentions from some one who possesses all sorts of good qualities? To carry the comparison further, if a dog that does not belong to us is surly and snappish, and yet fawns upon us, we think far more kindly of him than we do of the good-tempered animal that responds to our call with every mark of affection.

The impression produced upon me by Beethoven was somewhat of this nature. I was a great admirer of his genius and knew his works by heart when, in 1809, as member of the Privy Council,—Napoleon being engaged in war with Austria,—I was commissioned to bear to the Emperor the deliberations of the

[1] Authorised translation from The Baron de Trémont. The Baron de Trémont, two years before he died, "very respectfully offered to the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris six volumes of souvenirs, to be deposited there after my death, simply requesting that these six volumes be kept integral, and not lent to any one outside the Bibliotheque." The above article forms part of this collection.

council. Notwithstanding my prompt departure I reflected that, should the French army seize upon Vienna, I ought not to neglect the opportunity of seeing Beethoven. Accordingly I requested Cherubini to write me a letter of introduction:

"I will give you one for Haydn," he replied, "and you will be welcomed by that excellent man, but I will not write a single word for you to give to Beethoven. I should but pity myself for the fact that he had not received some one I had recommended. Bethoven is an ill-bred cub!"

Consequently I appealed to Reicha. "I fear," he replied, "that any letter from me will be useless to you. Ever since France has become an empire, Beethoven detests both Emperor and Frenchmen alike. To such a degree is this the case that Rode, the first violinist in Europe, when passing through Vienna on his way to Russia, remained there a whole week without succeeding in being received by him. He is a rough and peevish misanthrope, and, to give you an idea of the slight importance he attaches to common civility or the rules of good breeding, I may inform you that the Empress (the Princess of Bavaria, second wife of Francis the Second) one morning sent for him to call upon her, whereupon he replied that he would be busy the whole day but would try to see her on the morrow."

Such warnings made me feel certain that all my efforts to become acquainted with Beethoven would prove ineffectual. I was unknown, without reputation; nor had I any claim upon him. Indeed, I must be all the more unwelcome seeing that I was entering a Vienna that was being bombarded for the second time by the French army, and, in addition, that I was a member of Napoleon's Privy Council. All the same, I was determined to make the attempt.

So I called upon the composer and on reaching the door, reflected that my visit was ill-chosen as I had an official visit to pay afterwards. As ill luck would have it, he was lodging on one of the ramparts whose destruction, Napoleon had ordered. A mine had just been sprung beneath his very windows.

The neighbours pointed out where he lived. "He is at home," they told me, "but is without servant just now. It is very doubtful whether he will open to you."

I rang three times, and was on the point of going away when a very ugly man, of surly aspect, opens the door and asks me what I want.

"Is it M. Beethoven whom I have the honour of addressing?"

"It is, Monsieur! But I warn you," he said in German, "that I understand scarcely any French."

"I do not understand German any better, Monsieur," I replied, "but I am the bearer of a letter from M. Reicha, of Paris."

He looked at me, took the letter and requested me to enter. If I remember aright, the house contained only two rooms. In the first there was a recess, tiny and dark, which contained the bed. Everything was in a state of untidiness and disorder, and the floor was covered with splashes of water. There was also in the room a somewhat ancient grand piano, the top of which was covered with dust, as were also the sheets of music, both printed and manuscript, lying about. At the bed-side stood a small walnut table which bore signs that the inkstand had frequently been overturned. On it lay a number of rusty pens which would not bear comparison even with the post office variety. The seats, which were mostly of straw, were covered with various articles of clothing and with plates containing the remnants of the previous day's supper. Balzac or Dickens would continue this description for a couple of pages, telling in detail what the famous composer was wearing, but as I am neither Balzac nor Dickens, I confine myself to the statement: I was actually inside Beethoven's home.

I spoke only the most rudimentary German, though I could understand it a little. Nor was he in better case as regards French. I expected that, after reading my letter, he would dismiss me, and that our mutual acquaintance would go no further.

Still, I had seen the bear in his cage: and that was more than I could have expected. I was therefore greatly surprised when he again looked at me, placed the letter on the table without opening it, and offered me a chair. I was even more astonished when he began to talk. He asked me about my uniform, what particular function I was discharging in Vienna, how old I was, the object of my journey, whether I was a musician and intended to stay in Vienna for any length of time. I replied that Reicha's letter would explain all that far better than I could do myself.

"No, no, speak," he said, "but as I am very deaf, speak slowly; then I shall hear what you say."

I struggled desperately with the German tongue, while he showed himself very patient and indulgent: the result was the strangest mixture imaginable of bad German on my side and of bad French on his. After a little while we quite understood each other. The visit lasted three quarters of an hour. On leaving, he invited me to call on him again. I had actually made a conquest of Beethoven.

If you were to ask me how this came about, what answer could I give? Doubtless the cause might be found in the strangeness and oddity of his nature. I was young, polite, gentle in disposition; I was unknown to—and so formed a contrast with—himself. For some reason or other, he took a fancy to me, and, as sudden inclinations are seldom of a lukewarm character in such people, he gave me frequent rendezvous during my stay in Vienna, setting aside an hour—sometimes two—to talk with me alone. Whenever he had a servant, he told her not to open the door if any one rang, or, if he were playing the piano, to say that he was composing and was unable to receive any one.

A few musicians, whose acquaintance I had made, would scarcely credit all this. "Will you believe me," I said to them, "If I show you a note he has written me in French?"—"In

French? Impossible. He knows scarcely anything of the anguage nor can he even write German legibly! He is quite ncapable of such an effort!" I proved that they were misaken. "He must have conceived a real passion for you" hey said, "what a strange character!"

This note—a precious document—I have had framed. Reverting to the opinion expressed at the beginning of this article, my *amour-propre* would probably have prevented me rom doing so much for the good-natured Haydn.

Probably Beethoven's improvisations caused me the most vivid musical emotions I have ever experienced. I assert that unless one had heard him improvise *at his ease*, one can form out a poor conception of the vast range of his genius. As he was very impulsive, he would sometimes say to me, after striking a few cords: "I can do nothing to-day; we will postpone it for another time." Then we would discuss philosophy, religion or politics, but more frequently Shakespeare, whom he idolised, and all the time in a language that would have greatly amused listeners, had there been any.

Taciturn by nature, Beethoven was not brilliant or witty or animated in conversation. His thoughts found utterance by fits and starts; they were generous and lofty, though frequently not altogether just. Between himself and Jean-Jacques Rousseau there existed a common bond of erroneous judgment due to the fact that their misanthropic temperament had created a world after their own fancy, one that bore no true relationship to human nature or the actual state of society. All the same, Beethoven was well-informed. The isolation of his celibate life, his deafness, his frequent sojourns in the country, had induced him to take up the study of the classics. Adding to all this, that singular though real interest which is the outcome of erroneous ideas expressed and maintained with the utmost sincerity, his conversation was seen to be at all events original and curious if not very interesting. And because he was so well-disposed towards myself, it was quite in accordance with his splenetic

nature to prefer occasional contradiction rather than to have me always of the same mind as himself.

When he was in the right mood on the days when he improved, he was altogether sublime. He was enthusiastic and inspired, his songs and harmonies flowed uninterruptedly because, under the sway of musical feeling, he no longer thought —as with pen in hand—of seeking after effects ; they came rapidly, and of their own accord.

His playing of the piano was not correct and his manner of fingering was often faulty, the result being that the quality of the sound was neglected. But who could think of the instrumentalist? The listener was wholly absorbed by the performer's thoughts however his hands might express them.

I asked him if he would not like to visit France.

"I desired it ardently," he answered, "before she took to herself a master. Now, the longing is a thing of the past. For all that, I should like to hear in Paris the Symphonies of Mozart"—he mentioned neither his own nor those of Haydn—"which, so I am informed, are played better at the Conservatoire than anywhere else. But then, I am too poor to make the journey from simple curiosity, and for so short a time."

"I will take you with me,"—I offered.

"How could you think of such a thing? I could not agree to your incurring such expense on my account."

"Do not let that concern you. My travelling expenses are paid, and, as I travel alone, there is plenty of room for you in my carriage. If you will be satisfied with quite a tiny bedroom, I can place one at your disposal. Come, say yes. It would be well worth your while to spend a fortnight in Paris. Your sole expenditure would be for your return journey, and that would cost you less than fifty florins."

"Your offer is a tempting one. I will think of it."

On several occasions I urged him to make up his mind. His uncertainty was invariably due to his morose temperament.

"I shall be besieged with visitors, I expect?"

"You could refuse to see them."

"Invitations will pour in upon me."

"You need not accept them."

"They will always be urging me to play...or to compose."

"You can reply to the effect that you have not the time."

"Your Parisians will say that I am a regular bear."

"What does that matter to you? Manifestly you do not know them. Paris is the home of liberty, of independence from the bonds of society. Remarkable men are welcomed there in whatsoever way they are pleased to show themselves, and should one of them,—especially if he be a foreigner—appear somewhat eccentric, that is the very reason why he is a greater success."

At last he held out his hand, and said that he would come with me. I was delighted: another case of *amour-propre,* doubtless. To accompany Beethoven to Paris, to put him up in my own quarters and introduce him to the world of music in the French capital, was indeed a sort of personal triumph, but alas, to punish me for my anticipated enjoyment, things were not destined to turn out as I had expected.

In accordance with the armistice of Znaim, the French army occupied Moravia, to which province I was sent as commissary of stores. There I spent four months. By the treaty of Vienna, the province was restored to Austria, and so I returned to Vienna, where I found Beethoven, still of the same mind. Expecting to receive the order to leave for Paris, I had to proceed at once to Croatia. There I stayed a year, at the end of which time I was appointed prefect of Aveyron. I was ordered to terminate a certain mission at Agram and then to proceed immediately to Paris, before going on to my new destination. Consequently, it was impossible for me either to pass by Vienna or to see anything more of Beethoven. He reflected much on the greatness of Napoleon and often spoke to me on the subject. Despite his moroseness, I saw that he admired

Napoleon's rise from so lowly a beginning; it flattered his own democratic ideas. He said to me one day:

"If I go to Paris, shall I be compelled to bow to your Emperor?"

I assured him that such would not be the case, unless he were asked to do so.

"And do you think he will ask me?'"

"I have not the slightest doubt he would, if he knew your worth, though, as a matter of fact, he is practically unacquainted with music."

The question made me reflect that, notwithstanding his opinions, Beethoven would have been flattered at receiving any mark of distinction from Napoleon. Thus does the pride of man lower itself before that which flatters it.

FRED ROTHWELL

THE AGRICULTURAL LAND IN ANCIENT INDIA

Opinion widely differs as to how far the agricultural land was land revenue—a tax or a rent property of the Crown, and whether the land revenue derived by the King was a tax or a rent. Vincent A. Smith observes: "The Native Law of India has ordinarily recognised agricultural land as being the Crown property and has admitted the undoubted right of the ruling power to levy a Crown rent or 'land-revenue' amounting to a considerable portion either of the gross produce or its cash value."[1] And in support of this, he quotes the following passage from the translation of the Arthasāstra.

"Those who are well versed in the śāstras admit that the king is the owner of both land and water and that the people can exercise their right of ownership over all things excepting these two."[2]

Mr. Jayaswal says that "it may be the native law of any other land ; it is not certainly the native law of India."[3] He produces the original couplet of which Vincent A. Smith's quotation is a translation and shows that the English rendering is incorrect. The original couplet runs thus :

"राजा भूमे पतिर्दृष्टः शास्त्रज्ञैरुदकस्य च ।
ताभ्यामन्यत्र यद्द्रव्यं तत्र साम्यं कुटुम्बिनाम् ॥"

By 'पति' Jayaswal means 'protector' and translates the second line of the couplet as,—"Excepting these two (land and water), whatever property there may be, his family members have sameness of right therein."[4] He emphatically denies the feudal theory and for support draws our attention to Colebrooke's Essay on Mimāṁsā, to Nilakaṇṭha, Mādhava, Bhattapiṇḍa and

[1] Early History of India, pp. 137-138.
[2] *Ibid*. p. 138|n.
[3] Hindu Polity, Part II, p. 181.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 182.

Kātyāyana, to Gupta Copper-plate title-deeds and also to the Jātakas.

Samaddar agreeing with Vincent A. Smith refers to the latter as his authority and quotes a couple of passages from the Greek writers. He finds an expression 'private lands' in the commentary of the Arthaśāstra, but labours to reconcile the expression by saying "we have to remember that the ancient Indian king could give away lands just as the Anglo-Saxon Kings could and did." [5] But Macdonell and Keith [6] have observed that the Greek writers are contradictory on the point; and Rhys Davids has pointed out that in royal grants, "the king granted not the land (he had no property in land), but the tithe due by custom, to the Government as yearly tax." [7]

In the Bṛhaspati Smṛti there is a remarkable passage which should not escape notice. It runs thus:

"When land is taken from one man by a king actuated by anger or avarice or using a fraudulent pretext and bestows on a different person as a mark of his favour, such a gift is not considered valid." [8]

This certainly presupposes absolute ownership by private persons, and also, that the king had not the power to dispossess a rightful owner of his property. If he did, it was not to be considered valid by the people. According to the Hindu view, monarchy is contractual, and the king's prerogative limited. The Milinda-pañha gives an exposition of the limited monarchy of kings.[9] In the Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata, there is a passage which describes how the first king was elected on a contract: "In olden days, people approached Brahmā, the Creator, and asked for a king so that they might be protected against cheats, swindlers, robbers and thieves. Brahmā asked

[5] Economic Condition of Ancient India, p. 57.

[6] Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 214-215.

[7] Buddhist India, p. 48.

[8] XIX, 22.

[9] The Milinda-pañha, 359. See also the Jātaka (edited by Cowell), Vol. I, p. 236.

Manu to take up the duty of protecting them. Manu declined saying that he was afraid he might commit wrong, as it was a difficult task to govern a kingdom and particularly to keep people on the path of virtue. Thereupon the people proffered that he would be entitled to a fourth share of their spiritual benefit and tenth share of grain, etc., assured him that sin would never touch him and solicited his protection in return." The ancient Aryans believed that the king was not the 'lord and master' of the people.[10] He was rather a servant; for "a king like a pregnant woman shall forego all pleasures of his own and only live for the well-being of his charge; and he takes as his own share a sixth part of the *income* of his subjects—*good* or *bad*—in exchange of his good government.[11] He was thus to take taxes, etc., only as a return of his services to the people; and we find Manu threatening, "A king who does not afford protection and yet takes his share in kind, his taxes, tolls and duties, daily presents and fines, will after death soon sink into hell.[12]

Private ownership of land is supported by many passages in the Law-books.[13] What constitutes the proprietary right is very clearly given in Bṛhaspati, IX, 3, 4. We have also numerous instances of gift and sale of land by private individuals. While dealing with 'Mortgage of land,' Bṛhaspati says, "When a field has been mortgaged to two creditors at the same time, it shall belong to that mortgagee who was the first to obtain possession of it. If both have possessed it for an equal time, it shall be held in common or shared equally by them. The same rule is ordained in the case of a gift or sale." [14] Making the gift of land has always been believed to be highly meritori-

[10] See Jāt. No. 96.

[11] See The Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CCXXIII. *Cf.* Aśoka's P. E. IV.

[12] VIII, 307.

[13] Bṛhaspati VIII, 27; XI, 32, 34, 35; XIX, 17; Nārada, VI, 20; XI, 20, 21, 23, 24; Manu, IX, 52, 53, etc.

[14] XI, 34, 35.

ous. "The merit of making the gift of a plot of land grows more and more every day like a drop of oil poured on water which expands itself in larger and larger eddies."[15]

Thus the theory that the agricultural land belonged to the Crown cannot stand in the face of all these evidences to the contrary. There is, however, a passage in Manu which implies that the owner was responsible to the king, if he failed to sow his land or if the crops were damaged due to his own neglect or that of his servants.[16] This meant only an economic benefit both from the standpoint of the owner of the land and of the state; and it would certainly be a mistake to try to assert anything more than that the king had no proprietary right on land with this qualification that no land was allowed to lie fallow permanently, and that he was entitled only to a defined portion of the gross produce as tax. Manu allows $\frac{1}{12}$, $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$ part.[17] It was usually one-sixth. In the time of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the rate was one-fourth with an additional water rate of one-fourth. Huen Tsang says that in the time of Harsha, it was one-sixth. Land revenue was thus a tax--a tax somewhat similar to our modern income-tax and yet much different from it as the Agnipurāṇa explicitly points out,—"Like the Sun-god, the king would take in a portion of each man's earnings through the channels of his revenue only to pour it down in showers on the country for furtherance of the common weal."[18]

From the earliest times of Aryan civilisation, people held

[15] See the Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CCXI. See also the Matsya Purāṇa, Chap. 283, and the Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa, Chap. IX.

[16] See Manu, VII, 130 and also Āp., II, 28.

[17] VII, 130. Medhātithi, Kullukabhatta, Gobindarāga, Nandanāchārya and Rāghabānanda—Commentators of Manu,—are all unanimous that a sixth part of the harvest is the King's share. See also Gautama, X, 24-27; Vasistha, XIX, 26-27; Baudhāyana, I, 18, 1, 18, 15; Vishnu, II, 22-25, 29, 30; and Āpastamba, II, 26, 9.

[18] See Chap. CCXXXIX, 43.

their lands in well-marked holdings carefully measured off according to the standard of measurements prevailing in those days.[19] The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa gives a series of land measure which runs thus :

Interest of agricultural land safeguarded by division of labour and laws strictly enjoined by Law-makers.

10 Paramāṇus = 1 Parasūkshma
10 Parasūkshmas = 1 Trasareṇu
10 Trasareṇu = 1 Mahiraja (a particle of dust)
10 Mahirajas = 1 Bālāgra (hair's point)
10 Bālāgras = 1 Likhyā
10 Likhyās = 1 Yūka
10 Yūkas = 1Jabodara (heart of barley)
10 Jabodaras = 1 Yava (grain of barley)
10 Yavas = 1 Aṅguli (finger)
6 Aṅgulis = 1 Pada (the breadth of a foot)
2 Padas = 1 Vitasti (span)
2 Vitastis = 1 Hasta (cubit)
4 Hastas = 1 Dhanu or Dhanda (Staff) or 2 Nārikas.
2000 Dhanus = 1 Gavyūti
4 Gavyūtis = 1 Yoyana (nearly 7 miles)

Though the owners held land in separate well-marked holdings, there was no proprietary right against the community.[20] True, there is a passage in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa implying that a piece of land was given away as a sacrificial fee. But Rhys Davids has pointed out that " it was at once added that the Earth itself said—and mother Earth was a most dreaded Divinity—' No mortal must give me away.' "[21] In later times, however, we find positive instances of sale of land.[22] But we agree with Rhys Davids when he says that "we hear of no instance of a shareholder selling or mortgaging his share of the village field to an outsider, and it was impossible for him to do so at least

[19] Rv, I, 110, 5. In Jāt, No. 276 also, we have a reference to measuring a field by means of a cord tied to a stick.

[20] See Buddhist India, p. 46.

[21] *Ibid*, p. 47.

[22] See the Jātaka, Vol. IV, p. 167.

without the consent of the village council.''[23] It will be seen presently how in later times similar restrictions operated indirectly in safeguarding the interest of agricultural lands.

With time population increased, and according to demand, waste land and forest clearings[24] were gradually brought under the plough. Nothing operated to throttle rural industries; in fact the provinces were alive with the bustle of manufacture and commercial undertakings.[25] And pressure on land was perhaps never anything so high as it is to-day. In the days of Manu, agriculture came to be restricted to a certain specified section of the people. Division of labour was clearly defined and it fell to the lot of Vaisyas to tend cattle, to trade and to cultivate land; and the king was enjoined to see that the Vaisyas carried on their occupations peacefully.[26] Laws on the division of labour were as follows :

"To Brāhmaṇas, the lord assigned teaching and studying the Veda, sacrificing for their own benefit and for others, giving and accepting of alms. The Kshatriya—he commanded to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study the Veda, to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures; the Vaisyas to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study the Veda, to trade, to lend money and *to cultivate land*. One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the Sudra, to serve meekly these other three castes.''[27] Agriculture was forbidden to the two higher castes as will appear from the following verse : "..........a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya living by a Vaisya-mode of subsistence, shall carefully avoid the pursuit of agriculture, which causes injury to many beings and depends on others.''[28]

[23] *Loc. cit.* pp. 46-47.

[24] Do., p. 47.

[25] See the Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CCXXXIX.

[26] Manu, VIII, 410.

[27] Manu, I, 88-91. *Cf.* Nār., I, 52-54; Yājñ., I, 118-120; Vishnu, II, 4-14; Āp., I, 1, 1, 5-6; Gaut., X, 2, 7, 4, 9, 56; Vasistha, II, 13-20; Baudh, I, 18, 1-5. Also see the Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CLI, 6-9.

[28] Manu, X, 83.

One living by agriculture was forbidden to be entertained at a *Śrāddha*,[29] and though some people thought agriculture to be an excellent thing, it was blamed by the virtuous,[30] the reason being that the iron-faced block of wood smites the Earth and also the animals dwelling in the earth." [31] Hopkins explains that long before Manu's law-book was known, had arisen the famous Ahiṁsā doctrine of non-injury to living creatures and the objection to agriculture on the part of the priest is based—expressly on this ground in the law-books." [32] But references to Brāhmin-cultivators [33] are not wanting even in the time of the Buddha—the great apostle of the doctrine of *Ahiṁsā*. This was not, however, in conflict with the Hindu law-books ; for agriculture was not forbidden to them in times of distress, ordinarily though it was a criminal proceeding if one caste took to the occupation of another caste.[34]

Baden Powell says, " the Vaisya is represented by the merchant whose business is with trade and with buying grains and other goods. He is also regarded as the owner of flocks and herd. The cultivation of land is only casually thrown among his permissible occupations as a subsidiary matter. And even so, the expression used seems quite possibly to refer to agricultural land-holding not as a personal occupation, but as a means of employing capital."[35] This statement appears to err rather on the wrong side. The occupations of Vaisyas as enumerated in detail in the law-books will bear reproduction here :—

" After a Vaisy a has received the sacraments and has taken a wife, he shall be always attentive to the business whereby he may subsist and to that of tending cattle. For, when the Lord of creatures (Prajāpati) created cattle, he made them over to the

[29] See Manu edited by Bühler, p. 420. (The Manu Saṃhitā, III, 153.)

[30] *Ibid*, p. 106.

[31] Manu, X, 84. See also the Śāntiparva of the Māhābhārata, Chap. CCLII.

[32] India, Old and New, p. 211..

[33] See Jāt. Nos. 354, 389, 516 and others. Brāhmin Bharadwāja, who was converted by the Buddha, was a cultivator. Also see the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.

[34] Nār., II, 55; the Agnipurāṇa, Chap. CCLII, etc.

[35] The Indian Village Community, p. 192.

Vaisya ; to the Brāhmaṇa and to the king, He entrusted all created beings. A Vaisya must never conceive the wish 'I shall not keep cattle' ; and if a Vaisya is willing to keep them, they must never be kept by men of other castes. A Vaisya must know the respective value of gems and of pearls, of coral, of metals, of cloth, of perfumes and condiments. *He must be acquainted with the manner of sowing seeds and of the good and bad qualities of fields* and he must perfectly know all measures and weights ; moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the probable profit and loss on merchandise, the advantages of different countries and the means of properly rearing cattle. He must be acquainted with the proper wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods and the rules of purchase and sale. Let him exert himself to the utmost in order to increase his property in a righteous manner and let him zealously give food to all created beings." [36]

Considering the importance attached to agriculture as the staple industry of the country, there can be no reason to doubt that "Vaisyas were particularly agriculturists," as Hopkins aptly remarks,[37] and as such their agricultural land-holding was certainly a professional occupation. Most probably, in the time of Manu and subsequently also, agricultural land was entirely in the hands of agriculturists. If, for the sake of argument, it is supposed that non-agriculturists still held land, it must also be substantiated that they managed to get their fields cultivated by mutual contract with cultivators ; for, all land must be cultivated, or there would be a loss in the king's revenue. Moreover, the law provided that when the owner was unable to cultivate his land himself, he should lose the right to have any interest thereof, and a stranger who might undertake its

[36] Manu, IX, 326-333. See also Hārita, II, 16; Parāsara, I, 60; Saṃkha I, 4; Atri, 368, etc.

[37] *Loc. cit.*, p. 212.

[38] See Nār. XI, 23. Also the Agni-Pur., Chap. CCLVII.

cultivation unchecked would be allowed to keep the produce. This law held also if the owner was dead or gone no one knows whither.[38] Again, in the Nārada Smṛti we find, "When the owner returns while the stranger is engaged in cultivating the field, the owner shall recover the field after having paid to the cultivator the whole expense incurred in tilling the waste. Where the owner is unable to pay for the expenses, a deduction of an eighth part shall be made till seven years have elapsed. But when the eighth year arrives, the owner shall recover the field cultivated by the other as his independent property." [39] Thus a land-owning non-agriculturist, if there was any, was practically in the grip of the cultivator, for if he failed to cultivate his land for even a year, it would be considered a half-waste ;[40] and a cultivator who tills the waste the year after, must be paid the whole expense incurred thereby before the owner could have any right to get an interest on his land in the form of a share in the crop. It should be noted also, that in the days of Gautama, "The cultivators had their own corporations or unions." [41] In the days that followed, these factors must have operated greatly not only to restrict transference of land to non-agriculturists but also to discourage non-professional land-holding.

Nothing to show that cultivation of land by fragmentation was carried to an excess.

Litigation on land was discouraged, and boundary disputes whenever there arose, were settled by an arbitration board [42] except in cases where no local person conversant with the true state of things could be found. In such cases only the king himself fixed the boundary.[43] Decision usually rested with the neigh-

[39] XI, 24, 25.
[40] See Nār., XI, 26. "A tract of land which has not been under cultivation for a year is called *Ardha khila* (half-waste). That which has not been under cultivation for three years is called *khila* (waste) and that which has not been under cultivation for five years is no better than a forest."
[41] Gautama, XI, 20-21.
[42] See Nār., XI, 9.
[43] *Ibid*, XI, 11. See also Manu, VIII, 265. Yāgñ., II, 153.

bours, the inhabitants of the same village or town, the other members of the same community and the seniors.[44] This prevented drainage of a considerable portion of agriculturists' money through law-courts, which could be invested as an agricultural capital and thus profitably employed on land. Not only that, the interest of land from the stand-point of agriculture was further safeguarded by rules on debt and usury. Usury in general, was condemned, so much so that the food of an usurer was forbidden to be taken.[45] Only a Vaisya was at liberty to get over a period of distress by practising usury.[46] The rate of interest was usually 80th part of a hundred in every month.[47] In cases where land was mortgaged, the debtor delivered the field to the creditor with this stipulation that "the mortgager should recover his pledge as soon as the creditor had fully realised his demand out of the mortgage, no matter whether he (the mortgager) contributed anything himself towards the realisation" [48] Agriculture, tending of cattle, trade and banking were the lawful occupations of Vaisyas, and they were particularly agriculturists. So, permitting them only to lend money on interest checked the land going out of the hands of the agriculturist class. The above law as laid down by Bṛhaspati clearly helped also to safeguard the position of the small peasant-proprietor; and if the land at all went out of his hands, it went to the bigger and wealthier neighbour-agriculturist with the result that there was a tendency to consolidation of agricultural land rather than its fragmentation. This also explains the fact that the absence of farming on a large scale which is so characteristic a feature of the present day was not perhaps strikingly so in ancient times. This inference which the above facts naturally force

44 *Ibid*, XI, 2. Also Manu, VIII, 256, Yāgñ., II, 153.
45 Manu, IV, 210 and 220.
46 Nār., I, 111.
47 Manu, VIII, 140; Nār., I, 99; Vasiṣṭha, II 51
48 Bṛhaspati, XI. 24.

upon us can also be corroborated by references in the books [49] to a farmer possessing as many as five hundred ploughs and working a farm of thousand *Karisas* or eight thousand acres.

It has been admitted on all hands that cultivation by fragmentation is a greater evil than fragmentation of land by sub-division of holdings. Small holdings there were, but there is nothing to show that cultivation of land by fragmentation was carried to an excess. On the other hand, we find books speaking of partnership concerns in cultivation and also codifying laws to regulate such concerns. Bṛhaspati says, "Tillage should be undertaken by a sensible man jointly with those who are his equals in points of cattle, workmen, seeds and the like as well as implements of husbandry. When by the deficiency of one partner as to cattle or seeds, a loss happens to the produce of the field, it must be made good by him to all the husbandmen." [50] Jātaka No. 67 speaks of two brothers-in-law cultivating together and we find Khanā enjoining that, "for the interest of cultivation father and son, failing which brother and brother should join hands." [51] Indeed, joint-family system was another very important institution from economic standpoint. No member of a joint family needed insuring his life in an Insurance Co. with a view to making provision for his wife and children; for, he knew that after his death, his wife and children would be maintained equally honourably as during his life-time by his surviving brothers in return of the services that he had rendered to the family while he was alive. The village money-lender provided banking facilities; and debts whenever there was any necessity to run into them, were incurred on the joint responsibility of all the able-bodied members of the family. The savings of the members likewise went to the joint fund, and whenever required, the fund was employed to

[49] Brāhmin Bharadwāja is represented as having 500 ploughs. See also Jāt. No, 218. For a farm of 1,000 *Karisas*, see Jāt. No. 389.

[50] XIV, 21 and 25. See also Yāgñ., II, 262-268.

Vide Gupta Press Pañjikā.

help one member or another according as he needed help, or in buying a property in which all the male members would have an equal share, no matter how much different the contribution of the individual member to the family fund might have been.

True, Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba [52] say that if the property were divided, the land was equally divided amongst the sons. But Manu while discussing the question of inheritance does not mention land at all. Probably, thereby he meant to discourage subdivision of holdings. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Hindu laws of inheritance have a tendency to effect sub-division of holdings. But excessive subdivision was prevented if we suppose that in many cases, the property could advantageously be held jointly by all the sons instead of dividing it, while one son farmed it and shared the crops with the other owners. In such cases, where the field was made over to another on a special contract, the law said that the owner of the seed and the owner of the land were both considered as sharers of the crop.[53] This would be possible if only alternative occupations were available to the other sons. We know that agriculture was only one of the lawful occupations of Vaisyas. Tending of cattle, trade and money-lending were also open to them, and the other sons could profitably take to one or another of those occupations and thereby supplement the income of the family. There was thus nothing serious in the way of joint-family ownership of land and a consequent beneficial check to an excessive subdivision of holdings with its attending vices.

R. GANGULI

[52] See Gaut., XVII, 5-17; Baudh., II, 2, 3; Āp., II, 6, 14.
[53] See Manu, IX, 53.

LYRICS FROM ELIZABETHAN DRAMATISTS

In the age of Elizabeth the art of song-writing was carried to perfection, and the lyrical poetry which one finds in that age is as profuse as it is excellent. After one reads many Elizabethan songs, one becomes aware of the extent and wealth of these wonderful realms of gold.

Composers in those days were not satisfied merely to let the words of a song be conveniently used for some particular piece of music. The music, which was "married to immortal verse," was "choicely good "—to use Izaak Walton's words. The rich, melodious, and beautiful songs of the Elizabethan age, which are dispersed among the plays, masques, and pageants, are unique.

John Lyly is quite different from Robert Greene because the latter's lyrics are found only in his romances, not in his plays. Thomas Lodge is also like Robert Greene in this respect. But Lyly's comedies are interspersed with songs even if one can find nothing resembling a lyric in his romance, *Euphues*. In 1632 Edward Blount issued a collective edition of Lyly's plays for the preservation of these songs which are not included in the original edition of Lyly's plays. Unfortunately, some of the publishers in those days were sometimes very foolish and omitted songs from plays put to press. It is known that Hain Friswell omitted in 1867 all the poetry from his edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*. Although the stage directions in Marston's plays show that songs must have been plentiful, his plays contain none of them. But still, even at that, one cannot say that the songs were Marston's, for one does not know positively. In Lyly's songs there is an ethereal lightness that bespeaks of a most refreshing and soothing contrast to the ornamentation of *Euphues*. It would be difficult to find verses which are

superior to *Cupid and my Campaspe Played.* Where can there be found a conceit which is more neatly turned than in these delightful verses?

"Cupid and my Campaspe played
At cards for kisses,—Cupid paid;
He stakes his quiver, bow and arrows,
His mother's doves, and team of sparrows:
Loses them too; then down he throws
The coral of his lip, the rose
Growing on's cheek (but none knows how);
With these the crystal of his brow,
And then the dimple of his chin:
All these did my Campaspe win.
At last he set her both his eyes;
She won, and Cupid blind did rise.
O Love, has she done this to thee?
What shall, alas! become of me?"

—JOHN LYLY,
Alexander and Campaspe, 1584; acted 1581.

Lyly's songs are not found in the original editions of his plays, but they first appeared in the collective edition of 1632. It is known, of course, that the songs of Lyly were written during the time when every English lyrist was, like the clod, groping blindly for light, but finally "climbs to a soul in grass and flowers."[1] Even Breton and Lodge sometimes fall back into those tedious measures which some of the older poets used. Even Robert Greene's touch was not always sure although his lyrical poetry is of a singular beauty. The songs of Lyly, however, are exquisite. There are as many facets to his songs as there are to a well-cut diamond, and all the facets sparkle and "flash a laugh at time." *Song to Apollo, God of Day*, and *O Cupid, Monarch over Kings*, are remembered for their flower-like beauty.

[1] From *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, by James Russell Lowell.

"Sing to Apollo, god of day,
Whose golden beams with morning play,
And make her eyes as brightly shine,
Aurora's face is called divine;
Sing to Phoebus and that throne
Of diamonds which he sits upon
Io paeans let us sing
To physic's and poesy's king!

Crown all his altars with bright fire,
Laurels bind about his lyre,
A Daphnean coronet for his head,
The Muses dance about his bed;
When on his ravishing lute he plays,
Strew his temple round with bays.
Io paeans let us sing
To the glittering Delian king!"

—JOHN LYLY,
Midas, 1592; acted 1590.

O Cupid, Monarch over Kings is equally beautiful:

"O Cupid! monarch over kings,
Wherefore hast thou feet and wings?
It is to shew how swift thou art,
When thou wound'st a tender heart;
Thy wings being clipped and feet held still,
Thy bow so many could not kill.

It is all one in Venus' wanton school,
Who highest sits, the wise man or the fool;
Fools in love's college
Have far more knowledge
To read a woman over,
Than a neat prating lover:
Nay, 'tis confessed,
That fools please women best."

—JOHN LYLY,
Mother Bombie, 1594; acted about 1590.

The songs interspersed in the drama of Lyly are dainty, indeed, and when one has read many of the songs of the Elizabethan dramatists, it is not to be wondered at that they have long been recognized as amongst the best of the English lyrics. From the time of the merry lilt of *Gammer Gurton's Needle, Back and side, go bare, go bare,* the practice of interspersing the dramas with lyrics has continued to no small degree until one finds the most excellent lyrics in the dramas of Lyly, Dekker, and Shakespeare.

Although Peele's plays are not the best, his lyrics are very beautiful and are fresh as spring-time flowers.

"Fair and fair, and twice so fair,
As fair as any may be;
The fairest shepherd on our green,
A love for any lady.
Fair and fair, and twice so fair,
As fair as any may be;
Thy love is fair for thee alone
And for no other lady.
My love is fair, my love is gay,
As fresh as bene the flowers in May,
And of my-love my roundelay,
My merry, merry roundelay,
Concludes with Cupid's curse,—
They that do change old love for new
Pray gods they change for worse!
They that do change old love for new
Pray gods they change for worse!

Fair and fair, and twice so fair,
As fair as any may be;
The fairest shepherd on the green
A love for any lady.
Fair and fair, and twice so fair,
As fair as any may be;
Thy love is fair for thee alone
And for no other lady.

My love can pipe, my love can sing,
My love can many a pretty thing,
And of his lovely praises ring
My merry, merry roundelays.
Amen to Cupid's curse,—
They that do change old love for new
Pray gods they change for worse!
They that do change old love for new
Pray gods they change for worse!"

—GEORGE PEELE,
The Arraignment of Paris, 1584; acted before 1582.)

This one is unusually musical :

"O gentle Love, ungentle for thy deed,
Thou mak'st my heart
A bloody mark
With piercing shot to bleed.

Shoot soft, sweet Love, for fear thou shoot amiss,
For fear too keen
Thy arrows bene,
And hit the heart where my beloved is.

Too fair that fortune were, nor never I
Shall be so blest,
Among the rest,
That love shall seize on her by sympathy.

Then since with Love my prayers bear no boot,
This doth remain
To ease my pain
I take the wound and die at Venus' foot."

—GEORGE PEELE,
The Arraignment of Paris, 1584; acted before 1582.

It has been said that Peele was a reprobate but it is rather difficult for one to believe it when one reads such lyrics as these. Be that as it may, it is known that the author of these lyrics was

a man of chivalrous character. Peele must have been honoured in court, for the play from which these songs come was given in the presence of the Queen.

Although the prose of Thomas Nash is not of the best, his few songs, which are the purest of lyrics, are above the ordinary.

"Fair summer droops, droop men and beasts therefore,
So fair a summer look for never more:
All good things vanish less than in a day,
Peace, plenty, pleasure, suddenly decay.
Go not yet away, bright soul of the sad year,
The earth is hell when thou leav'st to appear.
What, shall those flowers that decked thy garland erst,
Upon thy grave be wastefully dispersed?
O trees, consume your sap in sorrow's source,
Streams, turn to tears your tributary course.
Go not yet hence, bright soul of the sad year,
The earth is hell when thou leav'st to appear."

—THOMAS NASH,
Summer's Last Will and Testament, 1600; acted 1592.

This one is very musical, too:

"Spring, the sweet Spring, is the year's pleasant king;
Then blooms each thing, then maids dance in a ring,
Cold doth not sting, the pretty birds do sing,
Cuckoo, jug, jug, pu-we, to-witta-woo!
The palm and May make country houses gay,
Lambs frisk and play, the shepherds pipe all day,
And we hear aye birds tune this merry lay,
Cuckoo, jug, jug, pu-we, to-witta-woo!
The fields breathe sweet, the daisies kiss our feet,
Young lovers meet, old wives a-sunning sit,
In every street, these tunes our ears do greet,
Cuckoo, jug, jug, pu-we, to-witta-woo!
Spring, the sweet spring!"

—THOMAS NASH,
Summer's Last Will and Testament, 1600; acted 1592.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that Shakespeare is the outstanding lyrist of the Elizabethan dramatists. In regard to the real mystery of this man's great power, both criticism and philosophy are mute. His appearance in the world's intellectual chronicles can be linked with no preceding age, and he is far above his own age. Emerson says, "It is the nature of poetry to spring, like the rainbow daughter of Wonder, from the invisible, to abolish the past, and to refuse all history." The capacities and wonders of Shakespeare's mind existed in the vital germ of the spiritual nature born with him into the world and his works, of course, are the result of unfolding this. He is a person as great as the sum of all his works. There are many lyrics scattered all through Shakespeare's dramas and they are all equally beautiful. Although such lyrics as the following hint of the inmost essence of the poet and play upon the mind "like a splendor out of Heaven," as Carlyle says; and although they illustrate the independence of time, they are no adequate measure of Shakespeare's power. This one is very pretty;

"Who is Silvia? What is she,
That all our swains commend her?
Holy, fair and wise is she;
That heaven such grace did lend her,
That she might admired be.
Is she kind as she is fair,
For beauty lives with kindness?
Love doth to her eyes repair,
To help him of his blindness,
And being helped inhabits there.
Then to Silvia let us sing,
That Silvia is excelling;
She excels each mortal thing
Upon the dull earth dwelling:
To her let us garlands bring."

—William Shakespeare,
The Two Gentlemen of Verona, 1598; acted about 1592-93.

This one is recognized by everyone :

"Over hill, over dale,
Through bush, through brier,
Over park, over pale,
Through flood, through fire,
I do wander everywhere,
Swifter than the moon's sphere;
And I serve the fairy queen,
To dew her orbs upon the green:
The cowslips tall her pensioners be;
In their gold coats spots you see;
Those be rubies, fairy favours,
In their freckles live their savours:
I must go seek some dew-drops here,
And hang a pearl in every cowslip's ear.
Farewell, thou lob of spirits: I'll be gone;
Our queen and all her elves come here anon."

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act II, Sc. I.

These lines, which are sung while Bassanio comments on the caskets to himself, are familiar ones :

"Tell me where is fancy bred,
Or in the heart or in the head?
How begot, bow nourished?
Reply, reply.
It is engendered in the eyes,
With gazing fed; and fancy dies
In the cradle where it lies:
Let us all ring fancy's knell;
I'll begin it,—Ding, dong, bell.
Ding, dong, bell."

—WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
The Merchant of Venice, 1596.

And this one is familiar :

"All that glitters is not gold;
Often have you heard that told:

Many a man his life hath sold:
But my outside to behold:
Gilded tombs do worms infold.
Had you been as wise as bold,
Young in limbs, in judgment old,
Your answer had not been inscroll'd:
Fare you well; your suit is cold."

—William Shakespeare.
The Merchant of Venice, Act II, Sc. VII.

In *Measure for Measure*, this one is found:

"Take, O take those lips away,
That so sweetly were forsworn;
And those eyes, the break of day,
Lights that do mislead the morn:
But my kisses bring again,
Bring again,
Seals of love, but sealed in vain,
Sealed in vain."

—William Shakespeare,

In Ben Jonson's plays one finds many lyrics.

"Still to be neat, still to be drest,
As you were going to a feast;
Still to be powdered, still perfumed:
Lady, it is to be presumed,
Though Art's hid causes are not found,
All is not sweet, all is not sound.

Give me a look, give me a face,
That makes simplicity a grace;
Robes loosely flowing, hair as free:
Such sweet neglect more taketh me
Than all th' adulteries of art;
They strike mine eyes, but not my heart."

—Ben Jonson,
The Silent Woman, 1609-10.

Ben Jonson is one of the poets who has combined learning with both smoothness and sprightliness. He has intertwined "all the sweets and salts, That none may say the triumph halts." One can find many interesting epigrams in his lyrics, but this is a subject unto itself. The compactness of his thought is unusual.

Dekker had a real lyrical gift. All of his work, though, was done in haste, probably because life was a constant struggle to try to keep the wolf away from the door. Then, too, he was often put into prison as was the custom in those days for not being able to pay his debts; and such surroundings were not particularly inspiring for poetical expression. His cheerful disposition however, never forsook him and there are only too few of his lyrics which are lovely as a day in early June. This one is very appealing :

" Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers?
        O sweet content!
Art thou rich, yet is thy mind perplexed?
        O punishment!
Dost thou laugh to see how fools are vexed
To add to golden numbers, golden numbers?
O sweet content! O sweet O sweet content!
    Work apace, apace, apace, apace;
    Honest labor bears a lovely face;
Then hey nonny nonny, hey nonny nonny!

Canst drink the waters of the crisped spring?
        O sweet content!
Swimm'st thou in wealth, yet sink'st in thine own tears?
        O punishment!
Then he that patiently want's burden bears
No burden bears, but is a king, a king!
O sweet content! O sweet O sweet content!
    Work apace, apace, apace, apace;
    Honest labor bears a lovely face;
Then hey nonny nonny, hey nonny nonny!"

—THOMAS DEKKER,
The Pleasant Comedy of Patient Grissell, acted 1599.

Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher were lyrists of the first rank. The *Inner Temple Masque* shows that Beaumont was able to write songs well. Notice the unusual rapture in this call to the masquers to begin the dance :

" Shake off your heavy trance!
And leap into a dance
Such as no mortals use to tread:
Fit only for Apollo
To play to, for the moon to lead,
And all the stars to follow!"

—FRECIS BEAUMONT,
The Masque of the Inner Temple, 1612-13.

In Webster's dramas, the three lyrics are rather impressive. In *The White Devil* there is *Call for the Robin-Redbreast* and the *Wren*; in *The Duchess of Malfi, Hark, Now Everything is Still*; and in *The Devil's Law-Case, All the Flowers of the Spring*.

" Hark, now everything is still,
The screech-owl and the whistler shrill
Call upon our dame aloud,
And bid her quickly don her shroud.
Much you had of land and rent;
Your length in clay's now competent:
A long war disturbed your mind;
Here your perfect peace is signed.
Of what is't fools make such vain keeping,
Sin their conception, their birth weeping,
Their life a general mist of error,
Their death a hideous storm of terror?
Strew your hair with powders sweet,
Don clean linen, bathe your feet,
And—the foul fiend more to check—
A crucifix let bless your neck:
'Tis now full tide 'tween night and day;
End your groan, and come away."

—JOHN WEBSTER,
The Duchess of Malfi, 1623; acted about 1612.

Pack, Clouds, Away, and Welcome Day is a very pretty song by Thomas Heywood. There is much melody in *The Golden Age* and *Silver Age*; and the address to Phoebus in *Love's Mistress* is very graceful. Heywood has also written some songs which are somewhat jocular in manner.

Some of Shirley's songs remind one of Fletcher. But *The Glories of Our Blood and State* remind one of Fletcher himself, for it is original as it is solemn.

If one would know the moods and the inner feelings of these great lyrists one has only to study the lyrical poetry of the age of Elizabeth. Dr. Felix E. Schelling, a noted authority on Elizabethan literature, in his *Elizabethan Lyrics* (Ginn and Company, New York, 1895), page xxx of the Introduction, has said: The playwrights, however, almost at once perceived the need of a wider scope of sentiment than was to be found in the pastoral mode, and recognized the superior excellence of shorter and sprightlier metrical forms over the slow-paced sonnet. Hence we find the songs of the dramatists vying in wealth of fancy and originality of form with the best work of other lyrists. With the exception of Shakespeare, whose lyrics, like all else that his hand touched, are beyond comparison, no Elizabethan poet has produced so large a number of exquisite songs as John Fletcher.

"Tell me, dearest, what is love?
'Tis a lightning from above;
'Tis an arrow, 'tis a fire,
'Tis a boy they call Desire.
'Tis a grave,
Gapes to have
Those poor fools that long to prove.

Tell me more, are women true?
Yes, some are, and some as you.
Some are willing, some are strange,
Since you men first taught to change.
And till troth
Be in both,
All shall love, to love anew.

Tell me more yet, can they grieve?
Yes, and sicken sore, but live,
And be wise, and delay,
When you men are wise as they.
Then I see,
Faith will be,
Never till they both believe."

—John Fletchlr,
The Captain, 1647, acted before 1613.

Louise A. Nelson.

MDISUMMER

" Loved one, what is that?
Lovers on the lake rowing?"
" No, dearest, that is a pair of ducks
That float on dirty water."

" Loved one, what is that?
The fragrance of a rose?"
" No, dearest, that is the smell of the dead
That rises from yonder graves."

" Loved one, what is that?
The ditties of love that are singing?"
" No, dearest, that is the hot wind
Over the desert sweeping."

" Loved one, what am I then?
I am a very king in heaven!"
" No, dearest, upon the wings of dreams
You are riding with your love."

Jinkichi Matsuda

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS

Conditions of Progress.

IV. Regarding the conditions of progress various theories have been propounded and various suggestions offered and emphasized by different thinkers and leaders in all ages and countries and peoples, nay, numerous theoretical and practical schemes have been formulated and experimented on the basis of those theories and suggestions for the general guidance and regulation of the course of human life, thought and conduct. Here I need not enter into details of each of them. Looking at them from a broad point of view, it may be pointed out that none of them has yet sufficiently satisfied the needs of humanity. The very fact that their validity or feasibility has been questioned or could be openly challenged is a clear proof of their inadequacy and impracticability beyond a certain degree. Analysing them carefully, one may certainly detect that these theories and suggestions have been brought forward in the interest, more or less, of one or the other of these five: (1) the perpetual state of strangeness or unlikeness, (2) that of conflict or antagonism, (3) that of harmony or conciliation, (4) that of unity, and (5) that of beatitude. Thus it becomes necessary to examine patiently whether, if at all, any of these five states can, when considered by itself, be regarded as the only and ultimate condition of progress in the aforesaid sense.

State of strangeness or unlikeness.

(1) The state of strangeness or unlikeness is in essence the mere co-existence or concurrence of separate individuals or groups with or without chances of mutual encroachments. Thus to welcome it as condition of progress is to endeavour to ascertain how far it is possible for mankind to co-exist and develop as different or distinct individuals or groups, self-reliant,

self-subsistent and self-sufficient, with or without chances of mutual encroachments on their rights to self-existence and growth.

To desire to co-exist as separate individuals eliminating all chances of mutual encroachments is to imagine the state of strangeness or unlikeness to be the mere juxtaposition of the geometrical points of Euclid or that of the liberated souls of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, without any magnitude, without any occupation of space, without any movement in time and in complete dissociation from all mundane or functional activities. To hail such a state of things is to exist only in abstraction completely ceasing to be in reality.

On the other hand, to aspire to co-exist and thrive as different individuals with chances of mutual transgression and yet without actually being guilty of such a transgression is to seek to restore the fancied original state of human beings consisting in nudity, purity, child-like innocence, ignorance of worldly affairs and abundance of the bounties of Providence. But to do so is just to repeat the pathetic Biblical story of the fall of Man and the untold miseries of his unhappy descendants, apparently for no fault of theirs. Generation after generation they have implored the mercy of their Maker through His Prophets. Age after age the prophets have generously mediated and practised the most rigorous form of expiation on their behalf. And yet the irony of fate is that the original sin committed by the first parents is mercilessly rampant as ever, and the promised salvation remains just a pious hope. If this fact is worth anything, it serves only to prove that the condition of untested virtue is, after all, an unreliable and dangerous state.[1] To court it is to be compelled to think that the benign and most merciful creator himself

[1] The Buddha has offered a scathing criticism of the position of the Saubālas of India who set up the child-life as the model of virtue to the effect that a child has not even the mind and the developed organs of sense, and what to speak of human character which is the ripe result of tested virtue.

leaves a loop-hole in his bounty only to create an opportunity for cursing its recipients who are his best creations.[2] It is in the very nature of strangeness or unlikeness to lay it open to invasion, molestation and danger. The underlying tendency of the strange or unlike is to be guided by the instinct of self-preservation, and to think of self-preservation is to recognize *ipso facto* that the self is already in danger. Hence from this point of view, to be strange or unlike is to try to be what one is not yet and can never wholly be.

It may be interesting at last to examine what turns out to be the character of strangeness when asceticism is cited as its prototype. A typical ascetic passes deliberately and with his eyes open to consequences into strangeness in order to be a distinct individual, self-reliant, self-subsistent and self-sufficient, and determined not to have anything to do with the society of men that he leaves for good. His heart gets agitated; he experiences the torments of passion. Unable to restrain himself, he becomes disgusted with the ways of society like a bad workman quarrelling with his tool. He has somehow or other certain specific grievances against society that cannot in his opinion be remedied until its character is miraculously altered. He is led by a mad desire to differ in every possible manner from others who obey the social convention. He goes naked and dwells in natural dens in a lonesome forest. He does not eat cooked food but prefers to feed himself on air, water or fire. In short, he behaves as an outlaw or open revolutionary in seeking to disregard the social convention. Literally he reverts to the state of nature. He begins to enact the drama of the life of a snake, or of a tortoise, or even of an

[2] *Cf.* Gayā-māhātmya story—where Brahmā is said to have granted abundant bounties to the Brahmins of Gayā allowing them to enjoy them and laying no other restriction than that they should neither demand nor actually receive gifts from any other hand. But out of greed they officiated as priests at the worship of Dharma and received offerings, in consequence of which Brahmā came down from his heaven and cursed them finally taking back what he had given them. Thereupon the Brahmins of Gayā said to Brahmā: "Lord! thy curse hath taken away what thy bounty gave."

oyster. By making all these experiments he obtains certain results which naturally make him feel and believe that he has made a new discovery, the discovery of a new truth or of a new art of life. But lo! no sooner the fascination of a new discovery allures his mind than he becomes eager to return to the society to proclaim it and seek a following amongst his fellow beings. With an air of superiority and frowning eyes he promulgates the truths that he believes to be new and emphasizes the value of the results of his experiments. Thus he contradicts his original intention by running away only to turn back. Boasting of enlightenment he fails to recognize how he glides into delusion by letting himself believe that what he has practised was or is not practised by others, that he alone fed himself on elemental food or went naked, and no other man did or does so, while, as a matter of fact, what he has practised was and is practised by all in some measure and on some occasions. His specialisation and propaganda are not, however, without significance in that these serve to emphasize and bring into clear recognition certain things which otherwise pass as common-place losing all sense of mystery.

If strangeness or unlikeness concerns the groups of men instead of isolated individuals, it has significance only in so far as each group or collective body tries by resources at its command to be self-reliant, self-subsistent and self-sufficient independently of other groups. But internally all the while each group stands out as an example of harmony or of unity, and not of strangeness. It is impossible for any group to keep its individuals completely estranged from others forming other groups, and when it seeks to do so, it does so only at its own risk inasmuch as in its very nature strangeness or unlikeness exposes men to invasion, molestation and danger.[3]

[3] *Cf.* the Ohāṇa-Sutta in the Ācharāṅga where Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, sets forth the reminiscences of his trials and tribulations and no less of his troubles and sufferings at the hands of the mischievous cowherds to whom his ways appeared strange.

It is, nevertheless, easy to understand that strangeness or unlikeness, urging separate individuals or groups to be self-reliant, self-subsistent and self-sufficient as far as possible is a condition of progress. But at the same time strangeness or unlikeness, implying as it does the consciousness of potentiality in oneself along with the obsession of the fear of danger, cannot certainly be regarded as the only and ultimate condition.

State of conflict or antagonism.

(2) It is now the turn to inquire if the perpetual state of conflict or antagonism can be regarded as the only and ultimate condition of progress. It may be claimed indeed that as the highest possible stage of preparation, tension and action, conflict or antagonism satisfies the required condition of progress. Even it may be argued that all religions, of which the avowed mission is peace, arise, whenever and wherever they arise, with an inspiring call to arms urging all of those who possess the heart to respond to mobilise and rally round a common standard for bravely fighting with what is considered at the time to be the oppressive power of force, either for offence or for defence or for both. I may readily concede that in the true reading of its internal character the state of conflict or antagonism is not inherently evil; while in its external feature conflict or antagonism appears as a clash of interests, of diametrically opposed interests, on its internal side it is conceivable only where the interest has tended to be identical but the modes of identification are yet at variance and the idea of common participation in the same object remains latent. I mean that when two separate individuals or parties believing each to be unlike the other approach each other for the first time, unconsciously with the same end in view and without having discovered or utilised the proper mode of approach, the expression is conflict, antagonism, opposition or contradiction. In accordance with this view, if to remain unlike is to lay oneself open to attack, molestation or danger, to tend to be like is to prepare for making an attack or offering resistance, and to try to make another like oneself

is to create a rival. Until and unless the attention of two separate individuals or groups is somehow or other fixed on the same object, it is impossible to think of conflict or antagonism.[4]

To illustrate the point at issue, when the older and rising generations are at conflict with each other, here as all the world over, it will be a mistake to suppose that the heart of the old does not unconsciously yearn for the attainment of that which the young fights for, nor that when the latter openly challenges the *raison d'être* of the established system, the faith of the old in that system remains wholly unshaken. And yet when the old is seen fondly clinging to the past tradition and thereby appear as opposed to the cause espoused by the young, the explanation is that the younger generation has failed to or has not, at any rate, succeeded in evolving a progressive scheme enabling human life to pulsate more and more, not inconsistent with the tried scheme in force. Those who have nothing to lose can be easily persuaded to make experiments of uncertain results, and those who believe that they possess at least something cannot be induced to encourage the experiment until they are convinced that even if they have nothing to gain, they have nothing to lose.

Considered in this light, the state of conflict or antagonism is certainly a condition of progress indicating, as it does on its internal side, the tendency of mankind to unify their interests and enter into a larger and larger partnership.[5] But it cannot be judged as the only and ultimate condition because the process is yet unconscious, the participation in common good is not as yet an established fact, and the modes of approach remain irreconciled or opposed.

[4] The argument developed above is clearly anticipated in the Kāmandakīya-Nīti definition of enmity :

Ekārthābhiniveśitvam ari-lakshaṇam uchyate.

[5] This is the substance of the Indian interpretation of conflict or war as a means of founding a larger and more stable order of law and form of society, as developed in the Great Epic.

I may be prepared to concede that even in its external feature where the modes of mutual approach remain irreconciled or diametrically opposed, the state of conflict or antagonism shows a brighter aspect. So far as its external feature is concerned, the instinct of self-preservation which guides the life of the unlike assumes two distinct modes of self-expansion and self-defence. As a thinker of Bengal seeks to maintain, whenever and wherever any cause of complaint arises in a certain action of others, if it is a real one, it arises indeed just to draw out and counteract the cause which otherwise lies hidden in the mechanical and self-complacent routine life of the complainant. His argument is that when the Indian accuses the European of exploitation, the Indian himself may be sure to find out, if he knows how to find it, that his vaunted and deep-rooted caste organization is a long-standing economic order which has ordained one social group or trade-guild to live by exploiting other groups or guilds; or when the Hindu accuses the Christian of bigotry and the Muhammadan of fanaticism, he ought first of all to discover that he has failed to make room for two more divinities in spite of the fact that he could divine and accommodate thirty-three crores of gods and goddesses in his pantheon. Thus to push this line of argument to its logical conclusion would be to try and hang first the complainant as the accused or real culprit.

Considered from this point of view, one may welcome conflict or antagonism, even in its external feature as an effective mode of detecting and ultimately getting rid of the unessential and troublesome factors in the life or action of each contending party, leading to a more and more effective mode of improving the form of the essential elements. But the result being of uncertain and rather negative character, conflict or antagonism cannot in its external feature be put forth as the only and ultimate condition of progress.

The real danger of conflict or antagonism in its external feature is that the strong tendency of the contending

parties, the rivals or opponents, is to crush each other, to flourish each at the cost of the other, or even to put obstacles in the way of the other striving to develop.[6] If both are crushed, there is an end of the matter. If one is crushed, the other is sure to be crippled. And if none of the two thrives, both decay. But if both can strongly resist without being crushed or crippled; there is zest in rivalry unknowingly for a common cause, and there arise preparedness and possibility for the introduction of a new order of existence, which is at once fuller and more vigorous and significant than before.

(To be continued.)

B. M. Barua

[6] The dark side of the external feature of conflict has been fully laid bare in the Thirteenth Rock Edict of King Aśoka setting forth the consequences of his war with the people of Kaliṅga. The psychological study of the Buddhists of the origin and development of conflict, as found in the Kalaha-vivāda and other Suttas, is one-sided as it concerns itself only with the external feature.

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

North-Western Provinces.

We shall next pass on to the North Western Provinces, now disunited from the rest of Bengal, under a separate Lieutenant-Governorship.

The Act XIV of 1843 was the direct, though deferred outcome of Trevelyan's report. It improved and simplified the Customs Establishment, concentrating it on a single frontier cordon. The number of articles leviable to duty was cut down to three only but salt continued to be one of them. Lines were drawn up along proper routes to control the approaches from the independent adjoining states of the Punjab, Gwalior, Nagpur, Oudh, etc.

By the same Act the manufacture of alimentary salt was altogether prohibited. But the salt generally known as "Sitta," which was obtained as a by-product during the manufacture of saltpetre, an extensive industry of the country, remained almost unregulated. No account was taken of it so long as it remained within a certain percentage of the total product. If it exceeded the limit, it had to be destroyed.

Imported salt was subjected to a tax of Rs. 2 per maund along the greater part of the trade route and to a reduced rate of Re. 1 per maund along the rest. Salt that paid the duty of Rs. 2 per maund generally went further east but had to pay, when transmitted eastward of Allahabad, an additional duty of Re. 1 per maund. For, it was in the province of Benares that salt from two opposite directions, from the west and from Bengal on the east, met together and the object of the extra duty was to equalise the tax on them. So in 1847 and again in 1849, when reduction of duty on Bengal salt was effected, corresponding reductions were made in the Allahabad duty. The Benares division was thus kept apart from the rest of the province and placed on the same plane as that of Bengal. The heavier taxa-

tion of the region was partly defended on the ground that it along with Bengal was a permanently settled tract.

The reorganisation of the customs on an improved basis put an effective check on contraband trade that was too conspicuously rampant. The salt revenue, in common with the collections from the other two articles, but in a more marked degree, began to grow apace. In 1845-46 the contribution of salt alone amounting to Rs. 3,809,072 exceeded by a large margin the entire customs revenue of any of the previous years.

But one extensive source of smuggling which deprived the Government of considerable revenue, remained yet to be combated. The exemption from any control of the impure salt, educed in the manufacture of salt-petre had given rise to an illicit trade in the article for the purpose of being used in the adulteration of the licit salt. An official enquiry confirmed in a more startling manner the general but vague suspicion of the existence of this channel of smuggling. This led the local Government to prepare in 1847 the draft of an Act for regulating the manufacture of alimentary salt at salt-petre manufactories and elsewhere within the limits of the North Western Provinces. But the Supreme Government refused to sanction the proposed measure for fear that it might prejudicially affect the manufacture of the staple article itself. A modified draft that was subsequently submitted was also similarly rejected.

The first Sikh war broke out in 1845 and ended in 1846 in the annexation of the districts on the east of the Sutlej and the Beas. The customs line was redrawn in order to encompas the newly acquired area. At the same time the specially low rate of Re. 1, charged along a certain portion of the line, was enhanced and brought up to the same uniform standard of Rs. 2 per maund.

The quantity of salt,. that annually passed the line from this date till the next change in 1850, increased on an average from 2,248,569 mds. in the previous period to 2,334,219 mds. Considering the increased population brought within the juris-

diction of the customs line, the increase must be regarded to have been very inadequate. The revenue fell far short of what might have been expected from the extension of the area as well as from the enhancement of the tax.

The reader will understand that as the law then stood, only the salt purchased at the Company's sales was duty-free on admission into the province. Foreign salt imported into Bengal on payment of duty was not therefore exempt from further levy on its customs frontier. It did not matter so long as the import of foreign salt into Bengal was inconsiderable. But when the situation began to change the restriction was removed in 1848. The withdrawal of the restriction brought the consumption of the foreign imported salt within the reach of the eastern districts of the province as far as the navigation of the Ganges and its tributaries would convey it.

With the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 the barrier against the importation of salt from that country was pulled down. But the Punjab salt was itself subjected to an equal duty at the mines. So the change from the point of view of taxation was, so to speak, almost nominal. Only, the duty of Rs. 2 at the Punjab mines, being inclusive of the mining expenses estimated at 2 as. per md., the actual tax became higher than the customs duty by the amount of the mining expenses.

One further consequence of the change was the transference from the North Western Provinces revenue to the credit of the Punjab treasury the proceeds of the duty heretofore levied on the consumption of the Punjab salt in the former province or on what was consumed in its stead.

Since salt was a source of imperial finance, the change was so far one of book-keeping merely. But it naturally caused a deficiency in the total receipts; for the Punjab excise, as pointed out, fell short of the North Western Provinces customs duty by two annas.

But the year that immediately followed the annexation showed a very marked decline in the importation of dutiable salt

and hence in the revenue obtained. The whole of the deficiency could by no means be accounted for by the single fact of the removal of the customs line and the increased consumption of the Punjab salt that might have been consequent on it. It was partly the reflex action of excessive importation in the previous year and partly attributable to increased consumption in the Benares division of eastern salt that paid its duty to Bengal treasury. From the following year the import began to recover steadily till in 1854-55 it out-did the average of the previous epoch by more than five lakhs of maunds.

(*To be continued.*)

PARIMAL RAY

THE SILENT CHORDS

Across the ivory keys my fingers strayed
In search of song ; the tune I played
Was some old song, all wild and high,
You used to sing to me in days gone by :
By themselves these keys could not achieve
The lovely tunes my reverent fingers weave,
As mute and silently I wait apart,
Needing your love-touch on my throbbing heart
To burst the silence of its endless night
And bathe my soul in new and glorious light.
For I, without you, cannot find the ways
Where Love brings gladness to life's ways ;
Mutely, like these keys, I wait day-long
Until your voice shall waken all my life to song !.

LELAND J. BERRY

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE DUTCH RAILWAYS

Books in English, on the railway system of Holland being limited we venture to present this short survey.

In a country like Holland flat, marshy and low-lying, canals have naturally served as a network of communications with which the railways have always to compete.

As a supremely commercial nation, the Dutch depend largely on their communications. They have large maritime activities and two of the best ports in Europe are in their territory. For inland canal traffic the Netherlands can hardly be compared with any other country of the world, and her recent enterprises with the Fokker machine in the air, have proved her superiority in aerial transport. And yet her railways are relatively poor, compared with her energetic attacks in other directions.

The reasons are not far to seek. The physical conditions of the country make railway construction expensive on account of embankments, bridges, and protective devices to prevent the road-bed from sinking and being washed away. In 1929 a whole station, with tracks, platforms, etc., is found to have sunk nearly 3½ ft. The station building, which was built on poles, remains unaffected but everything else has sunk gradually so that stairs have to be constructed to reach various parts of the station and platform, where originally there were none. High speed and heavy loads receive a natural check from the soft and marshy condition of the soil in many parts, and above all, the acute competition with waterways at almost every point makes economic working of the railways an extremely difficult task.

And yet the Netherlands Railways have after years of loss from 1916-1923 yielded surplus profits during the last five years, and have paid dividends to the share-holders. There can be no

surer indication of the economical and efficient working of the system under such tremendous difficulties.

The Dutch railways have been partly constructed by the State and partly by Companies with interest at the rate of 5% guaranteed by the State for the capital outlay. The continued financial burden and losses suffered by both the administrations led to a combination, and in 1917 the Staats Spoorwegen (State Railways) and the Hollandsche Spoorweg Maatschappij (Dutch Railway Company) were fused into one undertaking, keeping separate capital accounts for each. The State holds 55% of the shares in the railways and the total capital outlay of f 90 million guilders (=£7½ million, is composed as follows :—

Capital:

I. Staats Spoorwegen:		Guilders [£1=f 12]
	Shares held by Public	f 18,000,000
	,, ,, ,, State	f 22,000,000
		f40,000,000
II Hollandsche Spoorweg Maatschappij:		
	Shares for Public	f 22,500,000
	Government Shares	f 27,500,000
		f 50,000,000
	Total Capital ...	f 90,000,000

From 1910 to 1916 the State obtained a small surplus over its disbursements for guaranteed interest, but for the following seven years it had to sustain heavy losses. During 1921-1923 the losses amounted to an average of over f25 million or £2 million per year. The position has however improved since 1924, and some surplus has been available to pay dividends on the shares. During the last five years the railways have paid 5% dividend to all share-holders.

The State plays a very important part, not only in the provision but also in the management of the railways in Holland.

The actual management is done by two Directors (the Directie) each of whom is in charge of one important branch

of railway working. Under the Directors are the different services of Traffic (Goods), Exploitation (Passengers), Tractie (Locomotives), Way and Works (Engineering), Signals, Rolling Stock, Workshops, Accounts, Central Cash Control, etc. A "General Service" includes Law, etc., and a separate "Commercial department" deals with canvassing and rates, etc., for parcels and goods.

The office and working organization is 'departmental.' Each service has inspectors or engineers in charge of a district and all the inspectors, etc., are under close direction of the central office. There are 11 traffic districts, and similar districts, not necessarily co-extensive, are there for other departments. The operating of trains, both goods and passenger, as well as passenger commercial work is entrusted to one inspector who is thus responsible to both the Traffic (Goods) and Exploitation (Passengers) departments.

The Commercial department has special commercial agents or canvassers in important centres, while goods train running is looked after by the inspectors and by special controllers under the traffic department. The commercial agents have also to look after the co-ordinating of the work of the transportation and commercial goods sections. They come into touch with the public as well in many instances particularly in dealing with claims, demurrages, etc.

The signalmen at Stations are under the control of the Traffic and Exploitation departments, but those on the line are under the department of Ways and Works. The construction, repairs and maintenance of all signals are, however, done by the Signal-Engineer's men.

The Directors are the permanent executive head of the railways, appointed by a body called the "Raad van Commissarissen" which is the highest Railway Management Commission. This Commission, which can be compared to the Board of Directors of British railways, is composed of 13 men, of which the majority, that is 7, are nominated by the Govern-

ment and the remaining 6 are elected by the share-holders. As holder of the major part of the shares and as guarantor of the rest the State exercises this privilege. In this manner attempt has been made in Holland to secure State control while leaving the management of the railways with an independent body.

The highest controlling authority however is the Minister of Railways and Canals. He is at the head of the Railway Department of the Government, and is assisted by an expert body called the "Rijkstoezicht." The members of this body are paid officers of Government, appointed to study and supervise railway working on behalf of Government and to assist the Minister with all necessary technical knowledge. The Minister is ultimately responsible to Parliament for the policy.

In addition to these executive and supervisory organizations there is in Holland a public Advisory Council for assisting the railway in coming into contact with the public and to see what can be done to meet various demands for alteration of services, special provisions, terminal and other facilities, etc. The members of this Council are nominated by the Minister and by the Railway from amongst prominent public men in different localities.

The following financial and operating statistics show for 1926 and 1927 the position of Dutch railways :—

I. Income (in million guilders), £1=12 guilders:

Heads of Income.	1926.	1927.
1. Passengers	76·49	75·75
2. Parcels, dogs, luggage, etc.	1·86	1·78
3. Mails, etc. (paid for by State)	4·39	3·75
4. Livestock, etc.	2·24	2 39
5. Goods	74·83	75·15
6. Miscellaneous	3·54	3·35
7. Telegraph	·04	·03
Total "Exploitation" or working Expenses Total ...	f163·39	f162·21
...	119·55	119·41
Surplus ...	43·84	42·80

The length of line in operation in 1927 was 3,675 kilometres and the number of Train-kilometres run during 1926 and 1927 were 45·1 and 48·8 millions respectively. Calculated on these the income per train kilometres during the last two years had been 3·46 and 3·32 guilders respectively. Reduced to the English measure these are approximately 9·2 and 9·0 shillings per train-mile. Going into further details we obtain the following analyses :—

II.

Train kiolmetres run.	1926.	1927.
Passenger trains	34,168,245	35,631,893
Goods trains	12,954,045	13,126,466
Total ...	45,061,124.	48,758,359

III.

Income Analysis.	Million Guilders.		Guilders per Train K.M.	
	1926.	1927.	1926.	1927.
Passenger Trains ...	78·35	77·53	2·29	2·17
Goods Trains ...	81·46	81·30	6·28	6·19
All Trains ...	163·38	162·21	3·46	3·32

It will thus be seen that in 1927 less income has been derived in spite of more work done, both for passenger and freight services.

The surplus of income over operating expenses was disposed of in the following way :—

IV.

	1926.	1927.
	Million Guilders.	
Total surplus—Miscellaneous income ...	45·667	43·854
Hire charges and rents, etc.	6·8	6·4
Interests	24·0	21·2
Renewals and Depreciation	11·3	11·7
Miscellaneous and Reserve Fund	1·6	2·5
	43·64	41·82.
Net balance available for dividends	f 2,029,736	f 2,029,788

The total operating expenses in one year, 1926, were incurred under different heads as follows :—

V.

	Million Guilders.
(a) General Administration	13·23
(b) Traffic, Exploitation and Commercial Departments ...	41·77
(c) Ways and Works	21·72
(d) Locomotive and Workshops	43·83
(e) Steamboats, etc.	·41
Total Expenses	120·97
Less payments received from local lines	1·41
Net Total working costs	119·56

The operating ratios were 73·17 per cent. in 1926 and 73·61 per cent. in 1927. The operating costs and Surplus Income per train kilometre were as follows :—

VI.

	Million Guilders.		Guilders per train K.M.	
	1926.	1927.	1926.	1927.
Operating Costs ...	119·56	119·41	2·53	2·44
Surplus Income ...	43·84	42·81	0·92	0·87

The amount of traffic handled by the Dutch railways in 1927 are given in the following table :—

VII.

	Number in Millions.	Income in Million Guilders.
. Goods (in tons of 1000 kilogrammes)	20·36	75·15
2. Passengers—1st Class ...	1·07	5·50
2nd Class ...	7·09	21·89
3rd Class ...	44·13	48·37
Total Passengers ...	52·29	75·75

Analysed into classes of fares the passenger income stands thus :—

Normal Fares	... 54·21	million Guilders.
Season Tickets	... 19·94	,, ,,
Vacation Tickets, etc.	... 1·63	,, ,,
	75·75	,, ,,

About 7 per cent. of the passenger income is obtained from persons travelling from and to foreign countries.

The highest speed of passenger trains is from 80 to 90 kilometres per hour for fast express trains, and between 70 and 75 kilometres for other trains. Electric trains are often run at a speed of 95 K. M. per hour. Ordinary goods trains run between 30 to 40 kilo's per hour, while "braked" and "Perishables," etc., trains run up to 60 K. M. per hour and attain the highest speed of 75 kilometres on electrified lines.

The greatest length of long-distance passenger trains is about 300 metres, exclusive of the locomotive, conveying generally 15 coaches of 20 metres each in length. In summer and during heavy traffic this limit is sometimes exceeded, and up to 17 and 18 coaches per train are allowed. Smaller trains are also formed as occasion and traffic conditions necessitate. The average load of a through goods train, *i.e.*, the coal trains from the South, is 60 wagons of 15 tons each, providing for the conveyance of about 900 tons of goods.

The Dutch railways had in 1927, 1,400 locomotives, 5,200 passenger coaches and 32,000 goods wagons. There are a few special type carriages both for handling special traffic as well as for Royalty, Inspection, Training, etc. There are no restaurant or sleeping cars belonging to the railways, and all such coaches are supplied on hire by the two Belgian and German private companies—the "Wagonlits" and the "Mitropa." A large number of foreign coaches are also in use for international through trains. Some famous luxe-trains are the Pullman

" Etoile du Nord " (Paris-Amsterdam) and the " Rheingold " (Hook of Holland) Amsterdam to Basel and Luzern. These two run all the year round. During summer a third one is run between Amsterdam and Basel-Luzern—*via* Brussels called the " Edelweisz."

The passenger coaches have generally the following accommodation :—

IIIrd Class—with lavatory-80—85 in a 4-axle vehicle with 10 compartments.
,, ,, without ,, 110 ,, ,, ,, ,, vehicle with 11 compartments.
Ist and IInd Class Composite Coaches, with Lavatory,
Corridor :—14 Ist Class and 24 IInd Class Seats.
Non-Corridor :—13 Ist Class and 31 IInd Class Seats.

Trains are formed partly or wholly with lavatory-fitted coaches according to requirements and nature of train.

The goods wagons are of an average 15 ton capacity. There are about 1,200 ten-ton wagons, and the tendency to increase higher capacity stock is noticeable. The average capacity of wagons is 15 to 20 tons, and there are some coal and " platform " wagons of 30 tons capacity as well for the conveyance of heavy loads. The line gauge is the same as in England and in the adjoining Continental countries.

Although not up to the British standard of comfort, the passenger rolling-stock is quite smooth in running and the safety devices in automatic handle locks, and other arrangements are quite up-to-date. The general impression created is that the Dutch railways stand midway between the Belgian and the German in the matter of rolling stock. In goods wagons they compare very favourably with the British railways, and although there are a large number of wagons without any brakes the greater capacity of the Continental railways in the handling of goods is at once evident. The want of braking arrangement for a large number of goods wagons is accounted for by the smooth and flat nature of the country.

In terminal arrangements the railways in Holland are at many places cramped for want of sufficient room for expansions

as they are in England. The passenger station arrangements at Rotterdam and Utrecht are not quite satisfactory. The platforms are scarcely long enough to hold the longer trains properly. The parcels and luggage rooms are inconveniently located and the approaches and outlets to and from the stations are extremely congested. The railway authorities are quite aware of these disabilities and are constantly trying to remove them, but the financial position of the railways did not encourage them in the past to incur further capital expenses. Traffic conditions however may make it imperative sooner or later to improve these stations. The more modern terminal arrangements, *e.g.*, at Amsterdam c. s. and Haarlem with extensive platform accommodation, lounge, refreshment rooms, parcels and luggage rooms, etc., have left little to desire, and it is hoped that in course of time such facilities will be provided at other big centres as well. All the Dutch passenger terminals are closed stations, and the entrances and outlets are very carefully kept under supervision, except at Amsterdam W.P., the Hague s. s., and Rotterdam Maas. At these three stations are to be noticed the English influence on the old Netherland-Rhein Railway. In some places there are turnstiles fixed at platform approaches and protective railings of different length to deal with crowds conveniently. As one of the most up-to-date terminal stations in Holland, Amsterdam c.s. deserves a little more than passing reference.

The station has six extensive through platforms, all under cover. Five of these are used for passenger trains and the sixth is reserved for express goods trains. On the southern side of the station are various arrangements for the convenience of passengers, such as parcels room, cloak room, refreshments, stalls for sundries, booking offices, lounges and waiting halls, lavatories train indicator boards, etc. The island platforms between the northern and southern ends have also some conveniences for passengers such as buffets, lavatories, waiting benches, etc. All the platforms are connected by three subways, with baggage

lifts at two ends. There are indicators and pointers at the stairs leading to the platforms from the subways. At the end of the main passenger platform there is a post and telegraph office and further on one side is an extensive building for the mails. On the northern side is the goods and parcels platform. This has an independent approach from the road on the further side and trolleys and moving cranes are available for the handling of goods. The goods platform has adjoining goods sheds and ware-house from which direct delivery and collection can be ade both to and from road-vans.

A very important feature of Dutch transport is the preponerating use of water-carriers. As such the railways have got, as far as possible, to provide facilities for mutual transfer of goods. On the other side of the road adjoining the goods station on the northern side is the mouth of the river " Y " with some excellent harbours. The arrangements there make for that co-ordination of rail and water transport for which Holland is noted. There is also a bigger goods station at some distance from this place. It deals pre-eminently with imports and exports and heavy foreign traffic. On the eastern end of the station there are two shunting yards for passenger coaches and a few storage sidings. Necessary locomotive sheds and running repair shops are also provided at a distance. All the platforms are controlled by one big central signal box, constructed in the middle of one of the two station halls on a long overhead bridge. The second hall contains a sub-signal box. Further there are two sub-boxes at two ends which work under scheduled arrangement and at the guidance of the central box. On the platform there are starting signals and repeaters, as also shunting and warning arms. All the signals and switches are worked by electro-pneumatic or electric power and there are necessary block and interlocking arrangements.

The most remarkable station signalling arrangements are at Haarlem. There is a large electro-pneumatically-worked box looking over the whole of the yard under control. Most up-to-

date mechanical appliances, showing occupation of different lines on visual diagrams, the capacity and interdependence of several blocks and sections, as shown on charts, together with a table for possible simultaneous train movements, are in use, and the efficiency and safe working at the junction has been greatly improved.

The lines between Amsterdam c.s. and Rotterdam D. P. *viv* Haarlem and the Hague, and between Haarlem and Ymuiden have been electrified since 1927, and this has very largely facilitated passenger movements and increased suburban traffic. Haarlem signal box has got to do one of the busiest train-control work in the country. Including the line Rotterdam Hofplien-den Haag—Scheveningen, which is electrificated since 1907, the total length of the electric lines is 135 kilometres. The current transmitted is of 1,500 volt direct.

Experiments are being made over a section between Utrecht and Gouda, as well as on another small section, with automatic electric signalling. This has proved highly satisfactory, and no failure of importance has been recorded during the last years in spite of severe weather conditions.

It may be noted here that the signalling arrangements in Holland, and generally on the Continent, are different from those on the British railways. Both for lights and for flags, red indicates danger, green caution, and white is for road-clear. There are of course the usual block regulations and working on absolute block system.

The trains in Holland keep to right instead of to the left and consequently the signal hands and posts are placed in a reverse position from the British system. Moreover, although the danger position for the signal hands is similar and is horizontal, in the free position the outer end of the signal hand is raised up instead of being lowered down. White light is shown at home and distant signals to permit a train to pass the signal freely. For stations, crossings, junctions and facing points, involving some amount of danger, two-hand distant signals are provided,

which are meant to give three kinds of directions to engine-drivers according to the position of the home signal, namely, (*a*) one arm vertical and the other hanging down 45%, showing two green lights for proceeding with caution and speed restriction, with stop at the home-signal; (*b*) one hand vertical and the other raised up 45% showing two white lights for free passing over through track ; and (*c*) one hand 45% from vertical and the other 45% from horizontal falling from above and showing one white and one green light to allow free movement over a side track with necessary speed restriction of 45 K. M. per hour. The distance between the distant and home signals is usually 700 metres In addition to Home and distant signals "Fog" signals are permanently fixed at a distance of 150 metres from the distant signal. These are merely wooden boards placed at an incline at a convenient height so that the light from the engine may fall on them as they are passed. The boards are painted with white stripes on a black background.

In addition to these, various kinds of shunting signals are used, both on high or dwarf poles as necessary. For cross-over shunting work, involving occupation of running lines, white square board signals are used for permit and similar boards with red cross to indicate danger. These are generally interlocked with main line crossing points and block signals. The position of and distance between a home and a distant signal and such other requirements are controlled as usual by definite guiding rules. Single lines are worked under the block system without any staff or token, adjoining block instruments being always interlocked with the signals. The larger stations have separate and sometimes special platform signals, indicators, and starting signals. Guards carry instead of flag-signals, a special staff with a coloured disc at the end to signal the starting of trains at stations. They use whistles as well to draw the attention of drivers. At Mashalling Yards shunters and the foremen use sirens and calls, together with special types of hand

signals and other signs devised by themselves to suit local work and conditions.

Trains have the other usual safety devices of alarms, air brakes, automatic locks on the doors of coaches, etc.

Each train carries a particular type of headlight or colour to indicate the nature of the service. A corresponding light or other signal is also shown at the tail end. Slip coaches are no longer in use in Holland. These are considered to be too dangerous.

Sectional time charts are prepared to help the train staff and stations in their working. Four service time-tables are also compiled for four divisions. These time-tables are made from the diagrams and not *vice-versa*.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

HENRIK IBSEN

Life.

I.

One is not so sure whether it is not a paradox that while there is probably no school-boy or school-girl in India, past the primary course, who has not heard of Shakespeare and some of his works, there are few, very few indeed, even among those equipped with university education, who can be said to possess at least a cursory knowledge of some of the greatest literary geniuses in the Continent of Europe. In nothing is our aloofness and insularity of outlook more markedly betrayed than in our colossal ignorance of world movements, outside our own land, whether in the realm of letters, art or politics. Stray articles, informative and critical, on Fascism, Bolshevism, Tolstoi, 'Revival of Letters in the Continent,' and such like form the occasional feature of some of our prominent journals. When they appear, meteor-like, they stir some enthusiasm in isolated minds and are soon forgotten. Pandit Jwaharlal Nehru remarked, not without a touch of exaggeration, that no one in India really understood what Socialism was. The same may be said perhaps of all other movements in the modern world—Syndicalism, Bolshevism, Fascism. How many of us know of Sorel or Labriola or Marx or D'Annunzio? Yet they have all, every one of them, made history. How many of us again have heard of Turgeniev, Dostoievski, Hebbel, Strindberg, Björnson or Ibsen? Yet, they have all made literature as much as, if not more than, Shakespeare, Goethe or Victor Hugo!

Surely there must be something in this. While the name of Ibsen is a household word with millions in Europe and America, while hundreds of first-rate actors during the past fifty years

or so have been straining their nerves to interpret best Ibsen's great characters on the stage, while in every centre of Western Culture, Ibsen clubs and Ibsen debates and Ibsen memorials are being started every day, while, in short, the critics and dramatists of our century and the eighteen-nineties have been unequivocally proclaiming that Ibsen is pre-eminently the creator of Modern drama, we, in India, are content to 'assume the god, affect the nod and seem to shake the spheres.'' What the hypothetical gentleman said in Mr. Gilbert Norwood's essay in answer to the question 'Pray, Sir, what is your opinion of Mrs. Virginia Wolf?' may be applied *in toto* to what we can expect of an ordinary educated Indian with reference to Ibsen. You may fancy him saying—'No opinion of mine, my dear Guildernstern, would be of much use to you, as regards Ibsen. I fear I am an old fogey. This modern people seem to me to have lost their way. Fielding and Jane Austen are enough for me.' But the truth of the matter is, Fielding and Jane Austen (and we may add Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott), if we do not want to allow our outlook to be crippled, are *not* enough for us. Literature as much as life is a live thing, a changing, a growing phenomenon: and they alone live who drink of the past while yet ceaselessly feeding on the present.

Let me go a step further. The wonder is not that we know so little of Ibsen and other outstanding continental literary figures, but that we should find it impossible to conceive of Ibsen and Björnson as something more than a myth, and of Scandinavian literature as something not far removed from reality. We stubbornly refuse to countenance even such possibilities. 'Shakespeare is Drama, Drama Shakespeare; that is all ye know on Earth and all ye need to know.' This rather ineffectual parody would however seem effectively to sum up our knowledge of Western Dramatic Literature. How else are we to justify the minute and soul-blasting knowledge our under-graduates are compelled to acquire on dates and sources,

weak endings and feminine endings, so far as the plays of Shakespeare are concerned, while they are kept in religious ignorance with regard to the divers currents and cross-currents of the literature of recent times? It certainly is an intellectual crime for an educated person not once to have felt his heart-throb while conjuring up before him the visions painted over the pages of Tolstoi: or to have even denied himself the pleasure of finding an inner echo to the refined sentiments as are revealed in a novel of Turgeniev; or yet to have missed the moral significance and the reformative spirituality that vibrate in the tragic crisis of an Ibsen play. Yet, we have, most of us, to plead guilty to the charge. But for such sustained pleasure as Ibsen has afforded me, such entrancing music that his poetry has whispered in my ears, such thrill which his works have given me by holding to universal scorn the tyranny and the hollow mockery of the Bastille of modern civilization,—but for them, I would not have ventured to write about Ibsen. And further, in writing what follows about Ibsen, I have two objects in view: first, that others too may learn to know of Norway's greatest man and in fact one of the greatest dramatists any nation had ever produced; and second, that it may serve as an act of humble homage to the Light that has led me long.

II.

Henrik Ibsen was born on the 20th March, 1828. His father was Knud Ibsen, a prosperous merchant in Skien so well described by Henrik as 'a lively and sociable town entirely different from what it was afterwards to come.' To the end the impressionable Henrik retained a vivid recollection of the early years spent in Skien, and all the joy and all the pang that went a long way to make him the man he proved to be, it was with significant emotion that he wrote long afterwards: 'The Skien Fair came off in February and it was a happy time for us boys. We began to save our shillings six months beforehand for the

jugglers and rope dancers and circus riders and for the purchase of honeycakes in the fair booths.' As a boy, young Henrik was remarkable for the seriousness of his tone, the dignity of his bearing and his passion for uninterrupted seclusion in the company of his books. The son of a rich man of business, the luxuries of what Marie Corelli christened as the upper ten, were within young Ibsen's reach. And he did not repulse them. He was not averse to being in the company of the scions of the aristocratic families of Skien. The pomp and splendour now and again dimmed the vision but was powerless to extinguish the flame. Nor was the state of affairs to last long. The irrevocable wheel of Destiny swung round with sudden malignity in an unexpected direction. Scarce eight years old, Henrik's father was a ruined man, and unhonoured, unnoticed, the former Knud driving in state in his conspicuous glass carriage retired to the small Venstob farm, on the outskirts of Skien, and started to piece together the broken fragments of his business hopes.

But the world was the gainer by this unexpected crash. The innate characteristics, which, had other circumstances prevailed might well have been dulled to death, now asserted themselves prominently in the boy's character. The eldest of five children, he felt the blow and suffered under the force. It was not all smooth sailing for the family to make both ends meet ; it was almost like attempting the impossible to reconcile the high standards of living they had set to themselves with their own impoverished means of meeting them. Thus it chanced that Henrik so early had the opportunity to feel and study for himself this acute problem of the few rich and the many poor, the unequal, almost unnatural distribution of property, and other such sociological questions which he was to tackle with doggedness in his dramas. Suffice it to say he grew unduly meditative ; the veil of gloom became impenetrable, he was at times so fiercely occupied with himself in his peculiarly grave attitude, preternaturally sincere, that he would not brook

interruption from any quarter whatsoever. The story is told of him by his biographer, Henrik Jaegar, how once he locked himself up in the kitchen, surrounded by books most of which he could only appreciate in their pictures, and how stubbornly he refused to be disturbed in his study by his four younger brothers and sisters, clamorously calling out for Ibsen to come out and join the game. To join the game? He was not meant for such things; so he was thinking and unmoved by the piteous entreaties outside, he remained within, dimly turning over Harryson's History of England and only occasionally raising his eyes to catch the sight of the hour glass before him.

The reversal of his father's fortune put an abrupt end to what hopes he might have cherished of higher education. Nor was there much to regret. Under no circumstances he could have been a successful student. That required too little of brilliance and too much of mediocrity, and both ways Henrik was poles apart. Nor could he with his temperamental sensitiveness and soul-consciousness permit himself to be an eternal burden on his family's humble resources. Soon after he was fourteen, like many another lad of fortune, he left home for better and entered the greater arena of the world to wrestle best with life's great problems and join the never-ending struggle for existence.

III.

The scene changes. It is Grimsted now. A regular stream of customers and patients flows in and out of the apothecary's office wondering at the bewildering silent creature, young, yet profoundly thoughtful, gloomy, yet closely attentive to everything that is around him. For six years was Ibsen fated to be assistant here, compounding drafts with a mechanical air, washing bottles and handling mortars and pestles and spoons and glasses and all the various concommitants of a chemist's shop. Was all this bustle an echo of the greater unrest

of the world? Did it send a symbolic thrill setting his imagination in quick vibration? How sparing his talk, how reserved his manners, how grave his attitude! Was it humanity or demon that possessed him? He had a great life-purpose assuredly; he was writing poems breathing the distilled fervour of a boiling spirit, and beyond that ? An apothecary's assistant and no more? Was that after all to be his destiny?

It is not seldom that grains of parallelism are found in the life-history of great geniuses. At any rate, for once two geniuses struck the same note and met the same empty applause, the great Samuel Johnson hoped to burst into fame with his '*Irene*, and in spite of the selfless devotion of Garrick, the move was a failure. Ibsen too, finding an asylum in a friend's ill-furnished room in Christiania and away from the bottle-cleaning drudgery behind the apothecary's counter, turned his thoughts on Drama. '*Catiline*' was the result. And despite his friend's push and invigorating optimism, it all ended, an empty dream! The piles of well-packed volumes embodying the earliest attempt at Drama of the greatest dramatist of the age, were pronounced no worthier than out-of-date paper bundles suitable for 'wrapping parcels! The hawker's eyes flashed in illumination and he bought the whole lot. And Ibsen and his friend had more breathing space and cash enough for their immediate necessaries in life!

Thus did his inherent gloom deepen into a sterner melancholy. Poverty chilled him; it cut him deep, it sharpened his intellect and gave it the keener edge. But he was not idle; nor diffident about ultimate success. How could he fail to know the common truth. 'Slow rises worth by poverty depressed!' He hurled himself in the whirl of journalistic enterprise. He even handled the dry dust of controversial politics which heaped upon his head much odium. But he was no static thing; he was a dynamic force moving towards the centre, slowly yet surely; for though the goal was distant and arduous the struggle, should he lose heart and quail tremblingly before his opponents?

That was not Ibsen-like. He would remain in the fray still!

At last he was in sight of one of the green isles in the torrential ocean of illusive life. With avidity he landed ashore. The post of 'stage poet' in the theatre at Bergen fell vacant with pay no more than £67 a year *plus* £47 as travelling allowance, if that should be deemed necessary, and Ibsen accepted the job with quiet content. This was in 1850. The first stages of the French Revolution, that colossal explosion, had sent waves of discordant nature throughout the length and breadth of Europe. Ibsen, no less than his great countryman and friend, Björnstjerne Björnson, was profoundly affected by the sudden upheaval of an established order. The watchwords of the French Revolution received sympathetic vibrations in his own soul. He studied the movement with the thoroughness and the passion characteristic of him and set to prepare a suitable background to construct the lofty edifices of his dramatic genius. But this was not all. His entry into the theatre brought him further benefits in the shape of a thorough discipline in stage-technique. He came into intimate contact with stage tricks and manipulations, the whims of actors and the drawbacks of financially embarrassed theatres. In a word he mastered stage-technique at first hand. Yet, even this, taken alone, would have mattered very little. There was still another avenue to his activities whose influence upon his mental development can never be under-rated. His very situation in the theatre demanded of him an intimate knowledge of the works of great dramatists of Europe and so he became, as time went on, more and more familiar with the masterpieces of Shakespeare, Moliere, Goethe, Racine and Scribe.

IV.

The moment was ripe for action and Henrik Ibsen was not the person given to undue vacillation. He had the tools to

work out his figures—not the figures in cardboard the creation of which had once beguiled the mind of the precocious boy in early years, but figures in flesh and blood who were to send a thrill throughout the entire Continent of Europe. He had the imaginative outlook and the passionate yearning to analyse social institutions, their vagaries and vices, their follies and foibles: he had the necessary mastery over stage-technique: he had mastered the treasures of the language: and above all he had eschewed all that was noble, all that was truly worthy in the dramas of his predecessors. What need for any more delay?

His plays, issued one by one, were played with success in his own theatre at Bergen. These were all saga-dramas, translating in poetic drama the traditional Norwegian folklore in the model of Björnson's own inimitable pieces. '*Lady Inger of Ostraat*' (1855), '*The Feast of Solhaug*' (1856) and '*Olaf Liljekrans*' (1857) are some of the most important of the fruits of his dramatic endeavour during these years. However, much as they impressed the audience and delighted the readers, they had no special claim to distinction. A further step was taken when he joined the Norwegian theatre at Christiania as art director—a far more distinguished post which brought him nearer the goal. He produced about this time '*The Chieftains of Heligoland,*' somewhat in the Shakespearian cast. For four years he worked at his job. The guerdon seemed almost within reach, the apple of reward came within sight. Yet the guerdon receded far backwards, and the fruit clung close to the branches. One single gesture turned the edifice upside down and his dreamy castle toppled down like a house of cards.

The fact was, in 1862, he produced '*The Comedy of Love,*' one of the most outrageously impertinent works ever written in any age. A conglomeration of startling wit and amusing caricature, autobiography and biting satire, a sneaking sense and a refined flavour, and all in a jumble of antitheses—these enraged the puzzled audience and caused a storm to gather

round the young aspirant to fame. But happily it did not engulf him and submerge him : he survived as all great heroes have, under equally harrowing straits, survived. He resigned his post and approached the government, at the teeth of the unparalleled animosity against him for a travelling pension. Insuperable obstacles stood in his way but courage spurred him on and he won. Muttering and cursing the very humanity that was so near his heart, and fretting and fuming over the unimaginative intellectual lethargy of his countrymen, he left the shores of Norway in 1864, wishing like Byron never to return to his native soil.

V.

He returned at last, however. But not till he had wandered from one European city to another in a desultory manner for over a quarter of century of his precious life. He even went to far-off Egypt and was the Khedive's distinguished guest. He travelled endlessly, aimlessly, recording impressions of Nature's infinite bounties, of man's faults and failings, of human emotions of every dye and every hue; cut off from the scene of his original activities, he had enough time for meditation away from the storm centre ; the troubled waters of his emotions regained their calm. And two indubitable masterpieces followed, gaining for their author an immediate international reputation. Into the excellences of these gigantic poetic dramas, '*Brand*' (1866) and '*Peter Gynt*' (1867), it is needless to enter at present. For our purpose here, it is sufficient to mention what changes such phenomenal success brought in its equipage for Ibsen. Norway and Sweden recognised his genius. The Western world and the Press rang with his praises in one big chorus. He was choked with letters of congratulation, of praise, and of warm-hearted encouragement. The Norwegian Storthing, to crown all, settled upon him a substantial 'poet's pension,' which placed him beyond any

pecuniary worries. And Ibsen and his wife and son took abode in the little town of Frascati among the blue hills and under the sunny radiance of Italy. Rest at last seemed to become his, and contentment and happiness. But all this were more intense than lasting. Four more years found him again an aimless wanderer in alien cities, gloomy, serious, and filled with thoughts sublime.

Dissipation set in once more. He was now in Berechtsgader, amidst the Salzburg Alps, vaguely wondering at the sky-labouring columns of rock and stone and green: now roaming agitatedly in the streets of Dresden and Munich, revolving new schemes of social regeneration and consumed for hours in his own painful, almost repellent self-centredness. It was however during these months of new-fashioned dejection that the five-act comedy of the '*Young Men's League*' was evolved and out of the very tumult of his imagination constructed and given to the world. It was in March 1869. It bore the impress of a changed attitude: it was cast in a different mould. But the event passed with scant notice. Within a very short interval another play followed: this time it was '*Emperor and Galileon,*' an immense work, two distinct plays ill-knit together as one but, nevertheless, breathing the mystic fervour of a grim idealist. Yet there was no thrill, no startling note, no revolutionary flourish of trumpets and beating of drums. And the event was unnoticed too save for a few appreciations from individual authors and critics.

VI.

Ibsen was about fifty years of age. What had he accomplished? A few imitations at Saga Drama, and of course '*Brand*' and '*Peter Gynt.*' But '*Brand*' and '*Peter Gynt*'—did any one really understand them? An emphatic 'No.' They were more admired than understood. Could it possibly be he could do no more? What he had done was too little, not worth

his ambition nor the rigorous training he had undergone. Was he all along beating about the bush? His real genius, where did it lie? Where was secreted the barrel of inspiration that all through life he had longed to tap? Would it elude him for ever? And he would die! the world would remain where it was and he would have lived in vain! Was that to be the end after all?

Such contortions of his intellectual earnestness had probably been common about this time. Meanwhile he was indolent, lost as he was in the maze of his introspective questionings. Then, unexpected, on October 11, 1877, the solution of his mysterious puzzles was thrown on the bewildered threshold of the world. Upon the stage of every town in Europe was played '*The Pillars of Society.*' Europe was taken by storm. All Scandinavia went mad over the enthralling play. A new significance unpremeditated even in the wildest flights of prophecy seemed to have taken possession of this play. Was it due to its slashing vitality, its satirical tone, its contrapuntal art, its revolutionary appeal, its evocation of multitudinous life with minutê particularity? Whatever the cause, one thing was absolutely certain. The stage-success of the play, what with its close-knit dialogues and strict conformity to the conventions of stage-technique was as immediate as overwhelming. Berlin, London, Paris, Copenhagen, New York, everywhere the Ibsen vogue proved tempestuous, irresistible and sustaining.

Brilliant though its dialogues, ingenious and defective its plot, it was not with '*Pillars of Society*' that Ibsen was destined to reach the highwater mark of his dramatic genius. His art was still on the ascendant and was yet to soar sky-high. That happened when two years later he produced '*A Doll's House.*' Here at last he reached the summit from whose vantage position he could survey humanity with one magnificent swoop—'silent upon a peak in Darien.' The characters are not puppets but beings throbbing with the breath of creation. Was he in possession of that 'Promethean heat?' We will never

know. But who could resist its pages and remain unmoved? It became an international treasure. Some thought that such a feat might never be equalled, not to say surpassed. However Ibsen himself gave it the lie direct with his '*Ghosts.*' The play is unique not alone among Ibsen's works but in the whole range of the world's literature. A horrid hallucination of a drama, it concentrates its arts in the effective presentation of ghostly visions and ghastly spectres, their prophetic denunciations and exploding anguish, all screened by the veil of dialogue and the tragic principle of heredity. Masefield's '*The Tragedy of Nan*' alone of all modern imitations can be pronounced a very weak second to this immortal play.

'*Ghosts*' with its unrelieved poignancy of human tragedy alternately puzzled and maddened the critics. Conscious of its truth yet abhorrent of its nature, appreciative of the extraordinary perfection of the art yet dimly suspicious of the wisdom of the execution, the play excited an unprecedented volume of discussion. The glory of modern civilization almost glittered in the passing cloud. Society was shaken to its very foundations.

The inviolability of moral laws and man-made customs was rigorously questioned. And Ibsen had at last succeeded in rousing his brethren from their age-long slumber of unintrospective ignorance. He was almost satisfied.

VII.

Almost, yet not quite. More dramas, each with its own singular shrill cry—' Awake, arise or be for ever fallen '—flowed from his pen. '*An Enemy of the People*' (1882), '*The Wild Duck*' and '*Rosmersholm*' (1886), '*The Lady from the Sea*', and '*Hedda Gabbler*' (1890) followed one another in a row of grand succession. Modern drama was in full swing: the creator with benevolent eyes was himself contributing to its growth and high sustenance. His vagaries were forgotten: his bitter strictures on the social fabric were received in their true

spirit and men learned to look deep into his purpose. Norway realised her folly and regretted her unkindness to her greatest son. Ibsen was transported with unimaginable joy when he gauged the universal welcome that was accorded to him. Hereafter he was the national idol. The Past, too sweet to forget and too bitter to heal, became dimmer and dimmer. And Ibsen was content to bury the past 'deeper than ever plummet sounded' and live in the reigning present.

But his pen—it was not lying idle. '*The Master Builder*' (1892), '*Little Eyolf*,' '*John Gabriel Bookman*' (1896) and '*When We Dead Awaken*' (1899) come under this, his final period of dramatic activity. They all maintained a uniform level of excellence without actually reaching the perfection of '*Ghosts*' or '*A Doll's House*' though in '*When We Dead Awaken*' there are not wanting signs of the weakening of constructive power, inevitably inherent with old age. But he had accomplished enough. He had fought the battle of life undaunted and won the bet: he had triumphed over life's major ironies without doubt: he had discharged his duty to mankind and delivered to them his mission. He was rich and happy, adored by his countrymen and admired throughout the world. He had inaugurated Modern Drama on the threshold of the new Industrial Civilisation. The fruits of his endeavour? That certainly was not his concern but the world's.

VIII.

Ever since he was five years old his innate characteristics had worked on him undismayed with unparalleled strength. It was perhaps due to the inscrutable working of Destiny that a similar period of five years of respite should be granted to Ibsen at the end. Be that as it may, in 1901, the dramatist's mind suddenly gave way and he inherited his 'second childishness.' He lingered on for five years and on the afternoon of May 28, 1906, he passed away in his own palatial house in Christiania.

He had been, it is said, during these five years unconscious of everything around him: yet who could be sure of the inner workings of the mind of so superb a personality even during its weakest stages? Humanity and mysterious gloom were never united more relevantly or more pathetically. But there is another vision far more interesting fleeting before our imagination—of a small, grim, serious lad, all alone in a dingy kitchen, turning over the pages of Harryson's History of England!

And in such a Paradise of Letters we leave Henrik Ibsen!

(*To be continued.*)

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

———

BRAHMANISM, MONASTICISM AND BUDDHISM

Introduction.

The psychology of "falsifier" of scriptures of all religion is an interesting study. The truth indicated by scriptures has a universal aspect independent of all external conditions—political, social, climatic and time and place generally. It is comparable with a mathematical formula applicable to all numbers and other objective realities. As in the organic world an organism to live must have continuous adjustment with its environment and die on failure of that condition, so a religion becomes extinct on failure of adjustment with the external life of its followers. One way of averting such consequence is by successive commentaries on the original scriptures. Another way is by an individual teacher reducing himself to the type of the original teacher or revealer, by disregarding his own individuality and in using the revealer's or collector's name in fresh productions leaving the original untouched. He at the same time illustrates their meaning with varying degrees of success. But to trace current needs and mind of the author of such additions is essential to make the action not wholly unintelligible. Such are the Puranas—all attributed to Vyasa. The falsification of scripture with a personal motive deserves no consideration. Let the above serve as an introduction to the present subject.

But complete self-elimination in the type can rarely be perfect. The result of imperfect self-elimination, through individual peculiarities of emotion and imagination, clouding serenity of the intellect, which alone is universal, presents no great difficulty to understand. Poetic imageries are taken as realities and hyperbolic exaggerations as literal truth and create difficulties in the apprehension of truth. Honest exegetists can recognise and truly value what is called by some "prime fraud." But the Puranas are only for the purity of mind and not

for faith to which the scriptures of the "three-fold path" are the principal guide,—such is the exegetical doctrine of Brahmanism.

Brahmanism, Monasticism and Buddhism.

Monasticism is an integral part of the religion preached by the great Buddha. Even if any similar institution pre-existed, its extent and influence are wholly negligible. It seems not unprofitable to examine, however cursorily it may be, the social and religious conditions attendant on its rise and spread. A tradition is prevalent among classes of Puranic Pundits in different parts of India which seems to be not without its bearing on the subject. According to this tradition Satatapa, eleventh in descent from King Janamejaya, was killed by his minister who was of the Sudra caste. Holy Brahmans assembled in protest against the misdeed and desired the usurper to restore the kingdom to the royal blood and to retire from the world. The regicide usurper refused. Thereupon the custodians of Brahmanic polity expatriated themselves from the kingdom of ancient Delhi and sought refuge in a Himalayan village called Kalapa to watch over the spiritual welfare of their native land. To trace the origin of this tradition is a scholarly task as yet unaccomplished. In the Mahavarata [1] Kalapa gives shelter to Krishṇa's widow, Satyabhama and other ladies of his family. The Bhagavata Purana [2] mentions it as the birth-place of the Brahmanic caste-revival of the remote future. It is somewhat curious to note that the Brahmanic revival headed by Sankaracharya, had its origin at Badrinarayan in the Himalayas. According to his biographers his commentaries on the canonical scriptures of Brahmanism were composed on this spot.

To return to the tradition : Badrinarayana or Badarikasrama on Puranic authority is regarded to be the spiritual refuge of the

[1] Mushalparva :. Adhaya 7, Slokas 250, 251.
[2] 12. 2. 37-38.

sage Vyasa from which will spring forth the future regeneration of the four castes and the connected system of faith and works. One wonders whether it is a baseless dream to identify Kalapa with Badrinarayana. The Brahman offscourings left after the exodus to Kalapa are said to have prepared false scriptures under the influence of royal favours. A ray of light converges on this point from the saying of Buddha recorded in one of the earliest scriptures of his followers—the Sutta Nipata.

"17. There was however, a change in them, from their having gradually seen the wealth of kings, and well-decorated women.

18. And well-made chariots, yoked to excellent horses and covered with carpets of elegant stitching, and houses and rooms divided into portions.

19. The Brahmans coveted the great enjoyments of men, which consisted in a number of beautiful women, and droves of oxen.

20. For the sake of these, having composed Mantras, they went to (King) Okkaka (and said), Thou art possessed of manifold wealth ; give us thy vast riches ; offer us thy immense wealth.

21. And then the king, the lord of chariots, persuaded by these Brahmans, made these sacrifices, Assamedha, Purisamedha, Sammapasa, Vajapeyya, (and) gave without hindrance the Brahmans wealth, (such as).

30. This old sin of injuring (living beings) has come down (to this day). Innocent cows are killed. Priests have fallen off from their virtues.

31. Thus this old (and) mean act is despised by the wise. Men despise a priest in whom such vice is found.

32. Thus virtue being lost, the Suddas and Vessas were separated. The Khattiyas were also widely 'separated.' (And the wife disregarded her husband.)

33. The Khattiyas, Brahmans, and others who kept up their caste disputes, laying aside their caste disputes, came under the influence of lusts.

Sutta Nipata, Brahmanadhammika Sutta, VII, by

Sir. M Coomaraswamy)"

Buddha's testimony was about a century older than the Nanda Period and must be taken to refer to other similar works. After warm commendations on the faith and character of ancient Brahmans the Bhagavan bears testimony to the original purity and excellence of Brahmin character both ascetic and householder. And then he declares the degeneration of Brahmins as due to worldly lusts for the gratification of which they had to subjugate the royal mind.

Authentic history of North India records an event not wholly dissimilar. The revolutionist founder of the Nanda dynasty of Kings was born of a mother who was of the Sudra caste. Naturally Brahmans whose whole hope of life was based on the four-fold system of caste, as can be naturally expected, retired from the glare of royal favour while those who preferred worldly welfare to all other considerations gained royal favour without competi tion and caste. Having thus cast away the antecedent foundation of social supremacy the Brahmans, favoured by royal patronage, had to erect a new foundation to support their position. This may appear to have been done by claiming special heredity, evidenced by fair complexion. The conspiracy which hastened the destruction of the Nanda dynasty was led by a Brahman who used as his tool a dark Brahman brutally treated for his complexion by the King with whom the Nanda dynasty came to an end. The story is well related by Sudraka in *Mudra Rakshasha*. In this light viewed, a complete picture can be seen of what underlies the facts of hitsory. The Brahman conspirator's name has been handed down as Kutila or the artful one, he has handed

down to posterity his maxims for attainment of worldly success and his recently discovered "Artha Sastra" or science of wealth.

The concord between Buddha and ancient Brahman tradition as regards the falsification of scriptures by their unworthy custodians must be carefully noted in order to remove surprise from the absence of the canonical scriptures of Brahmanism and their teachings from the centres of learning so arduously searched by Buddha after his great Renunciation.

It may not be devoid of interest to cite here the opinion of Rammohun Roy as preserved by his friend and disciple Chandra Sekhar Deb, one of the earliest English-educated Bengalis :—

"The traditional histories of what men had done and spoken in their progress through civilization were separately gathered in the Puranas and Itihasas to which the Vedas frequently referred. The facts detailed in these latter works were from the beginning not entirely free from fables and stories, specially of divine interference in the affairs of man; and the Bauddha animosities and scuffles that, in spite of the tolerant principles of the Hindoo creed, ensued not long after those literary collections were made, led to the fabrication of new tales and added to the errors that had previously crept into the authentic facts of Vyasa. Such seem to have been the views of Ram Mohun Roy regarding the early histories of the Jews and Hindoos.

It is also an undeniable fact, he used to say, that the genius of the Hindoos tended to the cultivation more of the imagination and the reasoning faculties of the mind than of the memory which is so very deceptive at times and in all places. In spite of the official Reports and Government proclamations of the present times there are falsehoods creeping into the details of facts on every occasion of the European wars and quarrels in India during the last century. No wonder then that

history of every poet of the world is replete with fictions of every sort."

Further—"Ram Mohun Roy often told me that an excellent history of India could very well be written out of the materials of the Mahabharata and Ramayana and some of the Puranas, but that it required great critical powers of the mind to do this. Such powers were in exercise amongst the Jews during many centuries before the Books of Moses received their existing form. The nature of the Hindoo Government and the commotion to which Buddha and his followers gave rise in Hindoo Society threw the Indian nations backwards in respect to this branch of literature. Their chronology was entirely falsified by the Brahmans on the basis of astronomy and their biographies were all lost or turned into fables."

Extract taken from "Reminiscence of Ram Mohan Roy, By a friend.'—which appeared in the Tatlabodhini Patrika, page 174. published in Magh (parts of January and Eebruarg, in the year 1794 (Saka) = 1873)

Regret must be felt that these reminiscences are not separately published for general circulation.

It is to be observed not without satisfaction that Sir K. G. Bhandarkar's "critical mind" successfully sublimated much history from some of the Puranas.

Note must be taken that under later influence of popular Hinduism as distinguished from Brahmanism Ram Mohun Roy, notwithstanding his long wanderings and extensive scholarship, had no knowledge of Buddhism beyond what he picked up most probably in Thibet that the first Cause was time.[1]

....

Collected English Works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy..............

.... Long before Ram Mohun Roy's time and not later than the 6th century

[1] Universal Religion.

A.D. the only knowledge of Mahayana Buddhism is traceable in Gaudacharya from whom Sankara was the second in spiritual descent. It is the Mahayana doctrine concerning Adi Buddha identified by him with Prakriti. It needs scarcely be added that the Brahmasutra notices only the Hinayana systems of Buddhist philosophy current at the time. Foreigners have now brought back the knowledge of Buddhism to the land of its birth.

Buddha and his teachings may be viewed from the stand point of concordant Brahmanism preserved in what are to be taken as its canonical scriptures. Faith in the Supreme Reality, to be acquired by hearing and assimilating the sacred word. Faith is declared to be super-rational and not irrational. Faith is never inseparable from its twin sister love. This teaching is summed up in the Bhagavad Gita.

"Hating no creature, full of brotherly love and compassionate, devoid of myness, devoid of egotism, equal towards suffering and enjoyment, forgiving.

Ever content, of tranquil heart, with nature subjugated, firm in intent, and with thought and faith given up to me ; whoso is my devotee is dear unto me.

(*Bhagavat Gita, XII, 13-14*).

The Faith to which Brahmanism calls mankind in the name of truth is not true because it is declared by any particular individual but it is so declared because it is intrinsically true. The "Bhagavad Gita" is the declaration of Krishna. It is accepted as the expression of truth. In words of Sankara's commentary it expresses the essence of the Upanishats. The Isopanishat declares evil end of those who rest contented with scriptural words and works.

"Those observers of religious rites that perform only the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men and the other creatures, without regarding the worship of celestial gods, shall enter into the dark regions : and those

practisers of religious ceremonies who habitually worship the the celestial gods only, disregarding the worship of the sacred fire, and oblations to sages, to ancestors, to men and to other creatures, shall enter into a region still darker than the former."

(Isho Upanishad, 9, English translation by Raja Rammohun Roy.)

What may be called in Christian Theology the doctrine of revelation is thus historically summarised in the Svetasvatara Upanishad:

"Who in the beginning calls Brahma (the Archangel of creation) into Being—who transmits the Vedas into him even in that deity manifestor of cognition of self I, desirous of liberation (from conditional existence) seek refuge."

Svetasvatara Upanishat, IV, 18.

The Vedic Mantras are believed to be seen by Rishis or seers, but they declare ideas not naturally to be seen. The truth is true not because it is seen but it is seen because it is true. This is the view of authoritative Brahman theology put in modern fashion of speech. It is to be repeated that faith in supreme, eternal reality, is superrational but not irrational. Reason by itself, unassisted by declaration of the sacred word cannot lead to unshakable harmony of faith. This is clearly borne out by the following aphorism of the Brahma Sutram and Sankara's Commentary on it.

"If it be said that in consequence of the ill-foundedness of reasoning, we must frame our conclusions otherwise; (we reply that) thus also there would result non-release." (Bramha-sutram, II, A. I. p. 11).

"In matters to be known from Scripture mere reasoning is not to be relied on for the following reason also. As thoughts of man are altogether unfettered, reasoning which disregards the holy texts and rests on individual opinion only has no proper foundations. We see how arguments, which some clever men

had excogitated with great pains, are shown by people still more ingenious, to be fallacious, and how the arguments of the latter again are refuted in their turn by other men; so that, on account of the diversity of men's opinions, it is impossible to accept mere reasoning as having a sure foundation. Nor can we get over this difficulty by accepting as well-founded the reasoning of some person of recognised mental eminence, may he now be Kapila or any body else; since we observe that even men of the most undoubted mental eminence, such as Kapila, Kanada, and other founders of philosophical schools, have contradicted one another.

" But (our adversary may here be supposed to say), we will fashion our reasoning otherwise, *i.e.*, in such a manner as not to lay it open to the charge of having no proper foundation. You cannot after all maintain that no reasoning whatever is well-founded; for you yourself can found your assertion that reasoning has no foundation on reasoning only; your assumption being that because some arguments are seen to be devoid of foundation other arguments as belonging to the same class are likewise devoid of foundation. Moreover, if all reasonings were unfounded, the whole course of practical human life would have to come to an end. For we see that men act, with a view to obtaining pleasure and avoiding pain in the future time, on the assumption that the past, the present, and the future are uniform. Further in the case of passages of Scripture (apparently) contradicting each other, the ascertainment of the real sense, which depends on a preliminary refutation of the apparent sense, can be effected only by an accurate definition of the meaning of sentences, and that involves a process of reasoning. Thus Manu also expresses himself : ' Perception, inference, and the sastra according to the various traditions, this triad is to be known well by one desiring clearness in regard to right,—He who applies reasoning not contradicted by the Veda to the Veda and the (Smriti) doctrine of law, he, and no other, knows the law ' (Manu Smriti, XII, 105, 106). And that ' want of foundation,'

to which you object, really constitutes the beauty of reasoning, because it enables us to arrive at unobjectionable arguments by means of the previous refutation of objectionable arguments. (No fear that because the purvapaksha is ill-founded the siddhanta should be ill-founded too;) for there is no valid reason to maintain that a man must be stupid because his elder brother was stupid.—For all these reasons the want of foundation cannot be used as an argument against reasoning.

"Against this argumentation we remark that thus also there results 'want of release.' For although with regard to some things reasoning is observed to be well-founded, with regard to the matter in hand there will result 'want of release,' *viz.*, of the reasoning from this very fault of ill-foundedness. The true nature of the cause of the world on which final emancipation depends cannot, on account of its excessive abstruseness, even be thought of without the help of the holy texts; for, as already remarked, it cannot become the object of perception, because it does not possess qualities such as form and the like, and as it is devoid of characteristic signs, it does not lend itself to inference and the other means of right knowledge. Or else, (if we adopt another explanation of the word 'avimoksha') all those who teach the final release of the soul are agreed that it results from perfect knowledge. Perfect knowledge has the characteristic mark of uniformity, because it depends on accomplished actually existing things; for whatever thing is permanently of one and the same nature is acknowledged to be a true or real thing, and knowledge conversant about such is called perfect knowledge, as, for instance, the knowledge embodied in the proposition, 'fire is hot.' Now, it is clear that in the case of perfect knowledge a mutual conflict of men's opinions is impossible. But that cognitions founded on reasoning do conflict is generally known; for we continually observe that what one logician endeavours to establish as perfect knowledge is demolished by another, who, in his turn, is treated alike by a third. How therefore can knowledge, which is founded on

reasoning, and whose object is not something permanently uniform, be perfect knowledge?—Nor can it be said that he who maintains the pradhana to be the cause of the world (*i.e.* the Sankhya) is the best of all reasoners, and accepted by all philosophers ; which would enable us to accept his opinion as perfect knowledge.—Nor can we collect at a given moment and on a given spot all the logicians of the past, present, and future time, so as to settle (by their agreement) that their opinion regarding some uniform object is to be considered perfect knowledge. The Veda, on the other hand, which is eternal and the source of knowledge, may be allowed to have for its object firmly established things, and hence the perfection of that knowledge which is founded on the Veda cannot be denied by any of the logicians of the past, present or future. We have thus established the perfection of this our knowledge which reposes on the Upanishads, and as apart from it perfect knowledge is impossible, its disregard would lead to 'absence of final release' of the transmigrating souls. Our final position therefore is, that on the ground of Scripture and of reasoning subordinate to Scripture, the intelligent Brahman is to be considered the cause and substance of the world."

(Sankara's Commentary on the Brahmasutram) II, Pada I, 11. S.B.E.

Even if knowledge at this one entrance had not been quite shut out for the illiterate and hopelessly oppressed masses by the conspiracy of priest and prince very little help would have come to them from the scriptural source. For as the Bhagavad Gita teaches :

"The unwise are lovers of the praise in the Vedas, of the fruit of ceremonies prescribed therein, and are sayers of 'there is nothing else,' and repeaters of flowery shadows of speech."

"The Vedas have for their object only the assemblage of the three qualities ; be free from the three qualities, O Arjuna ; free from the pairs of opposites, constant in the quality of satva, free from acquisitiveness and desire for the preservation of what

is possessed already, and not dominated by any object of sense or mind."

"As much benefit as there is in a limited expanse of water, so much is there in water stretching free on all sides : similarly, as much benefit as there is in all the Vedic rites, so much is there for the truth-realizing Brahman."

(*Bhagavad Gita, II, 43, 45 & 46.*)

The other aspect of spiritual life expressed in emotion and character, is clearly able, when exhibited in the individual life of the teacher, to help all, high and low, pure and impure, wise and unwise, learned and simple. For the sake of convenience this aspect of spiritual life is here called love or in Biblical language charity. Patanjali in his own sphere teaches us that the lover of that lover's heart is infected with that love himself which shows the worth and worthlessness of external life.

"Yoga is spiritual culture. The self-torturing and often disgusting practices of counterfeit Yogis have wrapped the subject in a mist of misconceptions. Patanjali, although his Yoga Sutram as a scripture has not the rank of those referred to, is recognised as the highest specialist in this subject, and his essential teachings so far as they go are not in discord with the "threefold path." According to him the preferable means for the attainment of Yoga is a loving attention to the Lord (Isvara) who is a soul distinct from all others, untouched by affliction, well-being, ill-being, consequences and expectations. In Him is the seed of the consummation of omniscience. Not being conditioned by time He is the teacher of all teachers who have before. Having gone described the method which enables attention to be given to Him in love, the author lays down rules for obtaining spiritual serenity. Rejoice with those that rejoice, sorrow with those that sorrow, with gladness encourage the doer of good and take no notice of the doer of evil. He prescribes to the same end the support of a heart (or chitta) devoid of

attachment to the world, *i.e.*, of self-interest. The rest of his prescription shows his preference, in accordance with the whole tendency of Brahmanism, for the religious recluse." [1]

Falsification or multiplication (as the case may be) of scripture by excluding those that indicate the spiritual path and claiming sole authority for teachings of magical rites and ceremonies is strongly condemned by canonical Brahmanism. The Bhagavad Gita is prolific in such condemnations that reference to them alone is quite sufficient.

The motive for the falsification of Brahmanic scriptures is not very difficult to trace. Loving loyalty towards kings of ancient lineage is spontaneously ingrained on the popular mind. The contrary is unthinkable. The case of upstart captors of sovereignty is quite the opposite. Many artifices are necessary to rule the past out of the popular mind and imprison it in hopes for the future continuance of present enjoyment. Idealised external show, pomp and ceremony captivate the mind, and the supernatural painted thereon transforms the depressing reaction at the closing into post mortem perpetuity of mind's delight. Celestial and earthly life alternate to gratify the cravings of sense.

" They, having enjoyed that wide celestial realm enter the sphere of mortals on the exhaustion of their merit ; thus those devoted to the law of the three Vedas, and desiring desires, obtain coming and going."

Bhagavad Gita, IX,21.)

Expensive ceremonies benefited Brahmans and those connected with the capitals of the king, but ground down with poverty were those remote therefrom. The latter class unsanctified by the incense and offerings burnt in the sacred fire was deprived of celestial felicity while the suffering of heavy taxation presented a painful reality. To such sufferers the message of Buddha was curative peace.

Patanjal Sutras, 38, 37.

The lamp of love, lighted by the great Renunciation of Gautama, was intended to be kept burning by the monastic life springing forth from his example. How far the ideal of monasticism is realised everywhere and at all times is outside present consideration.

It is only necessary to point out that the Buddhism of India was known as the *Hina Jāna* or lesser vehicle.

The other aspect of spiritual life which transcends speech and reason is indicated as Nirvana, the transformation of individual life into universal through extinction of self-centered desires springing from love or *Ahiṁsā*.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI.

THE FAN

Oh, my dear,
Your mind to me is
Becoming shallow
As the poor fan
Before the winter.

I care not, oh dear,
Though you make of
Me a fan,
If you use it
For the next summer.

JINKICHI MATSUDA

A LOST PAGE OF HISTORY

(Lutfannesa—the unfortunate Begum of Nawab Serajadowlla)

Much has already been said and written about Nawab Serajadowlla—the last unfortunate Nawab of Bengal—but few persons know that Dacca was very closely associated with the members of his family and fewer still are aware that it was in Dacca that his favourite Begum "Lutfannesa" spent some years of her life in misery and sorrow. It is a page of forgotten history which will evoke tears and which will give one more proof—if proofs were needed—of the vanity of human life and of the glorious uncertainties of royal prosperity. It was in Dacca that for seven solid years she like a true and loyal consort cherished the memory of her murdered husband with the only relic of her departed lord—her only daughter Jahura.

Not many yards from the river Buriganga opposite the city of Dacca are still to be seen the ruins of a garden-house at a place called Jinjira—a favourite resort of the Nawabs of Dacca who after the departure of Murshid Kuli Khan from this city were but the representatives of the Nawabs of Murshidabad.[1] Time in rolling its ceaseless course has told upon its magnificence and beauty and one can but with the greatest difficulty discover faint traces of its glorious past.

This garden-house at Jinjira was the home of the unfortunate members of the family of Nawab Serajadowlla who after his foul murder at Murshidabad were banished to Dacca under the orders of Mirzafar—the puppet Nawab of Murshidabad—who got the *Gudaee* at Murshidabad after Serajadowlla's death.

There is a common story that the members of Seraj's family who were so banished were Ghasite Begum and Amina

[1] *See* Charles O'Doly's History of Old Dacca.

Begum—the aunt and mother respectively of Nawab Serajadowlla, but evidence is available which shows that this group of exiles included also Lutfannesa and her minor daughter Jahura. This is supported by Golam Hossain—the famous author of Seir Mutekherin.

The story of the tragic end of Ghasite Begum and Amina Begum is not unknown to the historian. Miran, the wicked son of Mirzafar, wanted to get rid of Serajadowlla's relations and asked the Naib of Murshidabad at Dacca—Nawab Jessarat Khan—to dispose of them. But Jessarat Khan declined to carry out Miran's wicked instructions and Miran sent the messenger of mischief himself. On the plea that they were being taken to Murshidabad the old Begums were taken into a boat which was made to sink in the river Dhaleswary. Amina while she was being drowned is said to have cursed Miran and within a month of the date of this tragedy Miran was killed by lightning at Murshidabad.

Luckily Lutfannesa Begum was not among these victims. Her story is pathetic and she is worthy of remembrance as an instance of a devoted loyal wife who shared the weal and woe of her husband through sunshine and shower. Tradition has it that in her early life Lutfannesa was a Hindu slave girl of prepossessing appearance. Her name was Raj Kunwar and she was attached to Serajadowlla's mother. Attracted by her charms Serajadowlla fell in love with her and they were faithful to one another 'not only in life but also in death.'

Another account says that Lutfannesa was a sister of Mohan Lal who got into the good books of Serajadowlla by giving her in marriage to him. Now, whatever version is correct, it is a fact that Lutfannesa was a loyal and devoted wife. She and her daughter were the only companions of the Nawab when the latter was fleeing towards Rajmahal and was arrested by Mir Kasim.

After Seraj was foully done to death by that inhuman wretch Mahommed Beg she with her daughter was banished to

Dacca. This was about 1758 and there are reasons to believe that she was in Dacca till 1765—the year which saw the grant of Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the English when she was permitted by the English to return to Murshidabad.

During these seven years Lutfannesa was in a miserable condition. She was awarded a pension of Rs. 600 (six hundred) but this pension she never got regularly and she suffered from the pinch of poverty. It was only after the arrival of Mahommed Reza Khan at Dacca that her condition slightly improved.[2]

Information about Jahura, Seraj's daughter, is very meagre. It is however believed that she used to suffer from insanity from time to time and was married to a man called Mir Asad Ali Khan and the children of this marriage were four daughters whose names were Sharf-un-nesa, Asmat-un-nesa, Sakina and Amat-ul-Mahdi Begums. Jahura died in the lifetime of Lutfannesa and so afterwards the pension of Rs. 600 was divided among Lutfannesa and her four grand-daughters. Lutfannesa's share was only Rs. 100 a month, while each of the four grand-daughters used to get Rs. 125 a month.[3]

Lutfannesa who died in 1790 was in Murshidabad before that year, for it was in 1789 that Haji Mustafa of Seir Mutakherin saw her there. After Lutfannesa's death, the four grand-daughters applied for the pension of their grandmother. But at first the petition was rejected by the Board of Revenue and Mr. William Douglas, Collector of Dacca, was asked to discontinue the pension of the old Begum. But later a reference being made to the Governor-General it was ordered that the sum of Rs. 100 should be equally divided among the four grand-daughters.

One of the grand-daughters, Sakina Begum, died in 1797 and one Redjbee Khanum who described herself as a sister of

[2] *Vide* unpublished correspondence between the Board of Revenue and the Collector of Dacca.

[3] *Vide* unpublished correspondence between the Board of Revenue and Mr. William Douglas, Collector of Dacca.

Sakina Begum and the sole heir of Sakina applied for the pension of her sister to the Governor-General. The petition was endorsed by Nawab Nassarat Jung, the successor of Jessarat Khan at Dacca, but the Governor-General had the suspicion that this person was an impostor and the Board of Revenue was asked to make a sifting enquiry into her identity.[4]

That Lutfannesa was in Dacca, there is no doubt, but about her grand-daughters there are no traces available in Dacca. It appears that these grand-daughters used to live in Murshidabad but their pensions were paid from the Nizamat at Dacca.

Dacca at present has no lingering remnants of the Nawabs of Murshidabad and there is only one family which gets a small pension from Murshidabad, but Jinjira and the remains of the garden-house still bring back memories of the past and still stray travellers who happen to pass by the ruins at Jinjira are reminded of the grim tragedy at Murshidabad which brought Serajadowlla's family to grief and sorrow, of the pathetic story of the Begums Ghasite and Amina and of the plaintive and pathetic tale of Lutfannesa which history will not fail to chronicle.

NIRMAL K. GUPTA

4 Unpublished correspondence between the Collector of Dacca and Nawab Nassarat Jung.

NEPAL'S RELATIONS WITH THE OUTER WORLD

III.

As a place where Buddhism flourished in the past and where Buddhist relics are still found, Nepal furnishes an important connecting link. But at present only a corrupt form of Buddhism exists in the country. The priests are not learned, nor are they strict in their observance of the scriptural laws. The old traditions have disappeared. Learning and scholarship are in decay. But Smith goes too far in asserting that a corrupt form of Buddhism existing in Nepal is slowly decaying and yielding to the constant pressure of Brahminical Hinduism, the religion of the government. (Oxford History of India, p. 176.) This does not seem to be a correct view of the situation. Buddhism is dying of natural causes. There is no pressure of the state religion. Still on account of the existence of several ancient shrines Nepal is holy to Buddhists. Swayambhunath and Bodhnath which are very sacred spots to Buddhists are the tombs respectively of the Sikhi and the Kasyapa Buddhas. By tradition they are under the charge of the Dalai Lama of Tibet. The Nagarjun (Nagar-yon) hill is famous for a cave where Nagarjuna, a great Bodhisatta used to meditate. There is a 'chorten' (small stupa) on the top of this hill where pilgrims gather once every year. Muktinath is sacred to both Buddhists and Hindus. It is mentioned in Tibetan literature as "Chumik Gyatsan," meaning hundred fountains. Speaking about Buddhism in Nepal it is interesting to note that in the 8th century there seemed to have been a relationship between distant Orissa and Nepal. The king of Orissa Subhakaradeva who reigned towards the end of the 8th century presented to the Emperor of China his own copy of "Gandavyuha" in 795 A.D. This is an exposition of the Mahayanist theology and a Sanskrit-Buddhist work preserved in Nepal and not yet

published. It is only a fragment, forming part of a vast collection named "Avatamsaka" which is preserved in entirety in Chinese and Tibetan versions. The hero of the work Sudhana is a favourite disciple of Manjushri and under his orders made a tour of India seeking lessons. (Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1923, Tr. by P. C. Bagchi in "*Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*," pp. 65, 69-70.) This text which the king of Orissa presented to the Chinese emperor might have been compiled by Buddhist scholars in Nepal and a copy sent to Subhakaradeva.

A short note on Nepalese art and architecture in its relation to that of other countries would not be out of place in a study of Nepal's relations with the outer world.[1] We are not sure of the time when Nepal evolved a style of architecture of her own. The earliest Buddhist remains of architecture were derived from Indian tradition. The Patan stupas and the original stupa at Sanchi are not far different. The rest are mostly in the *terais* which are practically Indian soil. Both Swayambhunath and Bodhnath were constructed on Tibetan models. One of the main characteristics of both Chinese and Nepalese architecture is the 'pagoda' style. But the Nepalese specimens belong to a period earlier than the Chinese examples. This type of architecture is mentioned in a Chinese travel-book which was written during the 8th and 10th century A.D. and was probably based on the records left by Wang Hiuen-tse. It is not at all unlikely that from time to time Nepalese artists visited China. Prof. Lévi notes the presence of a Nepalese artist named Arniko at Kublai Khan's court. (*Le Nepal*, Vol. III, p. 186.) Nepalese artists used to decorate Chinese and Tibetan banners. The influence of Nepalese architecture is discovered by specialists in the eleventh century work of the great Ananda monastery at Pagan and also in Assam and Burma. In the famous cathedral of Lhasa built by King Gambo for keeping the images brought by his

[1] Perceval Landon in his "Nepal" has made a study of Nepalese art and architecture and the present author is indebted to Landon for useful information on the subject.

Chinese and Nepalese wives some of the arrangements are similar to those of the Patan stupas. M. Benoit, a French writer on Oriental architecture has been led to think that Nepal influenced Burma, China and possibly even India. It may be even that Chinese architecture was imported from India through Nepal. It is a curious fact that the "storeyed" type[2] has ceased to exist in the mother-country. Just as a rising wave soon recedes from the spot of its origin and gradually makes the opposite banks feel its force, the Indian type disappearing in the land of its birth migrated to China by way of Nepal. It took about six hundred years in Greece for the alphabetic numerals to be universally accepted. It does not necessarily mean that no system prevailed during that period. There must have been some method of indicating the numerals. In the same way it can be argued that the mere fact that we do not find any remains of the 'storeyed' type of architecture at present in India, is not a sufficient ground to substantiate the view that such architectural designs never existed in India. Moreover climatic conditions in India did not permit for long the erection of wooden houses with several storeys which could stand the rigours of a tropical climate and eventually houses began to be built with stone or brick. The pagoda style of Burma may be a Chinese edition of the original Indian style.

In its later architecture Nepal was influenced by the Indian style. This will be evident from the style of the Radha Krishna temple at Patan and the three Shiva temples near Tripureswar, a suburb of Katmandu, on the Bagmati river. In the portrait of Prithwi Narayan in the old royal palace of Katmandu traces

[2] About this type of architecture, Prof. G. Tucci of the University of Rome in course of a talk with the author at Katmandu suggested that this style is nothing but an elaboration of the 'stupa' style. Sirdar Hari Gopal Banerjee, M.A., who has lived in Nepal for 30 years and made a close study of Nepalese antiquities is of opinion that this type was accepted by the Nepalese architects as more suitable for rainwater falling below from the inclined edges of the roofs. The temple style was merely an elaboration of the ordinary dwelling-house type. Moreover it was found more convenient to build with wood, mud and light bricks for standing the rigours of the hill-climate.

of Indo-Persian influence are found though the work itself was done by a Nepalese artist. The religious painting of Nepal is closely modelled upon or rather allied to the Tibetan school of painting but the work is not so fine. There is a permanent colony of Nepalese bronze and copper craftsmen in Lhasa and much of the best work in Tibet is done by them. About the art of Nepal, Vincent Smith says, "The plastic art of both Tibet and Nepal is Indian in origin and essentially one. According to Taranath the style of ancient Nepalese art was based on that of the 'Eastern Painters in Bengal' who may be assigned to the eighth century... ..Indian civilization having reached the valley of Nepal many centuries before it penetrated the plateau of Tibet, the presumption is that the almost complete identity of style in the two countries must be the result of Tibetan copying of the Nepalese models." (*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 198.)

In the Tibetan temples there are many images showing male and females in sexual postures. These owe their origin to the older sect of Tibetan Buddhists whose faith became mixed up with Tantraism from Nepal. In the Tibetan monasteries many Tantric texts are still preserved in the original and there are also extant many Tibetan translations of these works. The propounders of this mixed cult gave a sensual interpretation to their religious tenets and hence originated such images which would certainly shock the moral susceptibilities of modern lookers-on. Atisha, however, explained these images in a quite different way. The same kind of images are found in many Nepalese temples, often carved on wood as decorations of the temple premises. (*Cf.* the Chowbahar temple about four miles from Katmandu.) The idea seems to be according to the Nepalese belief that such figures are the means of making the buildings immune from lightning shocks. Similar decorations but in painting are found in temples in Orissa. The suspicion therefore is natural that this type of art must have originated from some common source and then travelled to different places.

Moreover sex was not banned in the Hindu Shastras and learned treatises were written on the subject. So these erotic symbols had a religious background and in Tibet and Nepal are the outcome of a common belief.

It is interesting to note here the opinion of the Curator of the Arts Section of the Lahore Museum that there is a very close relation of Basholi, Nepalese and Tibetan schools of art in their peculiar colour scheme. (S. N. Gupta, *Making of the Moghul School of Painting*). He also thinks that some of the paintings from Basholi represent different Tantric manifestations of the goddess Durga and the colour scheme of these paintings resembles to a certain extent the colouring of the Nepalese paintings. (*Note on Six Paintings from Basholi, Catalogue of Paintings in the Lahore Museum,* compiled by S. N. Gupta.) Another student of Indian art, however, thinks that the oldest and peculiar type of Pahari art is of Basholi origin and therefore there is no ground to support Mr. S. N. Gupta's view that it has an affinity with Nepalese or Tibetan art. (Ajit Ghose, *Basholi School of Rajput Painting.*) Dr. Ananda Coomarswamy's opinion about Basholi paintings is that they represent Pahari art and the continuation of some older tradition. (*Catalogue of Rajput Paintings in the Boston Museum.*) This older tradition may be Nepalese art as at one time there was a close connection between Nepal and Kashmir and the Punjab (specially Kangra side) when the Tantric cult was at its highest and it was not at all improbable for Nepalese and Rajput artists in the Punjab to follow the same traditions in religious painting. In that case Mr. Ghose's summary dismissal of Mr. S. N. Gupta's theory cannot be upheld and indeed people in Nepal who have made some study of Nepalese art are inclined to behieve that it had some sort of relationship with the art of neighbouring states.

Thus culturally, ethnologically, politically Nepal had a regular intercourse with regions far and near and her important geographical position gave a tremendous possibility to symbolize

in herself the characteristic traits in the civilization and culture of the Aryan and the Mongol. But she remains more Aryan than Mongolian and has much in common with her southern neighbours. Along with other countries where Indian civilization and Indian culture was carried and existed in a flourishing state for centuries, Nepal formed a part of Greater India and remains now the only independent Hindu kingdom.

(Concluded.)

JAYANTAKUMAR DAS GUPTA

THE TURTLE

I looked into his eyes
And guessed at the heart that kept him alive ;
I looked at his mouth and his lips,
The kindness that lurked in the curves ;
I looked at his whole round body,
And wondered of what use he was in the world.
Of what use is the Turtle?

VIOLA IRENE COOPER

BRADLEY FROM THE STANDPOINT OF ŚAṀKARA-VEDĀNTA.[1]

Bradley may be taken to be the most influential representative of the idealistic movement which began in England in the nineteenth century and which proceeded in the reverse direction to the 'insular' philosophy. The distinguishing characteristic of the 'insular' philosophy had hitherto been its empiricism. Along with this characteristic the English Philosophy had certain characteristic deficiencies which became the more glaring the more it entered into reciprocal relation with other lines of thought. Among these is the mechanical atomistic notion, which passed over from natural to mental science, and induced it to regard psychical life as the product of independent psychical elements. Bradley was the most influential, if not the only, opponent of this notion.

Bradley's first published work was his *Ethical Studies* which appeared in 1876. It was in this book that he attacked the atomism of English psychology. In his opposition we find a remarkable similarity with Śaṁkara's opposition to the atomism of the Vijñānavādins. The arguments of both are also almost the same. In opposition to the atomism of English psychology the English philosopher maintains that consciousness cannot be described as a mere collection of elements, for it would be impossible to understand how such a collection could become aware of itself,—and *Vijñāna*, urges the Indian Philosopher against the Bauddhas, cannot be consciousness or the self, for this *Vijñāna* cannot be aware of itself, for in order to be known, it must be known by something else—**विज्ञानस्य स्वरूपव्यतिरिक्तग्राह्यत्वात्**.

[1] Read before the History of Philosophy Section of the Indian Philosophical Congress held at Lahore, December, 1929.

The most remarkable of Bradley's works, however, is his *Appearance and Reality*. It is impossible to convey in a summary a clear idea of its teaching. The main discussions concern themselves with the nature of 'Reality' and of 'Appearance' as is sufficiently indicated by the title of the book. His arguments in the book as to the nature of Reality may be summed up in the following words: "Ultimate Reality is such that it does not contradict itself." We find this characterisation of Reality in certain philosophers belonging to the Śaṁkara Vedānta School, if not in Saṁkara himself. Dharmarājādvarīndra's definition of प्रमात्वम् as अबाधितार्थविषयज्ञानत्वम् may be taken as an instance thereof; and it appears by implication, from Rāmānuja's criticism of Śaṁkara's view of Reality that Śaṁkara himself held this view of Reality: सत् परमार्थम् अनुवर्त्तमानत्वात् रज्जु सर्पादौ रज्ज्वादिवत् । घटादयोऽपरमार्था व्यावर्त्तमानत्वात् रज्ज्वाद्यधिष्ठान सर्पादिवदिति, etc., quoted, by Rāmānuja, are supposed to be Saṁkara's arguments.

Again, by way of giving a concrete determination of Reality, Bradley calls it Experience. By 'Experience' in this context Bradley did not mean 'consciousness,' if the term 'consciousness' be taken to signify 'awareness' of an object, on the part of an individual subject. Consciousness in this sense is 'thought' which implies a severance of the subject and object and always points to something more inclusive than itself in which the distinction of subject and object would be transcended. Rather, he urged, is 'experience' to be identified with 'sentience,' and sentience while including, after a certain stage of development has been reached, thought or consciousness, includes also much besides. 'Experience' in Bradley's sense of the term, is more akin to 'feeling' than to 'thought' inasmuch as in feeling also there is no such severance of subject and object as in thought. Here, in Bradley's characterisation of Reality as 'sentient experience' as distinguished from 'consciousness' in the sense of awareness on the part of an individual subject, we find a strong point of resemblance with

Śaṁkara's characterisation of Reality as '*Chaitanya,*' *i.e.,* an all-pervasive universal Intelligence. Of course in default of a better term we cannot but translate Śaṁkara's 'Chaitanya' as 'consciousness' or 'self-consciousness' but in its inner significance it is as comprehensive as Bradley's 'sentience.' Consciousness in Śaṁkara, does not mean awareness on the part of an individual subject but an impersonal universal consciousness which comprehends everything.

Bradley's characterisation of appearances is sometimes positive but sometimes it tends to become comparatively negative. The comparatively positive arguments are somewhat like the following. Although appearances are not real in the form in which they now appear to us, still they are not altogether false and illusory. If they are 'appearances' still they are not *mere* 'appearances' but appearances of Reality—finite forms under which Reality is partly revealed. If they themselves *are* not Reality still they are *indications* of Reality. They are called 'appearances' because Reality appears in them.

This characterisation of appearance as a mixture of reality and unreality, reminds one of Śaṁkara's famous statement in the introduction to his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*: **सत्यानृते मिथुनीकृत्य नैसर्गिकोऽयं लोकव्यवहारः ।** Reality is, according to Bradley, the ideality of the finite, or to use a Hegelian phrase, Reality is the '*truth*' of the appearance—appearances are Reality in the making, *i.e.,* the stages through which Reality is gradually manifesting itself. Statements similar to this are not altogether absent in Śaṁkara,—**ज्ञानैश्वर्याद्यभिव्यक्तिः उत्तरोत्तरेण भूयसी भवति,**—this seems to be an exact parallel of the corresponding statement in Bradley. According to some Vedāntists,—the idea embodied in this is *the* true interpretation of Śaṁkara's philosophy.

But as in the case of the Indian philosopher, so in the case of Bradley, we cannot unhesitatingly conclude that this positive view-point is the last word of either system. There are lines in the arguments of both which go directly against the above state-

ments, and seem to explain away the world as altogether illusory and false. There are passages where Bradley argues that 'appearances' *are*,—more strictly speaking—seem to be, only owing to the impotence of our finite point of view, but they are quite unreal from the side of the Absolute. Śaṁkara also argues in a similar strain that Brahman alone is the true Reality,—and the world of appearance is only a Māyā and due to our ignorance (अविद्या). अविद्याकल्पित (or 'fancied by ignorance'), अविद्याप्रत्युपस्थापित ('brought about by or due to ignorance'), अविद्यात्मक ('consisting of avidyā') are the usual epithets most commonly used by Śaṁkara with reference to the world of names and forms (नामरूपे) that constitute the realm of our experience, and it is curious to observe that the same objections have been urged against both. Rāmānuja, for example, criticises Śaṁkara's conception of the world as the product of ignorance on the ground that this ignorance has no substratum in which to reside (this objection, by the way, is technically known as आश्रयानुपपत्तिः), for the finite self being itself a product of ignorance cannot be the seat of the ignorance. Similarly Western critics have urged against Bradley the objection that there cannot be illusion which is to explain the finite world unless it be proved first of all that finite selves really exist as such, in order to be the seats or victims of this illusion.

Not only in this conception of the relation of Reality to appearance in general, but also in that of the more particular relation of Reality to the finite self (which is one of the appearances), a similarity may be traced between the two philosophers. The finite selves exist, according to both, only in appearance. From the side of the absolute they are non-entities. "The plurality of souls in the absolute," says Bradley, "is appearance, and their existence is not genuine. To gain consistency and truth they must be merged, and recomposed in a result in which their specialty must vanish." Not that the finite selves are annihilated altogether but they cease to exist as separate individuals. The materials of which the individuals

are constituted are taken up and re-arranged and blended together in the absolute. 'Merged,' 'blended.' 'fused' 'absorbed' 'run together,' 'transformed,' 'dissolved in a higher unity,' are the synonyms plentifully used by Bradley in this connection. Sometimes he goes to the extent of using even the more sinister terms, 'suppressed,' 'destroyed' and 'lost.' In a similar strain Śaṁkara also argues that the individuality of finite selves is only apparent and is due to *upādhis* which are the products of illusion. From the standpoint of Brahman there is no individual self as such—there is no distinction of one self from another. All are blended together in one complete homogeneous identity.—**यत्तु सर्व्वमात्मैवाभूत् तत् केन कं पश्येत् केन कं विजानीयात्** ?

But in spite of these similarities there is an important point of difference between these two philosophers. The 'self' with Bradley seems to be only an appearance among other appearances, and is in no way superior to other appearances. But with Śaṁkara the case is different. Though according to him also the 'self' is an appearance only and from the standpoint of Brahman has no separate existence still it is superior to the other appearances in this that as an appearance also it reflects the nature of Brahman. The same self-consciousness which is as it were, the stuff of Brahman, appears as an individual self when modalised. The difference between the two thinkers on this point is also obvious from the way in which each characterises the Absolute. With Bradley, the Absolute is simply a 'sentient experience'—an inclusive experience; whereas with Śaṁkara it is not only an all-pervasive *chaitanya*, but also the 'self.' The use of the same term 'self' for both the Absolute and the finite human being, shows that for Śaṁkara the relation between the finite self and Brahman is much more intimate than it is for Bradley. '**तत्त्वमसि**' sums up the whole philosophy of Śaṁkara in a nutshell. The self is an appearance but still it is not a mere appearance,—in its innermost nature it is identical with Brahman—it *is* Brahman. Of course, in justice to Bradley, it must be admitted that though he

has never identified his absolute in so many words with the finite self, the implication of some of his utterances amounts to it. To know the Absolute one has to *be* the Absolute. These are Bradley's own words. If the human self can *be* the absolute,—if it has in it the *possibility* of being the absolute, that means that it *is* in actuality, the Absolute; for, if the two were not essentially identical the one could never become the other,—and the exhortation to achieve the identity would also have no meaning.

Similar objections, again, have been urged against those arguments of both Śaṁkara and Bradley by which they have sought to establish the position that the finite selves have to lose their separate individualities in the Absolute. With an audacious irony Bradley speaks of the perfection which is to be striven after by the individual as "the complete gift and dissipation of his personality in which *he* as such, must vanish!" But if the person as such has to vanish who will be there to enjoy the perfection? Rāmānuja and others also urge the same objection against Śaṁkara's arguments for release. One attains release, so argues Śaṁkara, when one loses his individuality in Brahman,—when the 'I' ceases to exist. But if the 'I' ceases to exist who will enjoy the release, who will say 'I am released?'

As to the knowability of the Absolute the arguments of both Śaṁkara and Bradley are sceptical, so far at least as *thought* is concerned. The Absolute is a self-consistent and harmonious totality and therefore beyond all relations because relations involve contradiction. But 'thought' works by way of relations—it always involves a separation of the 'that' and the 'what.' Hence thought can never grasp the totality of Reality. Śaṁkara also argues in the same strain "नैषा तर्केण मतिरापनेया" or "अचिन्त्याः खलु ये भावा न तांस्तर्केण योजयेत्" "लिङ्गाद्यभावाच्च नानुमानादीनाम्." But then, what is the conclusion? Do these philosophers conclude that Reality is not knowable at all, in any sense of the term 'knowing.' No. The scepticism of both

culminates in mysticism. Reality is not *graspable* by discursive thinking, but it is graspable by a higher form of knowledge,—*intuition*. We cannot know the Absolute by *thinking* but we can grasp it by *identifying* ourselves with it. To know the Absolute we must *be* the Absolute—must lose ourselves in ecstatic intuition in it. (Of course, the terms, ecstasy and intuition are not to be found in Bradley.) Śaṁkara's arguments on this point agree, word for word, with Bradley's. Śaṁkara also identifies ब्रह्मविद् with ब्रह्मभू; to know Brahman is to *be* Brahman. There is no other way of knowing Brahman.

If we have to know Brahman we must leave our empirical lives behind us, and identify ourselves with the Real. The knowledge of Brahman is termed by Śaṁkara अनुभूति : by which he means ecstatic intuition; for Bradley, the term is 'Feeling.' This feeling is something quite different from what we mean by 'feeling' in psychology. It seems to approach Śaṁkara's conception of अनुभूति though it has not for him the further sense of ecstasy.

Nevertheless, though thought by itself cannot get hold of Reality, both Śaṁkara and Bradley recognise the importance of thinking as a preliminary step. The feeling which is identical with absolute Experience can come only at the end of a long process of thinking,—only when thought has done all that it could have done. So also with Śaṁkara,—अनुभवावसानत्वात् ब्रह्मविज्ञानस्य—the *anubhūti* being only the culmination of the labour of thought in knowing Brahman. The feeling which comes before thought is too poor and unstable to be a fit instrument for the knowledge of Reality. It can become fit for this high vocation only when it has gone out of itself into the region of thought, and when after the whole travail of thought, has returned upon itself, enriched and purified.

However, according to both, we can know Reality only as we leave our empirical lives behind. But, is there no aperture through which we can catch even a 'glimpse of this Reality, even while this empirical life endures? Bradley answers

the question in the affirmative. For though he begins with the disheartening lines—" Fully to realise the existence of the absolute is for finite beings impossible. In order thus to know we should have *to be* and then *we* should not exist,"—he adds a few lines below : " What is impossible is to construct absolute life in its detail, to have the specific experience in which it consists. But to gain an idea of its main features—an idea true so far as it goes though abstract and incomplete—is a different endeavour." And this general idea, he thinks, can be got through the analysis of feeling. The reasons for this supposition have already been given. And if it is through psychological analysis that Reality can be approached according to Bradley, the same is true of Śaṁkara as well. But, according to the latter, it is no longer the psychological analysis of *feeling*, but that of *dream* and *dreamless sleep* that is supposed to give us a general idea of Reality.

Reviewing the systems of Bradley and Śaṁkara as a whole, we are now in a position to wind up our comparative survey with a concluding reflection on their respective philosophical *methods* and *conclusions*. The method common to both may, in the absence of a better term, be styled the Dialectical. Both start from an epistemological analysis of the primitive psychological datum expressed in the form of judgment. Accordingly, for both the approach to metaphysics is not so much through Psychology as it is through Epistemology. According to Śaṁkara, all appearance, from the epistemological point of view, is a case of *adhyāsa*, proceeding on the conjunction of truth and error (सत्यानृते मिथुनीकृत्य). Seized on its positive and metaphysical side Śaṁkara's Māyā answers exactly to the Bradleyan construction of 'appearance.' Śaṁkara's Māyā imports exactly what Bradley seeks to convey by his phrase, so happily worded, "the ideality of the finite." This dynamic nature of appearance has its counterpart in the truly philosophic construction of the term "Saṁsāraḥ (संसार:) so often emphasised by Śaṁkara. By following up this common approach to the metaphysics of both, we arrive at the same metaphysical *conclusions* with

regard to their characterisation of Reality. The identity-in-difference which underlies every judgment falls far short of the Real which characterised by inner coherence or comprehensiveness is truly represented as an undifferenced identity. Discursive or relational thinking which proceeds by way of judgment, and seeks a completion beyond the sundering of the 'that' and 'what' fails to attain this identity. Thought has ultimately to give way to a higher intuition, which alone can grasp the Real. Intuition or *anubhūti* is the *terminus ad quem*, the last word of philosophy for both, in as much as it alone can grasp the nature of absolute Reality as a felt whole, as the goal of all aspirations, intellectual or emotional.

TATINI DAS

TRAMPING THE GREAT NORTH ROAD

Tramping along on the Great North Road
With a heart that is free from care,
With light shod feet that spurn the stones
And take from the road a dare
That it shall lead to the highest dreams
With never a heavier load,
Than one carries along on a summer day,
Tramping the Great North Road!

Marching along on the Great North Road
Swinging a heavier kit.
A gun and a haver-sack, extra boots...
May be longing to rest a bit—
On a road that leads to a boat, a quay,
And a dark and silent ride ;
Longing to tramp for a little while yet
On a road that is broad and wide.

Trudging along on the Great North Road
Back, in a land of " peace,"
But the road seems rough and the summer days
Have seemed to forever cease.
There is the gate one leaned upon—
Now eyes are wistful to see,
If the sky and the trees and even the stones
Are just as they used to be!

Dreams of comrades who marched away—
And, back in the days gone by,
A happy boy in his oldest boots
Tramping with heart so high.
Listen, they gave him a cheery hail!
And his heart has lost its load,
As he swings again down the highway of life
To tramp the Great North Road.

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT INDIA

Slavery in the Ancient World.—Slavery was almost universal in primitive times and existed in every ancient society: Egyptian, Babylonian, Roman, Greek or Teuton. Among these nations, conquered people were generally turned into slaves. But, in addition to these, among the Teutons as well as Greeks, slaves were recruited from men of the same race, and men convicted of serious crimes were deprived of their liberty and made to serve as slaves. Again, owing to poverty, many people sold their own liberty and accepted slavery. In Carthaginian and Phoenician society as well as in certain other communities, everything that called for rigorous physical labour was left to the slaves. They were worked like beasts and were compelled to do all the work requiring hazard or toil. In republican Rome, the education of children, or the treatment of the sick was also in the hands of Greek slaves. Men like Ennius or Polybius were slaves. For these reasons, they stood in great need of slaves. Phoenician and Carthiginian pirates plundered many places of the Mediterranean coast and did not feel the least hesitation in binding the inhabitants with fetters of slavery, in order to augment the number of slaves. Among the Greeks, conquered people were made slaves and they converted them into beasts of burden instead of slaughtering them. Among the ancient Romans, the system of keeping a large number of slaves came into existence when luxury and idleness increased with new conquests. Most of these slaves were brought from western Asia, northern Africa and eastern Europe, not to mention Greece, Sardinia, and Iberia. Slaves of various nations like the Teutons, Goths, Syrians, Dacians, Lybians, Slavs and even Negroes from Africa spread throughout the length and breadth of the Roman Empire. The greater part of the agricultural land was managed by slaves. Likewise slaves were necessary for weaving and other

crafts. Their number increased with fearful rapidity and occasionally the Romans had to undertake armed expeditions to put down rebellious slaves. They could be reduced only with much difficulty and bloodshed.

Slaves were not considered human beings by the Greeks and the Romans till a late period of the Imperial age. They were looked upon simply as human beasts of intelligence. The master could beat, punish, mutilate and even put to death a slave of his own. In the hey-day of Rome, slaves were compelled to fight with wild animals or to kill each other for the pleasure of the Roman public, and thus arose the celebrated gladiatorial contests in which more than ten thousand foreign slaves were made to lose their lives for the amusement of the Romans. Slaves had no rights and could not own any property. Their children belonged to the master and anything earned by them was considered to be their master's property. Attempts were made later on to remedy these evils and the sympathy of some of the generous Roman emperors tended to improve their condition.

Slavery in the Vedic Period.—Slavery existed in India from remote antiquity. Besides the three higher castes and the Śūdras, there existed a class of men, who owing to legal disabilities suffered loss of status in society. The slave had neither personal liberty, nor was he included within any particular Jāti or Varṇa. Slaves or *Dāsas* formed a distinct social group. In very remote antiquity, that is, in the early Vedic age, slaves are found to have been existing in Aryan society. We have not only innumerable references to slaves and slave-girls but stories of gifts of slaves and slave-girls occur in many pages of the Saṁhitas especially in the Dāna-stutis. European scholars hold that it was the conquered Non-Aryans that were taken into the Hindu society as slaves. How far this assertion should be regarded as absolute truth cannot be determined from the available evidences but we have reasons for holding that in addition to capture in war various other causes of slavery existed.

Slavery in the VIth Century B.C.—From the information we get from Pali books composed at the time of the rise of Buddhism, as well as other works it seems that even members of the higher castes were converted into slaves, besides Non-Aryans and conquered people.[1] The reasons that led to slavery, besides capture in war were many, *e.g.*, (1) voluntary enslavement or sale of children, (2) slavery for debt, (3) slavery as judicial punishment for heinous crimes.

Slavery for debt.—Many were constrained to sell their wives and children or to accept slavery for debts. Instances of these are found in our ancient literature. The story in the Mahābhārata that Hariśchandra sold his wife and children is well-known. From the latter part of the biography of the Theri named Isidāsi, composed towards the closing days of the Maurya period and included in the Pali work named Theri-gāthā (that part in which her former life has been described), we learn that Isidāsi, one of the Theris in her former birth, was the daughter of a poor cart-driver. Failing to repay with interest the debt which the cart-driver had incurred from a merchant, the latter took his daughter away by force and probably engaged her as a female slave. As time went on, the son of the merchant fell in love with that girl.

Voluntary Sale.—(II) Instances of selling oneself of one's own accord occur in two places of the oldest Buddhist work Vinaya-piṭaka.

Judicial Degradation.—(III) In cases of revolting crimes and other serious offences, the penalty was often loss of liberty. In the IVth century B.C., the Arthaśāstra also lays down this rule. Adulterous women of higher castes were deprived of their liberty and made to serve in the king's harem. Another such

[1] *According to the Assalāyana Sutta, there were only two classes of men in the land of the Yona-Kambojas, i.e., freemen and slaves and no other castes.*

instance is met with in the Kulāvaka Jātaka where the king enslaves a tyrannical village headman. These reasons led to the continuance of slavery even in later times.

In the Buddhistic age, the children of slaves were also reckoned as slaves. The Vidhura-Paṇḍita Jātaka mentions four classes of house-hold slaves, *e.g.*, (*a*) children of slaves, (*b*) those who sell themselves for food or protection, (*c*) those recognizing others as their masters, and (*d*) those sold for money.

The founders of Jainism and Buddhism did much to propagate the doctrine of *ahiṁsā* and to improve the social weal, but so deep-rooted was the institution of slavery that hardly any attempt was made in the Buddhist period to better their condition. The Buddhists, according to the practice of the age, did not consider them as human beings and slaves were debarred from entering the Buddhist Saṅgha. Other religious reformers were silent on this point. Probably, they were favourably inclined towards slaves since they seem to have conceded to them the right of entering the Saṅgha. According to the practice of that age, those who could enter into a religious Saṅgha, were freed from the bonds of slavery.

The earliest attempt to discourage slavery or to prohibit slave-trade, is to be found in the directions laid down by some of the Brahmin lawgivers. In the Dharmaśūtras of Gautama and Āpastamba, we find the rule that a Brahmin was never to sell or purchase a slave. Even if he happened to have a slave, he could exchange him, but under no circumstance was he to sell him. Practically the same rule occurs in Buddhist literature. (Aṅguttara Nikāya.)

Slavery in the Jātakas.

Inspite of this, slavery as an institution maintained itself and the number of slaves was fairly large. From the realistic accounts of the Jātakas, we know that most of the slaves were domestic servants, who resided in the family of the master and

performed all sorts of household duties. Violence to them was not illegal, but the majority of them seem to have been well-treated. Some Jātakas bear testimony to their kind treatment. Thus, in the Sirikālakaṇṇi (382), Gaṅgamāla (421) and the Uraga (354) Jātakas we find slaves and slave-girls treated as members of the family. The slaves of the Saṅkha-setthī in Asampadāna Jātaka (131), bear testimony to their kind treatment, and their loyalty to their ex-master. In the Nanda Jātaka (39), the master shows his confidence in his slave and informs him the whereabouts of his treasure. Again, in another Jātaka, the Nānāchanda (289), the Brahmin consults his slave-girl Punnā as to the nature of the boon he would ask of the king.

This was perhaps the better side of the picture. In the absence of legal protection the treatment of a slave naturally depended on the nature or temperament of the master. In the hands of cruel masters, the lot of the slave was one of terrible misery, and there was probably nothing to prevent such a treatment, as the slave had no status in the eye of law. We have ample evidence of this in the Jātakas. Thus, in the Nāmasiddhika Jātaka we find the master and mistress of the slave-girl Dhanapāli beating her and putting her on hire to work for others. Probably, it lay in the power of the master not only to beat a slave, but also to imprison him, to apply severe corrections to mend his ways, or even to brand or maim him. This is amply proved by the Kaṭāhaka Jātaka (125). There we find Kaṭāhaka, the hero, as a son of the Seṭṭhī by a slave-girl and being the son of a slave-girl, he was compelled to act as a page to his foster-brother. We find him always afraid lest on the slightest offence "the master would beat him, imprison him or brand him." His fears goaded him to an attempt at escape and he took the earliest opportunity of doing it. Free from the clutches of his master, he retired to the frontier and cleverly impersonating as the real son of the Seṭṭhī, he succeeded in marrying the daughter of a frontier Seṭṭhī.

The early Buddhist books do not give us clear information as

to whether a master could take his slave's life with impunity. But, from the Jātakas, we have reason for believing that under exceptional circumstances, that right, too, resided in the master. We may infer it also from the evidence of the Culla-seṭṭhī Jātaka. There the daughter of a Seṭṭhī falls in love with a slave, but she was constantly in dread lest her father knowing her *mésalliance,* would have her and her slave-lover cut to pieces.

The chief difficulty with the slave was his loss of *persona.* In the eyes of men of that age the slave was rather a *res* completely at the mercy of his master. Nothing except formal manumission could raise him from the social degradation. The marriage of a slave with a free woman hardly improved his status. Sons of slave-girls by their master were slaves as in the case of Katāhaka. We have other examples of this. Thus the Licchavis never regarded Vāsava-khattiyā a member of the Sākya family, since her mother Nāgmunda was a slave-girl.

But, if socially degraded, the slave was not always an object of hatred. Masters often took slave-girls as concubines. Occasionally the daughters of masters fall in love with slaves. We have at least two such instances in the Jātakas.

Slavery was not restricted to any particular class of people, nor were slaves recruited from the lower castes. We have evidence showing that Brahmins, Kṣattriyas or men of high birth often became slaves. The traditional Buddhist accounts point to Puraṇa Kassapa and Ajita Keśakambali as having been slaves in their early life. The Jain tradition about Gosāla the founder of the Ājīvikas brands him as the son of a run-away slave. Furthermore, if we have the story of the enslavement of Hariśchandra and his family in Epic literature, we have in the Jātakas, the account of the enslavement of a high-born prince Vessantara and a princess and this does not shock the social ideas of the day.

Slaves regained freedom, either through voluntary manu-

mission on the part of the master or through other means.[1] Many ran away from their masters, crossed the frontier of the original domicile and thereby became free. In the Jātakas, we have at least two instances of slaves gaining freedom by flight and improving their position by marrying the daughters of respectable people. (Kaṭāhaka Jāt. No. 125, and Kalandaka Jāt. No. 127). There is also reason for believing that the entrance into any religious order by the slave freed him. The Buddhists however did not admit slaves into their order in as much as that was regarded as an act of iniquity.

The Jātakas tell us something about the price of slaves. From some Jātakas, (*e.g.*, Sattu bhatthā 402) we know that one hundred kahāpaṇas were enough for an ordinary slave. In the Durājāna Jātaka, a man speaks of his wife as being "meek as a slave-girl bought for 100 paṇas one day and a terrible termagant the next day." In the Nanda Jātaka we find the price of a slave as 700 paṇas, while in Vessantara Jātaka the high-born prince was sold for 1,000 paṇas only. Probably, the price varied with the accomplishment of slaves. In the case of a female, her beauty was taken into consideration by the master who claimed the right of enjoying her. This would appear from the Vessantara Jātaka, where the princess is offered for sale to any princely purchaser paying 100 nikkhas, while her brother is offered for 1,000 paṇas only.

Slavery in the Arthaśāstra.—The condition of slaves was much improved in the time of the Arthaśāstra. Kauṭilya, following the maxims of earlier law-givers laid down the rule that any one selling a man other than his own self will be liable to severe punishment. Even a man could not sell his own son. Kauṭilya says :

[1] In Pāli-literature, we have the word *Bhujissa*, a freed slave ; a freeman ; a servant as distinguished from a slave (see also Vin. I. 93 ; J. II. 313).

Thus—*Bhujissam karoti*—to grant freedom to a slave (I. V. 313, VI. 389, 546 ; also see Digha., II. 80, III. 246, Saṁyutta II. 70, IV. 272 ; Aṅg. III. 36, 132, 213.)

उदरदासवर्जमार्यप्राणमप्राप्तव्यवहारं शूद्रं विक्रयाधानं नयतः स्वजनस्य द्वादशपणो दण्डः। वैश्यं द्विगुणः। क्षत्रियं त्रिगुणः। ब्राह्मणं चतुर्गुणः। परजनस्य पूर्वमध्यमोत्तमवधा दण्डाः। क्रेतृश्रोतॄणां च।

Slavery was so much looked down upon by the politicians and religious reformers of the time of the Arthaśāstra, that it was considered as most heinous for an Ārya to sell his children and that custom was one becoming only the much-hated Mlecchas. Kauṭilya says, "*Mlecchānāmadoṣaḥ prajāṁ vikretumādhātuṁ vā, Na tvevāryasya dāsabhāvaḥ*, *i.e.*, " Mlecchas sell or pawn their children. Among Āryas no freeman should be a slave." Severe punishment was also prescribed for the slave-trader, in order to eradicate slavery. Not to speak of the seller of children, the purchaser and even the witness of such transaction was punished. As a result, slave-trade was abolished and in consequence of such a severe legislation, the number of slaves was limited only to those already existing. Next, through legislation the lot of the existing slave was improved and the Indian slave got the following rights.

(I) The slave was given the right to earn money without detriment to his master and the state recognised his right to the property, he acquired by right of inheritance. (*Ātmādhigataṁ svāmi-karmāviruddhaṁ labheta pitryaṁ ca dāyaṁ.*)

(II) He could purchase his own liberty if he could earn the price of his ransom. (*Mūlyena cāryatvam gacchet.*) Moreover Kauṭilya lays down the rule that the owner of a slave was bound to liberate the slave if he got his ransom. Otherwise he should be punished.

(III) If engaged in menial work or tortured by the master a slave could take refuge with a king's officer and free himself.

(IV) If maltreated by the master, he could ask the king for redress.

(V) If a female slave was raped, she was freed immediately and if a son was born to her by her master, he became an heir to his property.

(VI) The property of a slave descended to his heirs; in default of heirs, it went to the master.

(VII) The children of a man selling himself remained free.

In consequence of such legislation the condition of the rest of the Indian slaves became so different, that the existence of slavery could not be felt by the Greek travellers. The Greek ambassador Megasthenes says that India's point of superiority lay in the fact that Indians were all free and slavery was unknown to Indian society. The famous historian Arrian has also endorsed and confirmed the same opinion and stated that Indians like the Spartans did not enslave men of their own caste. Their magnanimity lay in the fact that they did not enslave any man by depriving him of his liberty. We can well pride ourselves on such an observation, coming as it does from a foreigner and specially from the civilised and conceited Greek.

Kauṭilya and Aristotle.—The fourth century B.C. produced Aristotle, the ablest European politician and philosopher supporting the system of slavery and propounding the theory that taking the liberty instead of the life of a man was better for the interests of the society. Thus says Aristotle, "Nature would like to distinguish between the bodies of freemen and slaves, making the one strong for servile labour, the other upright, and although useless for such services, useful for political life in the arts both of war and peace. But this does not hold universally: for some slaves have the souls and others have the bodies of freemen. And doubtless if men differed from one another in the mere forms of their bodies as much as the statues of the gods do from men, all would acknowledge that the inferior class would be slaves of the superior. And if there is a difference in the body, how much more in the soul. But the beauty of the body is seen, whereas the beauty of the soul is not seen. It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right."

(*Aristotle's Politics, Sec. i.*)

In that age, India produced the generous philosopher Kauṭilya condemning slavery as becoming only the Non-Aryan and preaching the unrestrained freedom of the general Aryan population. From this it can well be understood, how elevated was the model of old Indian society, and how it stood in the estimation of foreigners in consequence of such an ideal of freedom and morality.

The Arthaśāstra also mentions another class of men besides the slaves. They are termed Ahitakas, of whom we know nothing. It is also difficult to ascertain the real condition of the Grāmabhṛtakas besides the Ahitakas. They were reckoned as village servants and village property. Nothing can be known regarding them, except the fact that they were not entirely free. Probably they enjoyed village lands and served the villagers.

The legislators of the Arthaśāstra school doubtless made great efforts to put down slavery. Probably, it was due to this that the condition of slaves was so far ameliorated that the foreign visitors of India formed the opinion that slavery did not exist in India. As such they praised the Indians and expressly declared their superiority even to the Lacedemonians who though they did not keep their own people as slaves, kept slaves of other nations.

Whatever might have been the causes, slavery lingered in India after Candragupta Maurya, and if we accept the ordinary interpretation of the Aśokan edicts, slaves existed in the time of the Great Emperor Aśoka. Whether Aśoka made any efforts for the abolition of slavery is not known, but various circumstances and causes contributed towards the continuation of slavery in Indian society. In the Manusaṁhitā we find curiously enough, not only evidences of the existence of slavery as an institution, but a justification of slavery in words which seem to echo those of Aristotle. The herald of an anti-Buddhistic reaction, the author of the Manusaṁhitā not only justified the practice of keeping slaves, but went so far as to state that all Śūdras were to be regarded as slaves. He mentions seven kinds of slaves and

declares them incapable of inheriting or holding property. In short in the eyes of the reactionary legislator, the slave was nothing but a chattel. Probably, the practice of retaining slaves received an impetus from the contact with the Greek or Central Asian invaders. In subsequent literature we have repeated references to various classes of slaves and occasionally to instances of manumission with the concurrence of the master.

Slavery in the Manusaṁhitā—The Manusaṁhita, which represents the high-watermark of a conservative reaction against the liberal tendencies of the preceding age, not only supports slavery but clearly mentions seven classes of slaves. The seven classes[1] of slaves according to the author of the Manusaṁhitā are :—

(*a*) Slaves captured in war or Dhvajāhṛta,
(*b*) ,, for food—Bhakta-dāsa,
(*c*) ,, born in the household—Gṛhaja,
(*d*) ,, Purchased—Krīta,
e) ,, received as gift—Dattṛima
(*f*) ,, inherited from ancestors—Paitṛika
(*g*) Men reduced to slavery for heinous offences—Daṇḍadāsa.

The author of the Manusaṁhitā himself says nothing to condemn slavery. He simply denounces the enslavement of a Brāhmaṇa by a Brāhmaṇa, but with this exception, he commends the practice of slavery and speaks of it with the approbation of the Greek philosopher Aristotle. He even goes farther than this and openly advocates the enslavement of the Śūdra, bought or not, since he was created for slavery and even if manumitted, his natural disqualifications, innate and divinely infused, could not

1 ध्वजाहृतो भक्तदासो गृहजः क्रीतदात्रिमौ ।
पैतृको दण्डदासश्च सप्तैते दासयोनयः ॥

Manu. VIII. 415 .

pass away![1] According to Manu, the slave (along with the wife and sons of a man) was incapable of holding property, and whatever accrued to him passed *ipso-facto* to his master.[2]

The counter-reaction thus nullified all the reforming zeal of the Arthaśāstra writer and in course of two centuries, the hard condition of bondage of the slave was revived. The Graeco-Scythian contact probably contributed to this end and the concept of the semi-savage '*patria potestas*' reacted upon the Indian mind to degrade the slave and to extol the arbitrary authority of the father over his wife and son.

Slavery thus received a new lease of life and continued to flourish with full vigour. In the eyes of the later law-givers slavery was a fact and an important social institution which required its regulations. Consequently, we find in all the Smṛti writers of the Commentarial School, as also in the later Nibandha-writers, long chapters devoted to the classification of slaves, immunities of certain castes from slavery and the circumstances of manumission. Nārada mentions fifteen kinds of slaves,[3] *e.g.*,

1 'शूद्रं तु कारयेद्दास्यं क्रीतमक्रीतमेव वा ।
दास्यायैव हि सृष्टोऽसौ ब्राह्मणस्य स्वयम्भुवा' ॥
न स्वामिना निसृष्टोऽपि शूद्रो दास्यात् विमुच्यते ।
निसर्गजं हि तत्तस्य कस्तस्मात्तदपोहति ॥
Manu. VIII. 413-13

2 भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः ।
यत्ते समधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥
VIII. 416.

3 गृहजातस्तथा क्रीतो लब्धो दायादुपागतः ।
अनाकालभृतस्तद्वदाहितः स्वामिना च यः ॥१॥
मोक्षितो महतश्चर्णाद्युद्धे प्राप्तः पणे जितः ।
तवाहमित्युपगतः प्रव्रज्यावसितः कृतः ॥२॥
भक्तदासश्च विज्ञेयस्तथैव वडवाहृतः ।
विक्रेता चात्मनः शास्त्रे दासाः पञ्चदश स्मृताः ॥३॥

(1) those born in the household; (2) purchased; (3) received as a gift; (4) received by way of inheritance; (5) obtained by saving life in famines; (6) mortgaged; (7) enslaved by paying off the slave's debts; (8) captured in war; (9) won in dice-play; (10) those who accept slavery voluntarily or in similar ways; (11) apostates from mendicancy enslaved; (12) those who accept slavery for a period of time; (13) men accepting slavery in lieu of maintenance; (14) those accepting slavery to win the slave-girl of another; (15) men who sell themselves outright as slaves.

These fifteen kinds of slaves existed in society, which in course of the pacific teachings of previous ages, looked upon manumission as an act of great religious merit. But with all the sense of sympathy and kindness, absolute abolition of slavery could not be expected and we find a tendency towards the perpetuation of the slavery of some of these unfortunate men. Thus Nārada clearly says that the first four kinds of slaves, *e.g.*, (*a*) children of hereditary slaves, (*b*) those purchased for money, (*c*) those obtained by way of inheritance, (*d*) slaves obtained through the non-payment of money for which they were mortgaged—could not be absolved from slavery merely by royal order or the operation of laws which gave freedom to slaves on certain conditions. In all these four cases, we find the operation of the principle that merely on the ground of humanity men should not be divested of their property. In addition to these four kinds of slaves, those who sold themselves outright, were also doomed to perpetual enslavement, since they were the authors of their own misery.

While these people were doomed to slavery, and could not expect manumission but from the sweet will of their masters, society favoured the manumission of the other varieties of slaves. Thus,[1]

[1] Yājñavalkya says—II. 186.

ब[illegible]रैर्विक्रीतश्चापि मुच्यते ।

स्वामिप्राणप्रदो भक्तत्यागात्तन्निष्क्रयादपि ॥

Yājñavalkya clearly lays down that those who are forcibly enslaved or sold, or those who save the lives of their masters or pay ransom are to be freed, while, according to Nārada, it was the duty of the king to free those who had been forcibly captured or sold by others or forcibly enslaved. Again, according to him a slave who saved his master's life was entitled not only to freedom but also to a son's share of the property of his master. Similarly men who were reduced to slavery in lieu of maintenance during famines could claim freedom by paying a pair of kine. A slave mortgaged to another could win freedom by paying the sum with interest. Men enslaved in lieu of debt were to obtain freedom by repaying the debt; men enslaved for a period, on the expiry of that period ; while those captured in war, enslaved through wager or through voluntary acceptance of slavery were entitled to liberty by paying ransom or a slave in lieu of their own selves.[1] Those who offered service in lieu of maintenance had their servitude terminated by refusing the further acceptance of food. Similarly, those who had enslaved themselves in order to win the love of another's slave-girl freed themselves by severing connection with that woman.

चौरापहृतविक्रीता ये च दासीकृता बलात् ।
राज्ञा मोचयितव्यास्ते दासत्वं तेषु नेष्यते ॥
यो वैषां स्वामिनं कश्चिन्मोचयेत् प्राणसंशयात् ।
दासत्वात् स विमुच्येत पुत्रभागं लभेत च ॥
अन्नाकालभृतो दास्यात् मुच्यते गोयुगं ददत् ।
* * * *
ऋणन्तु सोदयं दत्त्वा ऋणी दास्यात् विमुच्यते ।
* * * *
तवाहमित्युपगतो युद्धे प्राप्तः पणे जितः ।
प्रतिशीर्षप्रदानेन मुच्येरंस्तुल्यकर्मणा ॥

While this represents the attitude of Nārada, Kātyāyana lays down not only the nature of work to be entrusted to slaves, but tries (*a*) to save higher castes from the evils of slavery or the domination of lower castes, (*b*) to free the Brahmin from slavery, (*c*) to save female slaves from the lust and violence of their masters. Nārada also supports him.

Kātyāyana regards slavery[1] as a "status of subordination like that of a married woman" and assigns to slaves born in the household, the work of cleaning the household (including the removal of nuisances) or personal service to masters and the keeping of cattle. He makes the master entitled to the earnings of the slave.[2] While in these respects he follows other lawgivers, he lays down the following important principles, *e.g.*,

(1) That while men of the three other castes could be enslaved, a Brahmin could not be enslaved.[3]

(2) That a man of a lower caste should not keep a slave of a higher caste. Nārada is also of the same opinion.[4]

(3) That married women of respectable families should not be enslaved. In such a case the man who enslaves her should be punished for *Sāhasa*. The king shall free her.

(4) That anyone enslaving a Brahmin woman should be punished and the king shall restore her to freedom.

(5) That a master had no right to enjoy a slave-girl or to

[1] स्वतन्त्रस्यात्मनो दानाद्दासत्वं दारवत् भृगुः ।
also दारवत् दासता मता (नारद)

[2] विण्मूत्रोन्मार्जनञ्चैव नग्नत्वपरिमर्द्दनम् ।
प्रायो दासीसुता कुर्यात्किदि यच्चाच्च यत् ॥
दासस्य हि धनं यत् स्यात् स्वामी तत्र प्रभुः स्मृतः ।

[3] त्रिषु वर्णेषु विज्ञेयं दास्यं विप्रे न विद्यते ॥
(See Kātyāyana-mata Saṅgraha by N. C. Banerjee, Calcutta University.)

[4] वर्णानामानुलोम्येन दास्यं न प्रतिलोमतः ॥
वर्णानां प्रातिलोम्येन दासत्वं न विधीयते । (नारद)

violate her modesty. If such sexual intercourse lead to the birth of a child, both the woman and the child should be freed.[1]

After the works of Nārada and Kātyāyana, we have the evidence of the Nibandhas, where we find practically the older laws and directions regarding slavery continued. Domestic slaves were liable to be divided amongst them by the heirs on the death of a man. Their manumission, too, depended on their payment of a ransom and the permission of their masters. In the Mṛcchakaṭika we have an instance of such a manumission. In that drama, the heroine Vasantasenā is pleased to grant freedom to Madanikā (on payment of money) and the latter becomes the mistress of Śarvilaka. No other important instances of manumission or other incidents relating to slavery are found in the Sanskrit literature.

After the Moslem Conquest.—After the Mussalman invasion, slavery received an impetus since slavery was a recognized institution in Islamic society. The Mussalman Sultans and grandees kept large numbers of slaves and imported slaves and slave-girls from abroad. But most of the victims to the cruel system were the conquered Hindus. Many of the Mussalman Sultans like Firuz Tughlakh kept large numbers of the Hindu slaves who were converted into Islam and their lives were at the mercy of their masters but able slaves like Kafur rose very high.

In mediæval Hindu India, too, slaves known as *Golās, Huzuris, Cākars,* or *Darogas* were kept by Rajput princes and the families of some of these exist even now in Jodhpur, Kotah and Bikanir (see Chudgar, *Indian Princes under British Protection,* Ch. V). Among ordinary Hindus, rich people often kept domestic slaves, who either sold themselves and their families for a cash payment and stipulated for maintenance, or mortgaged their liberty until they paid the debt back. The master had the

[1] स्वदासीं यस्तु संगच्छेत् प्रसूता च भवेत्ततः ।
अवेक्ष्य बीजं कार्या स्याददासी सान्वया तु सा ॥

right to exact their services and in cases of flight they were arrested and were punished or fined. The interesting work entitled Likhanāvalī attributed to the Maithil poet Vidyāpati contains a number of legal documents and forms in which we have instances of the sale and mortgage of men by themselves for cash payments and stipulation for maintenance. We have also the forms of writs calling upon people to arrest a runaway slave (see letters, 55-61). From these, however, the masters do not appear to have powers of severe chastisement or infliction of heavy punishments on these unhappy men. Later documents in Bengali describing sale of families into servitude of the 17th and 18th century have been found.

NARAYANCHANDRA BANERJEE

POEMS OF INDIA

I. In the Calcutta Zoo.

Have you ever stood before a barred cage
In the Zoo, and watched the endless pacing
Of captive beasts whose sorrows know no voice,
But whose motion gives eloquence to grief?
Have you ever followed the brief wild flight
Of shut-in birds, beating with eager wings
Against the narrow confines of their jail?
They flutter ever blindly towards the light
Bruised against relentless walls that hold them
Prisoners from their heritage, the sky.
So God must watch us as we grope through life
With hearts insurgent, but enchained and bound ;
We, who would fly on wings and sing, or roam
The world at will, His captives too and mute,
Half beast, half angel, waiting for release !

II. Recompense.

In a dim lane where houses huddled, wrapped in night,
And secret life moved silently behind closed doors,
I saw, behind a latticed-casement, a fair girl
Leaning gracefully against bars outlined in light.
Dark-eyed and lovely as the houris in a dream
Of Muslim's Heaven, incongruous as a lotus
Blooming in its bed of slime, she touched with beauty
All the ugliness gathered in that sordid scene.
And seeing her, a maid so young and sweet and fair,
I quite forgot the foul and rubbish-littered lane,
And thought that on this earth no spot were so debased
But we might find some bit of beauty hidden there.

LILY S. ANDERSON

ROBERT BRIDGES

As a Poet pure and simple.

The Testament of Beauty, which represents the maturity of Bridges' mind and art, settles the question that though lyrics and allied varieties of comparatively shorter poems—composed between 1884 and 1921—have with Bridges their important place and great value and are never altogether abandoned, they cannot be considered as his characteristic type of poetry. He cannot surely be reckoned as on a level with such poets as Burns, Shelley or Swinburne.

His own favourite type is the longer poem interspersed with lyrics. Hence his Masks, for example, are more successful than his dramas proper. I have therefore for my present purpose decided to leave out of consideration his dramas, and dealt rather a little elaborately with his "Prometheus" and "Demeter."

In that connection we note his " sources" too (if such a pursuit be not placed to-day under a severe ban uncompromisingly). "I who loved," says he, "the purer style" [in " To Percy Buck (1904), published in *October and Other Poems* (1920)], as if unconsciously helping his critics to a right estimate of him. His models are the ancient classics. The style in these two pieces is chaste, perspicuous, restrained, though somewhat studiously perfected. We have remarked that he starts "*discussions*" in them—a method not given up even in *The Testament of Beauty*. The intellectual element is supreme but often it is tempered with subdued emotion. This practically determines his manner once for all.

Two Classicists.

What a contrast, for instance, to Milton's *Comus* in praise of temperance (pub. 1637) is presented by Bridges' Masks which are not as genuine offspring of the Renaissance. Both *Demeter* and *Comus* are occasional

pieces implying a taste or leaning, more or less, anti-puritanical but these constitute no revolt as does Shirley's *Triumph of Peace* or Carew's *Cœlum Britannicum* (acted 1633). Besides, Milton and this his disciple have both made their Masks considerably more literary in character. Moreover, in *Demeter* we have no scorn of delight but, on the contrary, an apotheosis of Joy (Platos' "hêdonê" as distinguished from "eudæmony").[1] Yet a slightly pessimistic note is just introduced as if to point the moral—" the power of evil is no power at all against eternal good " (ll. 1068-69) which is akin to Milton's praise of chastity.

The Special Trait of Bridges.

Greek myths are re-interpreted (ll. 821-29), democratic modern ideals referred to (ll. 804-17) and the Ode in Act III (ll. 672-93) is purposely made thoroughly "English" (not Hellenic). Man's spirit here "*setteth beauty before wisdom*"[2] (l. 220) and the Ocean nymphs are drawn from the sea not by Poseidon's command but by the *beauty* of Persephone (377-79).

Demeter's ideal temple, inaugurated in Bridges' new Eleusis for man which man "needs on earth," is to be a "shrine of *beauty*," where the initiated may drink *love and light*, more than one of wisdom, holiness, goodness (1024-33). In *Comus* Milton is[3] considered to have "attained to his style." This may be said in Bridges' case not in respect of *Demeter* but rather of his poems of 1921 published as *New Verse* in 1925. Milton is *decorative* but Bridges restrained with, may be, not exactly 'Doric delicacy." Bridges also eschews embroidery[4] which became a sort of vice with the poets of the "yellow nineties." *As a poem Demeter* is less beautiful than *Comus*. The "debate"-infirmity of Demeter is, however, shared by the piece with *Comus* and handed on to even *The Testament of Beauty*.

1 *Protagoras* and *Laws*.

2 Italics mine.

3 Stopford A. Brooke and Professor Elton.

4 We shall presently say something more on this point. Mr. W. B. Yeats once fell a victim to this temporary vogue but soon shook off his early habit.

Beauty is a grand legacy left to us as its accredited *trustees* overtly in *The Testament* but we have hints of such a gift from the late Laureate even in *Demeter*. If we point out the *sources* of the wealth poetically amassed by this generous testator with a view to enrich the world with his noble bequest, there is no intention whatever of belittling his personal acquirements. If his own heritage, as we have laboured at the outset to show, was rich, richer are his personal contributions, however austere, restrained to severity, he may be. He never accepted anything without a thorough sifting of its true worth simply because it came readily to hand but always separated the ripe golden grain from the chaff so that he might leave to us only whatever is beautiful and sublime. His vast knowledge and his keen penetration have always helped him to the right choice.

Bridges an Artist.

Hence the *quality* of his art ; and Bridges is nothing if not a technician in art. His art is inseparably related to his mind, his expression to his thought, —his artistic method to his philosophic vision.

By *practice* he succeeded in discovering his own appropriate and suitable vehicle of expression in form, imagery and diction—being "preoccupied" (an adverse critic may say obsessed) with the problem of deliberate unison between the mode of expression and the life to be expressed.

In the prose essay—"The Necessity of Poetry"[5] (1918)—he speaks of himself definitely as an *artist* and of all art (including poetry) as "the expression of Ideas in some sensuous material or medium ;" and he adds that "the medium of Poetry is words."[6] He sounds a warning (at page 43 of the essay) against "the school which maintains that Art is nothing but competent *Expression*" and according to which "Art can make no distinction" between the beautiful and the ugly.

[5] An Address given to the Tredegar and District Co-operative Society, Nov. 22, 1917, pub. by Cl. Pr., Oxford.

[6] This point will be elaborated later.

I shall presently say something regarding this school but must first refer to Bridges' valuable ideas about the importance of a right selection of *words* as the medium of Poetry. Words selected by Poetry must have as much sound-value as sense-value; for, as compared with the other fine arts, the *art* of poetry attaches greater importance to its medium (in words) which is not merely (as in sculpture, painting or even music) a vehicle of expression of Ideas but " actually are Ideas " (page 6). Therefore in Poetry it is not enough (as in practical life) that a man can use words so that " his meaning is plain, his ideas clear, and his language unambiguous " (page 8). Philosophical or scientific *exactitude* is not favourable to possibility of explanation of life's profound mysteries which Poetry seeks to solve with the help of Imagination aided by Inspiration and which are beyond Reason (or Intellect)." Science defines to make ideas (concepts) free from vagueness or the " indefinite blur " due to their being " coloured or warmed with emotion." Poetry, especially of the Romantic type, revels in this quality. " Inspiration is sometimes," he says, " wholly expended in making vivid emotional pictures of scientific or rational ideas, and its magic then lies in the imagery which satisfies *even without interpretation*."[7] This applies more to Shelley's poetry than to that of Bridges, if we except his last production.

So far, this is all right. But does it by itself go far enough? A good deal depends on the scope and function that may be assigned to Imagination and on the interpretation of Inspiration.

Controversy rages round the view that Imagination can give rise to " visions containing something which men do not possess without them, which did not lie in our experience—in other words, that our imagination could create, become productive," " all possible forms are attainable by the imagination, even before it has found the elements thereof in the outer physical world." Expressionists join issue here with Impressionism

[7] Italics mine.

which is held responsible for having buried, sunk humanity into soullessness and, in Art, for having given dominance to bourgeois rule. Impressionism is represented as "the falling away of man from spirit"—a degradation from which man must be rescued, must be saved, so that once more he may be a complete whole

"One harmonious soul of many a soul
Whose nature is its divine control,
Where all things flow to all, as rivers to the sea." [8]

Holding such views Bridges necessarily paid too great attention to his words and his imagery. For, in his view, "metrical poems are word-patterns" and metre he considers, unlike Wordsworth, to be a *necessity*. Fusion of sound and sense is "the magic of the greatest poetry" and this magic is dominant in *The Testament of Beauty*. While elucidating in his Keats' Essay some features of his own art he explains also his difference with the Victorians.[9]

His lecture on *Free Verse* [10] (1922) refers to the modern

[8] Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (Act IV) quoted with approval by Bridges in "The Necessity of Poetry" (page 22) in illustration of the principle that "Poetry though it embraces all possible aspects, and the scientific among these, builds its temple preferably with the untrimmed stone, or—to take Shelley's metaphor—it is in "thoughts' wildernesses' that the poet finds the home of his imagination."

[9] *Vide* his remarks on Keats' *Endymion*.

[10] Whitman practically as a great experimenter and innovator successfully tried "free verse" and was followed by such English poets as Henley but since 1918 the Sitwells (Edith Osbert and Sacheverell) have become its most vehement champions and by 1925 succeeded in convincing many doubters. French poetry is extraordinarily rich in such experiments.

We may just refer here to (1) ' Who Killed Cock Robin?" (1921) (2) "Bucolic Comedies" (1923) and (3) "Rustic Elegies" (1927). Edith's method, by the way, is purely "impressionistic." [*Vide* also A. C. Ward's "Twentieth Century Literature."] "The Impressionist" is claimed to be "the consummation of classic development;" he mistrusts nature, and surprises her before she has become humanised, and he wants to trap the impression at the instant of its first contact with us, while it is in process of turning into a sensation...To Impressionism man and the world have become completely one, and its acutest thinker, Ernst Mach says—"Nothing can save the "I." The senses do not deceive, Goethe held, the mind does and the "I" entangles sense impressions in mythological cobwebs." Hermann Bahr's "Expressionism," *passim*.

impulse being due to the conviction that old metres and prosodies are exhausted. Even in its desire to escape from metre, free verse must be rhythmical (meaning eurhythmic). In it rhythmic sense units take the place of the syllabic feet. Verse may thus be accentual, and something different from mere *cadenced* prose (which is the idea of Mr. Flint). Now Bridges believed that genuine poets possess natural sensibility to rhythmical form and also mastery of it. Rejection of metre is the negative side of the law of recognition of rhythms as fundamental and good poets combine rhythms that create *expectancy*[11] as they proceed.

The conclusion arrived at is significant and suggestive: "In the art of English verse," he adds, "my own work has led me to think that there is a wide field for exploration in the metrical prosody, and that in carrying on Milton's inventions in the syllabic verse there is better hope of successful progress than in the technique of free verse as I understand it.[12]

He begins with mention of the dislike of poets of to-day towards *traditional* forms [his Essay (No. III in Collected Essays) on Poetic Dicton in English (1923).] There is a reference to the innovation started by Wordsworth and Coleridge in their rational revolt against the older poetic diction. His is also a plea for simple terms and direct forms of common speech. Yet he admits that *conventional* diction was made superbly poetic by Milton in *Lycidas* and by Shelley in *Adonais*. It is significant that Bridges ascribes the grand yet poetic style of Milton and Shelley to the advantages of their Hellenic culture. He favours restoration of old English words (*e.g.*, wanhope, inwit) and points out the dangers of the latter-day use of *dialectical* words (in imitation of Burns) which require translation into current English for general readers and warns that avoidance of

11 Referred to by L. Abercrombie too in his "The Idea of Great Poetry."

12 Pp. 54-55, Collected Essays, Papers, etc. (1928), Essay II (being A Lecture on Free Verse delivered before a Literary Society of his own College at Oxford in 1922).

conventional words or of the commonplace may be carried too far.

If space permitted we could show by quotations that Bridges' thought oftener than not determines his diction, specially in the *Growth of Love*,[13] *New Verse*, and *The Testament of Beauty*. Finally he wisely lays down that "all technique in Art consists in devices for the mastering of obstinate material"[14] and enumerates disadvantages due to out-and-out rejection of metrical systems,—*viz.*,

(1) loss of carrying power (as of Homer and Dante) afforded by fixed prosodies,

(2) dominance of self-consciousness (for each line must show convincing propriety of diction, rhythm, relative length, sonority and poetic value),

(3) liability to sameness of line-structure (monotony of form), and

(4) indetermination of the subsidiary accent.

Art and Religion.

In his *Testament of Beauty*, poetry is made to advance aesthetically the cause of true religion without forfeiting the supremacy that belongs to Poetry considered as Art and never degenerating into didacticism or sermonising in verse. This result is involved in his critical attitude to the Art of Poetry enunciated in the Second Part of his "Address on the Necessity of Poetry," which is exclusively devoted to the consideration of the intimate relation existing between Poetry, Morality and Religion. Here we have an extension, as if it were, of the Shelleyan position taken by that poet-critic in his well-known "Defence of Poetry." Bridges tells us that Poetry, Morality and Religion have the same basis—they all spring from those universal primary emotions of Man's Spirit which lead us naturally towards Beauty and Truth.[15]

[13] *Cf.* (for instance) Son, 22.
[14] Essay on Free Verse, p. 54.
[15] Page 41.

Though rejected by the professional philosophers the Sermon on the Mount, we are told, is "an inspired moral poem."

Art was, no doubt, discouraged by the Reformation—which attitude Englishmen to-day have outgrown. It fell into disrepute owing to being allied with the mediaeval (Papal) Church but in true Cristianity the essentials are love, unity and brotherhood. Both in Art and Religion we in this democratic age look, Bridges holds, for salvation *in individual emotion*.

As regards ethics, Art has little to do with codified or conventional morality but "pure Ethics is man's moral beauty and can no more be dissociated from Art than any other kind of beauty" [16]—unless we hold that Art is nothing but competent Expression and may successfully express everything including what is ugly, grotesque or repellant.

Conclusion.

We must resolutely avoid getting entangled in the hot controversy of the champions of *great* versus *pure* poetry. It is enough for our present purpose to bear in mind that Bridges as a technician does not permit Bridges *the poet* to forget that though too much care and attention cannot be bestowed by a genuine artist on his *medium* of words (*i.e.*, language) yet "it is not the magic of languag *itself* which accounts for greatness, but *that which comes to us* through and by means of magical language." [17] Great must be our admiration for Bridges' wonderful way of handling "words" and he that runs may read what an amount of assiduous effort has gone to the achievement of mastery of language accomplished actually by this poet-artist. Yet to us it seems that critics are liable to lose sight of the right perspective if they dwell at greater length on this aspect of his poetry and thereby fail to adequately recognise the value and importance of his ideas and thoughts. It is clear that our study has begun with a somewhat detailed treatment of thought-movement in his poetry.

[16] Page 42.

[17] "The Idea of Great Poetry" by Lascelles Abercrombie, page 13 (but italics mine).

"Great poetry," says Mr. Murry who is identified by critics with the advocates of *pure* poetry, " is the utterance of that to which the human soul responds, of that which the human soul endorses. So that the history of the souls of the great poets is the most essential history of the human soul itself." He then accepts the interpretation of the " double-edged phrase,"—"a poet, pure and simple"—applied by Professor Bradley to Keats (who was one of Bridges' masters) given by the late Poet Laureate which we have quoted and commented on (at page 401 of the *Calcutta Review* for June, 1930).

Expressionists claim that " the first and foremost duty of Art should be to beautify[18] life," nay, " Art must produce life from within, must fulfil the function of Life." In his *La Gaya Scienza*, Nietzsche says—" Every art and every philosophy may be regarded as a healing and helping appliance in the service of growing, struggling life."[19] And Lascelles Abercrombie too observes that poetry " penetrates deeper, and mixes more intimately into our lives, than any other art, because the vehicle of its power is language ; and language is the very faculty of spiritual existence in this world[20] * *." Again, " Poetry exists as the perfect *expression* of experience, within the possibilities of language. With regard to what this critic calls *great* poetry, he further adds that " what we recognise in great poetry is this unconfused complexity of rich experience, this confluence of all kinds of life into a single flame of consciousness, triumphantly asserting its luminous unity over all the manifold powers of its world." Let me conclude this important discussion by quoting once more Mr. Murry (whose definition of great poetry I have referred to) on *pure* poetry which, he holds, " consists in the power so to express a perception that it appears at the same time to reveal a new aspect of beauty and a new

[18] Nietzsche.

[19] Book Fifth : We Fearless Ones 370 "what is Romanticism?"

[20] *The Idea of Great Poetry*—"Diction and Experience."

aspect of truth."[21] An artist and technician like Bridges, who keeps before him the Hellenic ideal of workmanship and is a lover of the pure style and whose creed is that in the art of poetry the medium is identical with thought, is bound to be over-scrupulous in his choice of language and imagery. Hints of zealous care are discernible even in such an early production as *Eros and Psyche.* Considered as poetry the piece in its treatment of joy in beauty and of the intimate relation of happiness and faith, goes to prove that at this stage of his development Bridges was more a " fashioner " than a " seer." For in this poem an old theme is refashioned--an antique story is clothed in a new garb or " loveliest vision" with over-elaborated artifice. The very division of the long poem into twelve books, each of which corresponds in its number of stanzas to the number of the days in the month concerned furnishing headings to the divisions, will more than prove our contention. Here as Morris would have it—"craftsmanship *is all.*"

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

21 Keats and Shakespeare, Ch. I, "Introductory."

Reviews

Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Part II—By Prof. M. A. Ghani, M.A., M.Litt.

The Review of Part I of Prof. Ghani's History of Persian Language and Literature, at the Mughal Court has already appeared in the February issue of the Calcutta Review. The Second Part has come out of the Press and is now before the public. It deals exclusively with the development of Persian Literature in India during the reign of Humayun. The learned author states that as Humayun had a great liking for Persian language and literature, and himself being a good poet in that language, he attracted many scholars and poets round him from different parts of Persia and other countries. Out of respect to the feelings of the Persians at his court and his fascination for Persian, he, unlike his father, had little or no desire for the Turkish language, and owing to his neglect towards it, the influence of Turkish language began to decline and dwindled away in his court.

The first chapter is full of chronograms dealing with events connected with the life of Humayun and other important events of his time. The reason given by the author is that the writing of chronograms was a popular feature of his reign.

In the third chapter the learned author has dealt successfully with the life and writings of poets and scholars who flourished during the reign of Humayun. Of these Maulana Muhammed Fazil Samarqandi deserves special notice. He was a man of considerable learning, and his work entitled "*Jawahir-ul 'Ulum*" (or the jewels of science) was a most valuable product of the age, compiled in 946 A. H. (=1539 A.D.). It treats of one hundred and twenty different subjects, such as, History, Astronomy, Mathematics, Medicine, Logic, Philosophy, etc., etc. It may, in fact, be called a sort of Encyclopædia.

A notable feature of the poets of Humayun's reign is that many of them produced Persian-Hindi poetry composed in such a beautiful and elegant manner that it showed the possibility of mutual growth and free play with each other. It is evident from this that relations between Hindi and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humayun than under other Moghal Emperors.

In the last few chapters, as in Part I, the learned author accounts for the definite advance made in Urdu under Muslem-Hindu cultivation of each other's literature. Badāūnī writes that the hybrid composition found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions were sung before Humayun. Hindus and Muslems appeared to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in culture but also in the use of each other's literature. Rajput Princes and Hindu Rajas kept in their courts a special staff to deal with the original Persian documents. Similarly, Muslems kept a good staff ready to cope with Hindi correspondence. As a result of this harmony, Moslem poets of Hindi language on one hand and Hindu writers of Persian on the other hand sprang up in large numbers. The most notable Muslem poet of the age who combined Sanskrit and Persian scholarship, was Malik Muhammad Ja'isi. His memorable poem, the "*Padumavati*' written in terse Hindi language occasionally mixed with Persian is the best work ever written by a Mahomedan. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian character for his text.

Inspite of the fact that the great savant, the late lamented Prof. E. G. Brown, has already surveyed in his masterly work the growth and development of Persian literature in India, still the want of a separate attempt exclusively dealing with the history of advancement of Persian culture in India was greatly felt. We therefore congratulate Prof. Ghani in supplying this want.

M. Kazim Shirazi

"**The Mysore Tribes and Castes,**" **Vol. II**—By Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., Lecturer in Anthropology, Calcutta University (published by the Mysore Government Press, Bangalore, Price Rs. 12-8 or £1), with a beautiful frontispiece photo of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore and 77 valuable illustrations, is a neatly printed stout volume of 559 pages of useful reading matter, containing a good deal of original information which is the result of patient "field work" and industrious research on the part of an ethnographist who requires no introduction from us to the world of works in that department of human knowledge. The second volume comprises the writer's observations on tribes and castes, alphabetically arranged under A—B, dealing with the origin and tradition of each caste, distribution of its population, its internal structure,

habitation, furniture and utensils used by it, and its numerous customs conveniently studied in relation to birth, marriage, puberty, sacramental ceremonies, inheritance and adoption, funeral, magic and religion. Occupation, social status, dress and ornaments are also appropriately considered and an illuminating summary concludes the study of each individual tribe or caste.

The treatment is thorough and conscientious. Difference of opinion is unavoidable, specially in what is in a way pioneer work, though the writer has to a considerable extent utilised materials, borrowed with acknowledgment, from a number of other workers, more or less authoritative. It seems to us, however, that some amount of compression was possible without any chance of taking away from the merit of the work as a whole. Our remark applies particularly to the portion devoted to *Brāhman* which is, besides, comparatively over-elaborated and made to cover pp. 297 to 549, *i. e.*, 253 pages out of a total of 559. The *Saṃhitas* have here been far too much laid under contribution. Quite a number of details could easily be omitted, not at all to the detriment of an otherwise highly commendable and intelligent work accomplished by this able writer. One or two illustrations too do not seem to have much to illustrate and therefore fail to really enhance the worth of the volume before us. This is not at all to say that we fail to properly appreciate the merit of a very diligent piece of original research which will surely throw light on many a dark corner of Indian ethnography and from which students of Indian history will derive really valuable help. Indeed at the end of an entertaining perusal of Mr. Iyer's remarkable book our feeling is one of gratitude to him for the profit with which we have carefully and patiently studied his work and we congratulate him on this addition to his other productions, calculated to keep up his reputation so deservedly won.

J. G. B.

The Feast of the Crystal Heart—(Poems and Dramas) and "**Among the Silences**" (Poems) by Uma Maheswar, Ahimsa Asram, Trivandrum, are two small volumes notable for easy flow of language, charm of melody and a pleasing mannerism of phrasing and diction. The dominant note is that of sadness which, however, never deepens into gloom. It is born of the poet's intense sympathy with the afflicted whose days and nights are wet with tears. Our preference is for "Brokenhearted," "The Autumn

Voe " and " The Court of Hush" from *Among the Silences*. " Love," the poet emphasizes, "is the root and truth of all." "The Immemorial Twilight " closes beautifully in the lines—

" The twilight spreads,
And a thought is on the brow of Asia,
Probing into the depth of her great self,
Firm as a rock in the midst of chances and change
Forging a dream for all time. A mystic trance
Hath fixed her, while the ages pass by slow."

It is not in vain that such a poet " strains his eyes to see afar the flame of a star."

The poems, we are told, were produced in a period of intense anguish just relieved by a flickering gleam of soothing hope. This idea runs through " The Millennial Dawn " (in 7 scenes). " Buddha " contains lofty ideas couched in noble language revealing that Saviour's inspiring personality through a well-selected series of events in his spiritual life, charged with deep meaning for humanity in tribulation. The tragic trials of *Sita's* last phase of life form the theme of another playlet unfolding the majesty of a pure woman's soul and a wife's chaste heart passing to immortal glory through the baptism of fire. The poet may claim to belong to God's household.

The deep mystery of human existence with its age-long questionings and yearnings presses somewhat heavily in these poems on a searching mind and the result is spontaneous outpouring of a sincere and sensitive heart touched with joy and sorrow alike, but the angel of supreme bliss and repose comes anon with his healing touch till all is blessednses and tranquility.

J. G. B.

Ten Plays of Shakespeare in Prose—by S. W. Cocks, M.A. (Indian Educational Service), **A Book of Verse** by Sir Henry Newbolt, and **The Appreciation of Poetry** by H. Martin, M.A., O.B.E. (Islamia College, Peshwar), are three neat and very useful publications of Messrs. K. and J. Cooper (Educational Publishers), Bombay, which we may safely recommend to our "*Intermediate*" students who will derive delight and profit from their perusal. The first being "paraphrase " of some of Shakespeare's most popular plays " in modern prose," in which " the characters

tell the story as in the play," cannot be said to compete with Lamb's well-known "Tales," yet its English being more simple and modern it will prove more useful to Indian students of Shakespeare.

Sir Henry's anthology, meant mainly for students in India or the Dominions, will "furnish an introduction to English thought and language," through well-selected pieces representing English poetry from Blake to Bridges, to which have been added a few songs from Shakespeare, and one piece a head of Wotton, Campion, Shirley, Lily, Raleigh, Cowper, Carlyle, and something of Emerson, Longfellow and Whitman. Each individual anthologist has his own justifications for his choice, specially when it is limited. The *Index to First Lines* is made more valuable by the addition of the poet's name, which is a decided improvement.

The principles enunciated by Mr. Martin in his short but suggestive *Preface* have our approval and the Introduction, divided into eight sections full of information needful to our youngmen, is carefully written. One may perhaps say it is time to outgrow the habit of describing English metrical feet as Iamb, Trochee, Dactyl. etc., but beginners find such aid indispensable.

The method hit upon of helping with notes and hints the real appreciation of poetry to which an intelligent initiation is of the greatest importance in the case of beginners, is admirable. We feel confident that this little book will be very popular in its appeal, for it will amply repay a careful study.

The more such help-books are made so cheaply available to Indian students, the better and we congratulate the enterprising publishers.

J. G. B.

Chitor and other Poems.—By Shyam Sundar Lal Chordia. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. Price: Rs. 4.

There are twenty-nine sonnets in this collection. These are not the poet's first attempts and some of the sonnets are really worthy of admiration. The poet's seriousness of mood is easily discernible and his homage paid to the makers of Indian history—to Surdas, to Mirabai, to Rana Pratap Singh—will, we feel confident, strike a sympathetic chord in other hearts. While the poet is thus alive to the drama of the history of the past, he is not altogether indifferent to the contemporary world and his tribute to the Poet—Rabindranath Tagore—will be relished in

the reading. The last but one piece calls for special notice, because it combines the mystical and poetical elements in the language, and the blend is delightful. There is a distinct improvement in rhythmic effect. There are some lines in other sonnets; which are equally remarkable and the lover of the muse would like to linger over lines like

> " Dull seems the dream of glory, riches, fame,
> Beside her strains of sadly-soothing ease."

A life full of rhythm seems to be spread out for the poet in the onward course of life, full of music and solace for self and others, and "the harmony, proportion and outline" noted by Prof. Speight of Osmania University in the preface are sometimes achieved by the poet.

P. R. SEN

The Evolution of Modern Marriage.—By F. Müller-Lyer. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London. Price 12*s*. 6*d*. 1930.

This is a translation from a German book on the subject, *Phasen der Liebe*, first published in 1913, and the English version by Isabella C. Wigglesworth has followed even at a distance of more than 16 years because the translator has felt the original to be still full of importance. The book is divided into 8 chapters:—in the first, the author has described how love has grown from primitive days through the family epoch into modern, which he labels as the *personal epoch*; in the second, he has traced the evolution of the motive for marriage through all these epochs; in the third, he has enumerated the different methods that have obtained for getting married—capture, exchange, service, purchase, dowry and love; in the fourth, he has given a description of the different phases of marriage; in the fifth, he has traced the changes in the social position of women to their causes; in the sixth he has discussed sexual morality; in the seventh and in the last, he has made room for general consideration of the method of phases and directional lines specially regarding the evolution of sexual relations. Thus, devoting a chapter each to love, motives for marriage, ways of obtaining wives, marriage and the position of women, the author has tried to make clear the relation between man and woman, which forms the first part of his enquiry, and then proceeds to the second part—whither do these complex manifestations move?—which takes up the last two chapters.

The book is therefore a comprehensive one, embracing the past, present and future in its scope, and will furnish a handy book of reference to many to whom Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*, though better documented and better written, will seem to be too bulky to be handled with ease and convenience. The author's aim is very practical; he wants to read the future by the help of the past and quotes the well-known formula of Comte—"*Savoir pour prévoir prévoir pour prévenir.*" He proceeds to make future prognostications about society not by applying the Marxian theory of the hegemony of economics even in its moderate form, but by the application of the method of phases or the method of directional lines. If all the phases through which civilisation has progressed for 'hundreds of thousands of years' (it is a very high sweep) be compared, we can realise the higher and the lower forms and we may then apply this measure for the better understanding of the way that civilisation moves. Such a survey emboldens the author to say that "with growing civilisation the primitive (biological) purely animal sex instincts will be overlaid with an ever richer imaginative life: and the sexual life will consequently be endowed with ever increasing spirituality." The last but one page (p. 243) is worthy to be quoted in text-books on sociology on account of the high and practical outlook of the author about his mission as a student of human civilisation and a worker for progress. It is refreshing to add that he acknowledges the sex instinct to be "the abysmal Proteus" which refuses to be strictly codified.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

British Expansion in Tibet—By Taraknath Das. N. M. Raychowdhury & Co., Calcutta P. 137.

British Expansion in Tibet is a small book ; but it will prove quite helpful to those who are now beginning to take some interest in Tibet as a political entity and are therefore anxious to know the general trend of the Sino-British relations since the time of Warren Hastings, Governor General of India during the seventies and eighties of the Eighteenth Century.

The book should be of special interest during these few months, as there have been almost daily reports in the papers regarding the Tibetan invasion into Hsi-kang, the special district to the west of Szechuan.

The book tells the story of British expansion in Tibet in a simple and comprehensive way. It covers a period of about a century and a half, and relates, in order, the various unsuccessful missions undertaken by the

British under Warren Hastings; the aggressive policies of Curzon; the bearings of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Russo-Japanese War upon the position of the British in Tibet ; the invasion into the Chumbi Valley led by Younghusband ; the Anglo-Chinese Agreement of 1906; the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907; efforts on the part of China to reassert her sovereignty during the last years of the Manchu regime and the early years of the Republic; the Twelve Demands of 1917; and the bearing of Washington Conference upon the status of Tibet.

He shows very clearly that in trying to reduce Tibet to virtually a British province, the British government has been pursuing a slow but steady and sure policy.

The outcome of the Washington Conference seems to favor China to reassert her sovereignty over her outlying regions. But our author concurs with Professor Williams, formerly American Charge d'Affaires at Peking, in doubting whether this is actually the case. It is questioned whether the stipulation in the Nine Power Treaty regarding China's "sovereignty, independence, and territorial and administrative integrity" is of such a scope as would include Tibet. "Does it mean," asked Professor Williams, "that these Powers recognize Tibet as an integral part of China?" The present author has about the same thing to ask, when he says,

"Chinese sovereignty in Tibet is the acid test of the Nine Power Treaty. If its provisions are not applied to Tibet as a part of China, then it will mean that they are not to be applied in those parts of China which are regarded as spheres of interests of some of the Great Powers. In that case the Nine Power Treaty has done more harm than good to China. Because China will be forced to recognize that she has lost her sovereignty in such regions as Tibet, and Great Britain claiming "special interests in Tibet" has become the real beneficiary of the benevolent treaty executed at Washington (pp. 127-128).

Most books on Tibet were written from the British point of view, even those which appeared to be interested in the country only in an academic way. But Dr. Das is a Hindu, and looks at the problem of Tibet from the standpoint of peaceful development of Asia by Asiatics. Such a standpoint would have been unnecessary, had there not existed ever since the beginning of European expansion the double standard of international ethics, one for the stronger nations, and the other for the weaker. Our author rightly dwells much upon the presence of this double moral standard in international relationships.[1]

C. NG.

[1] From '*The China Critic*' of August 29, 1929.

Ourselves

Vice-Chancellor's Advice to the Students of the Calcutta University at the Present Juncture.

According to a resolution of the Syndicate to that effect the following statement by the Vice-Chancellor on behalf of the Syndicate was issued :—

To

The Students of the University of Calcutta.

It is an unusual and perhaps an unprecedented thing for the Syndicate of a University to address an open communication to students who have publicly announced that they intend to commit what is apparently a deliberate breach of College and University order. Such a step as we are taking would have been viewed with utter disapproval by educationists of an earlier date, and may perhaps be severely criticised by some of their successors at the present day. But while normal times may demand normal methods, we are convinced that the present situation is one which calls for other than merely conventional procedure. We therefore do not hesitate to appeal directly to you, although a number of you have in the opinion of some, put yourselves out of court by your public declaration of your contemplated action.

We have deliberately used the word "apparently" because we are convinced that you do not really wish to overturn the academic system, and that it is with the greatest regret that many of you will take the step which you say you are resolved to take. We do not at all regard you as children who are determined at any cost to obtain a lengthened holiday, and we desire to discuss the matter with you as with young men

and women who are capable of deliberate and reasoned reflection, but who in their idealism and patriotism, are ready to sacrifice their own immediate interests for the sake of what they conceive to be the common good of their country. We can readily understand that the hearts of many of you are filled with deep and genuine sorrow at what has happened to certain of your countrymen, and that it seems to you unfitting that you should continue in your ordinary work when so many of your friends and leaders have allowed their ordinary routine to be disturbed and have deliberately placed themselves in situations which has resulted in a restriction of their personal liberty. You claim that it is unseemly that you should be going about your usual avocations in comparative peace and comfort, while they are enduring discomfort in greater or less degree.

In addressing you at this juncture we have not lost sight of any of these considerations, but yet we, who are entrusted with the educational interests associated with the University of Calcutta, have also a duty to perform and we consider that we should be failing in our duty if we did not say to you clearly and unmistakably that, in our opinion, loyalty to the best interests of your country and your University, not to speak of yourselves demands that you should continue at your work at the present time and steadily prepare yourselves for that future which, whatever its precise form may be, will certainly be one of great responsibility for those who are now the students of Bengal. You remember how Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and there could not have been any more staunch upholder of liberty in connection with the University than he was, appealed to the students not to allow the pursuit of their studies to be disturbed by extra academic elements, and besought them to wait until they had attained to "that prudent firmness, that ripe experience, that soundness of judgment in human affairs which is essential in politics and can be attained only in the battle of life, in the professions and in responsible positions."

Holding with all sympathy the view we cherish in regard to your duty and our own, we are firmly of opinion that the activities of the University in class room and examination hall should be carried on as far as possible in a normal manner, by all means which are consistent with the true spirit of a University. We are convinced that nothing is to be gained by incomplete expression of or departure from that University spirit, which is, or ought to be, one which manifests itself in calm and deliberate mutual action and in cordial good-will between Faculty and students. We are resolved that University order shall be maintained unimpaired, but we are of opinion that such order, amongst those who have reached the stage of University students, must rest, not upon compulsion but upon the willingness of students, to be guided by the wisdom conceivably possessed by those who are their seniors in years and the path-finders for them along the ways of learning. As a University therefore, we desire to make no use—and we would ask the constituent Colleges to make no use,—of any external compelling force for the purpose of maintaining peace within the premises of our institutions. Neither do we wish to depend upon the pains and penalties which may be supposed to await recalcitrant students. We shall not avail ourselves of methods of coercion, because it is our wish to express the University spirit in a different way.

Correspondingly, we appeal to you to meet us in this attitude which we take up, and we call upon the students of this University who wish to remain outside their Colleges and University classes, also to observe the requirements of the University spirit, and to refrain from exerting any constraint whatsoever upon those of their fellow students who do not agree with them. If they desire, as very many of them sincerely desire to enter their Colleges, allow them to do so without any interference on your part. This seems to us to be the only procedure which is consistent with true University life, and the only method which will enable us to perform our duty as we

conceive it and avoid confusion and catastrophe by the perpetuation of an unseemly and unnatural controversy. Our duty is to keep the University and the Colleges open for their proper work. Your duty, as we conceive it, in the light of the present situation, is to continue your work as students and thus prepare yourselves in the most effective manner for the service of your country. If you do not agree with us, we appeal to you, at all events, to refrain, in loyalty to the University spirit of liberty and self-determination, from placing any obstacles in the way of those who wish quietly to continue their studies.

Some may say that they definitely wish to press the present situation to a catastrophe, and that no changes have ever been brought about except through crises which have arrested the attention of the world. We believe that there is a better way through reasonable procedure and cordial good-will. It is for the students of Bengal to show that this way is possible within the academic sphere. By calm continuance in their studies they will render an incalculable service in altering for the better the present distressing situation, and will thus show unmistakably that they are genuine lovers of their country. This does not in the least mean silence or compromise, but resolute preparation for the time when they will be able to give their fullest contribution to the common good.

On behalf of the Syndicate,

W. S. URQUHART,
Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University.

THE TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP FOR 1932.

The following three subjects have been selected for the Tagore Law Lectures for 1932 :—

(1) The History of Development of Hindu Law in British India.

(2) The History of Development of Moslem Law in British India.

(3) The Law relating to Dissolution of Marriage and Judicial Separation in British India.

The Senate will proceed in the month of August, 1931, to the election of a Tagore Professor of Law for a term of one year, to commence on the 1st August, 1932.

The salary of the Professorship is Rs. 9,000 per annum and the Professor will be expected to deliver a course of not less than twelve lectures on one of the following subjects :—

(1) The History of Development of Hindu Law in British India.

(2) The History of Development of Moslem Law in British India.

(3) The Law relating to Dissolution of Marriage and Judicial Separation in British India.

The salary of the Professor will be paid in twelve equal monthly instalments, the first instalment to be paid on the first day of the month following that in which the first lecture is delivered.

Candidates for the Professorship are required to forward their applications to the Registrar on or before the 1st May, 1931, stating on which of the above-named three subjects they are prepared to lecture. Each candidate will forward with his application one hundred copies of a brief synopsis of his proposed lectures ; and if he so pleases, the same number of copies of his introductory lecture.

The Professor will, not later than the month of August following his election, forward to the Registrar complete copy (manuscript or type-written) of the lectures which he proposes to deliver.

THE JOGENDRACHANDRA GHOSH'S RESEARCH PRIZE IN COMPARATIVE INDIAN LAW FOR 1930.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jogendrachandra Ghosh's Research Prize in Comparative Indian Law for the year 1930 :—

(1) Adjective Law according to the Hindu Shastras.

(2) The Law of Torts and the Law of Crimes under the Hindu system.

(3) Place of women in Hindu Law (with particular reference to Dayabhaga) in relation to property as compared with the place of women in English Law.

THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZES FOR 1932.

The following subjects have been selected for the Jubilee Research Prizes in (1) Arts and (2) Science for the year 1932 :—

Arts.—Irrigation in rural areas by applying the principle of co-operation.

Science.—Diamagnetism and Chemical Constitution.

M. L. EXAMINATION, 1930.

The 8th of December, 1930, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the M.L. Examination, 1930.

RESULT OF THE B.A. EXAMINATION, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 3,525 of whom 222 were absent and 13 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 3,290 of whom 10 were expelled, 1,563

were successful and 1,717 failed. Of the successful candidates 1,255 were placed on the Pass List and 292 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List, 35 were placed in the First Class and 257 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List, 151 passed with Distinction. The percentage of passes is 47·5.

* * *

Result of the B.Sc. Examination, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the B.Sc. Examination of 1930 was 960, of whom 37 were absent and 3 were transferred to other centres. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 920 of whom 3 were expelled, 438 were successful and 500 failed. Of the successful candidates 367 were placed on the Pass List and 70 on the Honours List. Of the candidates in the Honours List 11 were placed in the First Class and 59 in the Second. Of the candidates in the Pass List 97 passed with Distinction. The number of candidates who have passed in one subject only is 1. The percentage of passes is 47·5.

* * *

Result of the B.Com. Examination, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the B.Com. Examination, 1930, was 129 of whom 3 were absent. The number of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 126. The number of candidates who passed the Examination was 66 of whom 5 passed in the First Division. The percentage of passes is 51·6.

* * *

Finance Department Notification, dated Simla, the 4th June, 1930.

Revised Rules for the examination of candidates for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department, the Imperial Customs Service, and the Indian Railway Accounts Service.

1. A competitive examination for the above services, shall be held in India at such time as the Governor-General in Council may direct, the maximum number of candidates to be admitted to the examination will not be less than 200. If the number of candidates exceeds that limit, the Public Service Commission shall select from among the applicants those who shall be admitted to the examination, having regard to the suitability of the applicants for the Services in question.

2. If a candidate is employed at the date of his application in Government service he shall make application through the head of his Department to the Local Government, if he is employed by the Local Government, or to the Government of India if he is employed in a department under the control of the Government of India.

If he is not in such service, he shall apply to the authority of the area in which his parents reside at the time of the application or have previously resided for a period of not less than three years, or in which he has himself resided (otherwise than as a student at a University only) for the like period.

3. A candidate must be a male and have attained the age of 22 (but not exceeding 25 on the 1st August of the year) who is either (*i*) a British subject of Indian domicile, who was, and whose father and mother were born within His Majesty's dominions and allegiance, or (*ii*) a British subject of Indian domicile, whose father was at the time of the candidate's birth and still is (or if dead, continued until his death to be) a British subject or a subject of a State in India, or (*iii*) a ruler or a

subject of a State in India in respect of whom the Governor General in Council has made a declaration under section 96-A of the Government of India Act.

4. Candidates over the age of 25 and under the age of 30 on that date, may be admitted to the examination (*a*) if they hold substantively a permanent post under Government and (*b*) if he is recommended by the head of his Department.

5. A candidate must be in a good mental and bodily health and free from any physical defect likely to interfere with the efficient discharge of his duties and a candidate who is found, after examination by a Medical Board, not to satisfy these requirements, will not be accepted for admission to the examination.

6. A candidate must satisfy the Governor-General in Council that his character is such as to qualify him for employment in the public service. No candidate who is in the employment of Government will be admitted to the examination unless the report from the head of his Department as to his character and attainments is satisfactory.

7. A candidate must hold a Degree of a University approved by the Governor-General in Council or the Senior Diploma of the Mayo College, Ajmere, or the Government Diploma in Accountancy.

Exception may be made by the Public Service Commission on the recommendation of the Local Government.

8. No candidate shall be admitted to the examination unless he holds a certificate given by the Public Service Commission of having been accepted for admission.

9. Candidates must pay the following fees :—

(1) Rs. 5 with the application form;

(2) Rs. 16 for the examination by a Medical Board; and

(3) if accepted for admission to the examination, Rs. 50 within three weeks after the notification of acceptance.

No claim for a refund of these fees will be entertained.

10. The examination will include the following subjects. Each subject carries the number of marks shown against it :—

Section A to be taken by all candidates :—

English	300
Viva Voce	200

Section B candidates are allowed to take not more than two of the following subjects, each of which carries a maximum of 400 marks :—

Political Economy and Economic History.
Mathematics (pure and mixed).
Physics.
Chemistry.
Indian and English History.
Philosophy.
Botany.
Zoology.
One of the following classical languages with its literature :—
Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

11. A candidate who takes Physics or Chemistry or Botany or Zoology as an optional subject must have undergone one year's laboratory training in an institution authorised to prepare candidates in that subject for a University Degree and must send in a voucher to that effect from the head of the Institution.

The following Universities have been approved by the Governor-General in Council, viz. :—

Indian Universities.

Any University incorporated by an Act of the Central or a Provincial Legislature in India.

The Mysore University.

The Osmania University.

English and Welsh Universities.

The Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Durham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Sheffield, Wales and Reading.

Scotch Universities.

The Universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Irish Universities.

The University of Dublin (and Trinity College), the Queen's University of Belfast.

A. C. McWatters,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

* * *

Finance Department Notice, Simla, the 4th June 1930.

No. F. 46 VI Ex.-I.—A competitive examination for admission to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Military Accounts Department, the Imperial Customs Service, and the Indian Railway Accounts Service will be held at Delhi commencing on Monday, the 1st December, 1930. The rules for the examination are published (separately in the Gazette) with resolution No. F. 46 VI Ex.-I of to-day's date. Candidates accepted for admission to the examination will be informed at what place in Delhi and at what hour they should present themselves.

A candidate seeking admission to the examination must apply on the prescribed form before the 1st August, 1930, through the Collector or Deputy Commissioner of the district in which he resides, to the authority mentioned in rule 3 of the

rules. A candidate from a State in India must apply through the Political Officer or Agent. Copies of the Application Form may be obtained from the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Simla, or from the authority mentioned in rule 3.

A. C. McWATTERS,
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

* * *

SYLLABUS.

Section A (Compulsory).

1. *English.*—An essay and a paper designed to test the candidate's power to write and understand English.

2. *Viva voce.*—The examination is intended to test the candidate's alertness, intelligence and general outlook. In assigning marks regard will be paid to the candidate's previous careers.

Sectiou B.

(Optional subjets of which not more than 2 may be taken.)

There will be two papers in each subject, each of 3 hours.

A choice of questions will be given in each paper.

In the optional subjects the papers will be approximately of the standard required for an Honours Degree in an Indian University.

3. *Political Economy and Economic History.*—The papers will include Industrial History and will have special reference to India. Candidates should be prepared to illustrate theories by facts and to analyse facts with the help of theory. The history of economic thought will be included.

4. *Mathematics (pure and mixed).*—There will be one paper on Pure and one on Mixed Mathematics. The subjects included in Pure Mathematics will be—

(1) Algebra, Trigonometry and Theory of Equations with Determinants.

(2) Pure Plane Geometry and Analytical Geometry of two and three dimensions.

(3) Differential and Integral Calculus and Differential Equations.

The subjects included in Mixed Mathematics will be—

(1) Statics (including Theory of Attractions and Potential) and Hydrostatics.

(2) Dynamics of a particle and Elementary Rigid Dynamics.

5. *Physics.*—There will be one paper on General Physics, Heat and Sound and one on Electricity, Magnetism and Light.

6. *Chemistry.*—There will be one paper on General (including Physical) Chemistry and Inorganic Chemistry, and one on Organic Chemistry.

7. *Indian and English History.*—The examination will be in Indian History from the beginning of Asoka's reign to the close of the 19th century and in English History from 1485 to 1880. The papers will include questions on social and literary developments.

8. *Philosophy.*—There will be one paper on Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics, and one on Logic and Psychology.

9. *Botany and Zoology.*—There will be two papers on each subject. Vegetable Physiology will be included in Botany.

10. *One classical language with its literature,* namely—

(1) Latin,
(2) Greek,
(3) Sanskrit,
(4) Arabic, and
(5) Pesian.

Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of the principal classical authors and to be able to translate from and compose in the language.

Note.—Sanskrit must be written in Devanagri characters.



OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

SEPTEMBER, 1930



REBIRTH IN THE PALI SCRIPTURES

I wish here to say a word of somewhat maturer import than that which I wrote some seven years ago as supplementary to the second edition of my manual Buddhist Psychology (1st ed., Quest Series, London, 1914; 2nd ed., 1924). It is the reader who, when he has read what I will now say, must judge whether the 'maturer' means added worth and deepened vision, or not. I will at the outset only say thus much: that here he will no more find sayings from the Pali records put unquestioningly —as the records claim to do—into the mouth of the Founder of the Sakyan teaching. Beyond this correction in historic method, he will find no definite reversion of judgment; he will find added matter and, I think, sounder emphases. He were a poor man of the pen who could add to his experience seven years of study intensive and comparative, and write nothing wiser on any portion of it after that!

Before I summarize what the Pali Scriptures contribute to the Indian teachings on rebirth, it may be wise to sketch very briefly that which had been, or was, current when the Sakya movement took birth. I can do this with a surer hand now that, since I wrote as stated above, we have the miniature sketches on this subject, given in historic order by Dr. Radhakrishnan in his *Indian Philosophy* in addition to the earlier summary contained in Deussen's *Allgemeine Geschichte*. It is

only when the former writer comes to Sakya called Buddhism, in which he will have found no historical criticism to guide him, that he lapses, with writers on Buddhism, into taking that Protean tradition of many changes, more or less, as having no history.

On rebirth he points out, that, in the Vedas, the subject of survival of death is on the whole joyous. The deceased may look forward to a 'good time,' of the kind we associate with the word Walhalla, of enjoyments of a material sort; but that a terrible doom is also possible, Indra and Varuna being hymned as 'thrusting down' this man or that. The 'righteous' man will find reward; but no "gradations of happiness" are met with. Nor is the back and forth of life on earth and elsewhere, worded later as *saṃsāra*, found. And there is much vagueness in mandates as to the how and where: "one becomes like the moon," for instance, and "one becomes just the moon" (*candram eva bhavati*).

In the later period of the compilations called Brāhmaṇas, we find the notion of rebirth as a "Way:" the Yānas of the Fathers, of the Gods; we find rebirth on earth emergent, held as possibly a blessing; and specific rites held to avail in procuring rebirth among specific gods. Not yet is there a computing, that a period of *x* punishment there may expiate *y* misdeeds here. On the whole it was "an age of Pharisaism," yet withal "suggestive of higher ethics."

In the period when the earlier Unaniṣads were compiled, there was advance in eschatological discussion, but no consistent theoretical unity. The idea of a return to earth-life was being matured by teachers, yet very unequally distributed among them. Rebirth as animal emerges, and also the idea of life as suffering begins to show its head.

I would add, that there is something which we do not find, coupled with something we do find in these earlier Upaniṣads, to which perhaps hardly sufficient notice is given. I refer to any teaching in them about a process of *awarding* awaiting the

man surviving death, coupled with any teaching about the man finding *warding*. We know how very prominent a feature is the former in the early Zoroastrian records, but in the modern treatises I have mentioned (I am unwilling to rely on my own imperfect knowledge) I find no mention of anything of the sort. But I do find, though it is but slightly worded, a sense of warding as needed by the new arrival in the next world; and it a warding of man by man (*puruṣa*).

"Now whether there be cremation-obsequies or not, they pass over...(here follows the vague sort of sequence 'into this and that,' affected by Upaniṣadic teachers)...There is a (*puruṣa*) man who is not-of-earth (*a māṇava*); he leads them on to Brahman..." (*Chāndogya*, IV, 15).

The man so led is bound for the highest, the uttermost goal; he is, as we might say, a post-graduate ; tribunals are not for him. But whether we consider such a case, or turn to the tribunals of other cults, all should come, properly, under the head of other-world warding, both of them who are immigrant and of them who also, in view of a great and ceaseless immigration, live in need of warding from immigrants.

I now go on to inquire into the contribution made to these ideas by Sakya, that is, by early Buddhism. My work in this field has shown me, that Sakya gave the world a more definite doctrine, cult, or theory of re-birth, reincarnation, or transmigration than any other religion before or since. But this goes only so far as to say, that it is less vague than any other in this matter. Indefinite it is, unfinished, a patchwork, but only less so than other creeds.

In the original doctrine, so far as we can really get back to it, we find

(1) the fact of rebirth accepted as universally true ;

(2) the whence and whither of rebirth fairly well defined ;

(3) the acceptance of rebirth as not of a discarnate mind or soul, but of the man having a body and mind; still, therefore, an inmate of space;

(4) no clear information as to the 'how' of rebirth.

1. The birth of the Sakyan movement, taking place not so much after, as during the compilation of the earlier Upaniṣads, or at latest soon after, the first teachers found, in the religious world of their place and time, discussion on life as a whole, but no "consistent theoretical unity." Judging by the Suttas of the Four Nikāyas or Āgamas and the earlier Anthologies, we find the vague earlier beliefs in life before this life on earth, and in life after it, gathered up into something approaching a definite orderly doctrine. We find in them, not so much faith in what *might* happen hereafter, and faith in what *might be compelled* by efficient ritual to happen hereafter, as acquiescence in a scheme of pre-existence and post-existence which amounted to what we should now call a law of nature. You were and you will be, whether you pray and sacrifice, or whether you do not. Your life is taken up into the law of cause and effect. I venture to think this was a new standpoint. I am not saying it was of the Sakyan mandate or gospel. I am not saying it does not here and there emerge in the older Upaniṣads. I say rather, that it was astir among the new ideas of that time, and the teachers both of the standard religion and of reformers like the Sakyans felt its power. With this I have dealt elsewhere.

How was the more definite, more concordant position expressed in words?

Specific or technical terms for it are far more to seek in the Piṭakas than they are in our own discussions on them. Rebirth, reincarnation, transmigration, survival, metempsychosis —all are Western labels. Even the more or less adopted word *saṃsāra* means simply a faring on, being used with the companion term *saṃdhāvana,* running on : expressions of a worldwide acknowledged belief. Terms that we do find are the following :—

(*a*) Different spheres of existence or worlds are called 'becomings' (*bhavā*), never 'existences.' The word was there for the using (*atthitā*), but it is never so used. This is, I think, a significant feature too much slurred over.

(*b*) Rebirth is often termed 'again-becoming' : *punabbhava.*

(*c*) It is now and then referred to as a long long faring on, running on 'of you and me.'

(*d*) Recollection of it by a few abnormally developed persons is called 'recollection of former residings' (*pubbe-nivesá-nussati*).

(*e*) Death is often carefully alluded to as the breaking-up (*bheda*) of the *kāya*, a word which may mean equally body, and concrete 'frame' or 'group.' The laying down of this, the taking up of another also occurs.

(*f*) The most usual term, perhaps, is just 'happening' or 'arising' (*uppajjati*), after 'falling,' 'deceasing' (*cuti, cavati*). There is no spatial emphasis here of a going up or down, beyond the general and natural envisaging of renewed energy as a 'getting up' and of death as a 'lying down.' There is, it is true the less frequent term met with : *avakkanti* : 'coming down into,' for the rebirth of a man, who is in such contexts spoken of as either *viññāṇa* : substantialized mind, or *nāma-rūpa* : shape with name. But neither is there here any spatial emphasis beyond what is analogous to natural envisagings just referred to; the term is also applied to advent of sorrow or happiness.

(*g*) In the stereotyped definition of birth (*jāti*) the word *saṃjāti, i.e.,* going-on-birth occurs, but I do not meet with it applied to birth separately. "That which of such and such beings in such and such a group (*nikāya*) (is) birth (*saṃjāti*), descent (*okkanti*), more-production (*abhinibbati*), manifestation of body and mind (*khandhā*), acquisition of sense : this is called birth." (*Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, ii,...).

(*h*) The beginning of the life-series is stated to be unknowable, the ending of it is stated to be possible if the man will.

(*i*) That it is a given man or woman who lives on, when the temporary body is discarded, is nowhere referred to as other

than to be understood and accepted. There may have been change of name, both in reappearance on earth and in immigration into another world; the Commentaries give instances; but the man, although in process of becoming, does not lose identity. This is consistently shown in one Jātaka after another, when the teacher is said to "connect" the story with the present: "A was X, B was Y, but C. was just I."[1] And in the Suttas also: "*I* was then that Brahman chaplain: *I* was then that young Jotipāla"...and emphasis herein attains its limit in the following: "Now it may seem to you, Ānanda, that at that time Jotipāla was a different person. But you should not look upon it like that. *I* at that time was Jotipāla." (*Majjhima-Nikaya*, ii, 54, P.T.S. ed.).

Moreover, recognition of visitors from the next world, as of men who have preserved their identity, is attributed, in the Suttas, to those who are psychically, abnormally gifted, as was the Sakyamuni, Moggallāna and a few others. Such recognition is recorded in visits of the deceased king Bimbisāra, the philanthropist Anāthapiṇḍika and the soldier Ajita, general of the Licchavis. The contexts are not the telling of dreams, nor of allegories.

2. The possible whence and whither also were in Sakya brought into clearer relief than before. They are usually enumerated as three 'becomings,' or, more specifically, as five 'bournes' or 'objectives'-in-going (*gati, gatiyo*). English here is poor, and I have to be either ultra-old-fashioned, or ultra-modern. The three are the world, or worlds of desire (*kāma*), restricted in Sakyan days, from the broader Vedic use to mean sense-desire; the world of things seen (*rūpa*); the world or worlds of things unseen (*arūpa*). The first included all rebecoming of a grosser sort, to wit, purgatory, animal life, petas or manes, a life of intermittent misery, earth-men and devas of the next world in five groups. The second was otherwise called world of the

1 "*Aham eva ahosi.*"

Brahmās, where presumably the three more physical, less intellectual senses were negligible and sense was mainly confined to sight. The third was the worlds of vaguely conceived, practically discarnate beings, access to which, or to earth from which, is not recorded as an earth-experience. Of the five *gatis*, the first four and part of the fifth are of the Kāma-world. Rebirth as *asura*, a sort of titan or discarded deity, is sometimes included in categories of unhappy rebirth. A third classification is that of the four *yonis*, or matrices, to which we may recur.

Of the five 'bournes' the fifth is a cumbrous concept, for under the word *deva*, or *devaloka* is implied a very dumping-ground both for survivals in eschatological beliefs, and also for results of the Indian logical fantasy playing about with *possible happenings*, such as rebirth of being (*satta*) without awareness (*saññā*), a possibility evoking endless catechism in that late book of the Abhidhamma, the Yamaka. Such beings appear as lifeless as logical abstractions would be. Such beings only live, for us, when they begin to think, whereupon they promptly die And the *arūpa* devas, who, as unseen by any man, are an idea of the bodyless, are practically just fetches of abstract thinking, with no other reality. So in the Dhammapada we read :

> *pītibhakkhā bhavissāma devā-ābhassarā yathā* (ver. 200),
> rapture-enjoying shall we become like the radiance-emitting devas,

where there are still the concepts of experiencing and of visibility. But in the *arūpa*-brahma-world there remain but (*a*) space, (*b*) mind, (*c*) and (*d*) negations.

3. Where we are shown any inmates of the worlds unseen, we find creatures having both body and mind akin to our own. Sufferers and enjoyers in the 'next' world were, according to Sakyan tradition much visited by Moggallāna, that he might have more weight in teaching men how to shape their present lives by what he could, as eyewitness, tell them.. Of the former, the so-called Petas, these are reported as dwelling around the

walls of earth-villages in dwellings sometimes highly decorated. Sometimes they are reported as comely beings, but all, more or less intermittently are said to be suffering from some distressing penalty in the body, because of their ill deeds on earth. And their term of suffering could be shortened by the transferred merit of their human kinsmen's benevolent acts. Thus they are to each other as substantial in body as earth-people are to each other, and are of average intelligence. Their world was the centre of their universe, and if they looked longingly for help from earth, it was analogous to our looking for help, uplift and consolation from a world 'above,' which is not as substantial a concept either to us, as is our present world.

But—and here is where the Sakyan tradition in its older stratum is interesting—their other worlds were not above. 'I am not so sure about the worlds below.' They, the woeful ways, are that in Abhidhamma and Commentary. But in the Jātaka account of Nimi's drive in the divine chariot there is no definite downhill for the visit to purgatory, nor an upwards in the turn of the chariot when heading for the deva-world. The latter is in the air, the other isn't, and that is all. There is an approach to the idea of world's co-penetrating space. And this is a more significant concept for us than it used to be. It was easy for Christian belief to rest in an 'up into heaven' and a 'descended into hell,' when space had not been charted to astronomy as far as thought can reach, and when there were no Antipodes. But we do not now believe in a survival on the moon or stars or with Veda hymns, at the back of the sun. We have to learn to conceive not so much, not so wholly an otherwhereness as an otherwiseness. One day this will be our most practical problem in Relativity. It may be that the otherwhereness is more of a super-within-ness than a hyper-expansion of the external.

The idea of up and down grew up in Sakya, it is true, and even comes in for precise measuring in the day of the Milinda Questions. But in the Suttas there is nothing of that. Of deva-world visiting inferior deva-world (inferior in worth) we only

read of the need of the former to assume a relatively gross bodily frame. But for a man of earth to visit either of the other two worlds of becoming, presuming he was abnormally gifted, the transit is said to have been effected by an effort of will (the word 'will' is not there), which is stated with the true psychological sense of referring the willed mandating to the 'man.' "Just as a strong man stretches out his flexed arm, or flexes his outstretched arm, so X, vanished thence and was made manifest (pātur-ahosi) in Y." All the more far-fetched, if decorative symbolism of wings is in this literature undreamt of. " Seated cross-legged he can travel through air as a bird on the wing," said of saintly hyper-efficiency, is the nearest approach to that.

And once in those bright realms, called collectively sagga, svarga : 'happy limit,' the earthly visitor does not find himself among disembodied 'spirits'—really a very impossible conception for us as yet—he is with men and women apparently as complete in furniture of body beminded (sa-manin) as he is himself. They see him, walk to meet him, take his arm, seat him beside their seat, and talk, all of course impossible without bodily organs. If an illusion or mirage is implied, there is no uttered hint of it. So also when devas come to earth from either sphere of becoming, they use arms (in salute), legs and voice, and wear clothes, not to say armour and weapons. They are longer-lived, more mobile, happier than earth-folk, and have, some at least, the power of reading thought. These are the deva-'conditions,' but in kind they are human people. Of the earth they had been ; of the earth many of them would be again. As it were clothes, they have changed bodies, and therewith psycho-physical reactions ; they are not wraiths.

It may be noted that I speak here of devas, and not, as the word is usually translated 'gods.' It is true that the denotation of 'god' is wide and diverse, but the word should not be over-extended. When is a god not a god?

I should say, that a god is a god when he has, if not, may be, creative power, at least informing influence, controlling force,

some power to bestow or withhold, aid or harm, reward or punish, and withal some form of cult and votaries. When he has nothing of all this, at least outside his own sphere of 'becoming,' then is he no god in a legitimate, unstrained use of the term. In the Vedic pantheon we do get deities having these attributes. But in the later age, when the Sakyan church took birth, it was only that which we should here and now call the 'state' religion, the popular form of religion, in which personalized ideas of the Supreme, of powers unseen, were recognized and by the professional priesthood, were waited upon as 'gods.' Among that professional priesthood there were, at the same time, many more earnest men of religion, Brahman teachers, who taught practically a thorough-going *immanent* theism, to wit, that deity was knowable by man as within and akin to himself,—in Indian idiom, 'to the self'—the Warder of man was within, the Mentor of man was within; man was no atom dragged in the following after some warrior-god; he was the shrine of godhead; he was it.

Now the influence of this teaching would tend to leave disdeified, and unworshipped a world of beings still referred to as devas. They would not become dead ideas; they would come to be rated as of a different status; they would be levelled down to that of the world of those who had, as we might say, 'gone before.' The population of the deva-world became restocked by the dying on earth of worthy men and women. And the Suttas bear witness to rejoicings among devas, when there is an influx of worthy 'humans' well taught by a worthy gospel, as well as to mourning when the influx is one that swells the hosts of unworthy realms. Such a change in standpoint did not avail in the long run to banish either the professional rites and names, or the many local cults of this or that tree-*devatā*, and others. But it certainly changed the 'content' of the word deva for the growing Sakya cult.

No; Buddhist devas are not 'gods.' And one way to understand Buddhist doctrine is to cease calling them so; to cease also

the parrot cry, with which many Buddhists complacently indulge, that early Buddhism was ‘ atheistic.’ Buddhists ceased to be ‘ Deva-ists ’ and this was because the earnestly religious world about them had ceased to be so :—Mahā-Deva-ists were perhaps a juster word. But no worshipper of the Inner Monitor, *whom Gotama worshipped, under the name of Dhamma,* can justly be called atheist, unless it be first asserted, that by ‘ theist,’ worship of that inner guide only in the personalized form of something external be meant.

The word deva thus became a much-needed, much-used word in Sakya. The will to know the fate of those gone before was then very alive and vocal. The fact that the Sakyamuni was a great ‘psychic’ brought, it is recorded, men and women in great numbers to him to ask if he could give them tidings. The Dīgha-Nikāya Suttantas, the Dhammapada Commentary have much to say about this. It was much to be able to affirm, to believe, that ‘ our Tissa,’ ‘my Nandā’ was reborn a deva, a devī in the happy world. And it is for that matter curious, that while Christendom has always maintained its constant, if very vaguely conceived doctrine of survival, it has never coined a good word for the survivors. But it has been hampered by its want of light as to the body in which we survive, by its myths of a waiting sleep and of opening tombs ; moreover it never had just the gift of a good ‘ spare ’ term such as was the fate of Sakya. Pure spirit is as yet an impossible conception. When progress in the theory of survival becomes more generally intelligent, either a word for ‘ survivors ’ will be found, or we must hold by ‘ soul ’—souls that we *are,* not souls that we ‘ have.’ The word soul is capable of covering both us and our bodies, witness the S.O.S. signal, which surely refers mainly to bodies. At the same time there is a spectral feebleness about the word, which will need new infiltrations if it is to be worthy to stand beside the Sakyan ‘ deva.’ On the other hand there are, as we may say, reserves of strength in the word soul, in the uses of it, which are undreamt of in the more

externalized 'deva.' Let the reader consult the rich abundance of meanings in the citations in good dictionaries from Johnson to the Oxford Dictionary, and he will see what I mean. But it is this very manysidedness which obscures the simpler, more clear-cut term that we need for just 'the man as surviving death.' If we could only get into our religion a satisfactory doctrine of 'the man,' then possibly those many implications of soul would fall into place.

4. I come to the matter of the how of rebirth: what did Sakya hold happened in the process? In what did rebirth consist?

This may seem to inquirers to be for all and every religion an insoluble crux, a problem of which it is not reasonable to expect the key alone in Buddhism. And whatever the Founder may have, as the records claim, decided to withhold in his pronouncements, we are, in Sakya, dealing with, if not a primitive, yet with a pre-scientific attitude of thought. And further, we ourselves have not yet come to any well-attested conclusion as to the relation between 'ourselves' and our bodies. It is anyway curious, but it is a fact, that whenever writers strive to get explicit on how 'Buddhism' conceived rebirth, he, or she—I too have sinned—always goes, not to the older Suttas, but to Pali books of a much, much later date. The 'Buddhaword' is put aside, and the relatively unauthoritative word is trotted out. Yet the Founder taught for nearly half a century. And no Paraclete came to make wise the later men. What is wrong with the Pali Suttas, late, in respect to the very day of the Founder's teaching, though they relatively are? What happened according to the Suttas, when a man came to die?

They did not say, that there would be immediate rebirth on earth, as man. Their theory is, that this, in general, was a very difficult thing to obtain. Putting this aside, the doctrine of the Suttas is, that the man re-enters other world-denizenship immediately, *either* without the intervening embryo

stage in a parent, as *opapātika*, or 'reborner,' (in a deva-world), or, as *nerāyika* (purgatorian), in hell, that is a temporary hell, *or*, else, with the embryo stage, in the animal kingdom.

Here we find nothing more informative than the transition as a thing done. No light is thrown on the *thing in the doing*. Whatever came to be the disbelief in the persistence of an invisible 'man' or soul, the language both early and late stating the fact of the transit is always that of a persistent entity: The man (*huggala*) is "The bearer of the burden of body and mind;" *he* dies and (with or without 'at the breaking up of the body' being avoided) is reborn (arises) in such and such a world. I will return to this presently. A word first on the belief in animal rebirth.

Sakya, as I have indicated, found a belief of the kind; we see this in the older Upaniṣads (though not earlier). Or did it *not* find such a belief? There can be little question but that the Upaniṣads underwent in time as much editing as did the Piṭakas—what if the brief allusions, not integral at all to the general teaching of the Upaniṣadic schools, are glosses, due possibly to Sakyan influence? And not to very early Sakyan influence at that? I have put forward the theory,[1]—hold it strongly—that the founders of Sakya did not teach rebirth as animal as any part of their central figure of life as a Way (*mārga*) of the worlds. I think that the belief belonged to primitive popular tradition, in common with tree-worship; belief in devils and much else and was waiting to be exploited when, with a great growth in monastic parasitism, it became of first importance to make the alms-supported teaching popular and attractive. And more: it was consonant with the decline which is revealed in the Piṭakas, in the sublime worth and sanctity of the concept 'man,' that the notion of reincarnation in an animal became not only not repugnant, but plausible.

It is to read the new into the old to see in the notion any

[1] *Stories of the Buddha*, Introduction, London, 1929.

special Indian, or Buddhist sympathy with animals as being by nature akin to man. They are never included among 'beings:' *sattā*. Due worth is paid to the relatively high intelligence of horse and of elephant as beasts. But the only general reference to life in the 'matrix' or world of animals dwells on its miseries:—"In many more ways could I talk of how hard it is to state adequately how ill is (life in) the animal world" (*Majjhima*, iii, 169). Older estimates of Buddhism will have rated the belief in animal rebirth as linking it with the paganism of old cults of other continents, infecting the European tradition through men like Pythagoras, Empedocles, Plato, yet only played with by them. The modern West, in its excessive cult of the animal, or at least of one or two kinds, tends to overrate this decadent tendency in Sakya or Budddism, and to follow uncritically the Piṭakas in this respect. It would be of interest to pursue the question, both in view of the little animal-worship there is in Indian cults, the climax attained in the idea of the sanctity of the individual man *quâ* man, when Sakya was born, the fact that any world-religion worthy of the name reveals a more, and not a less in human possibilities and future, and the fact that the decline of Sakya was marked chiefly by just these two changes: the worsened worth in the theory of 'the man' and the resort by monk-teaching to fables, especially of men reborn as animals. The last is on a level with the unworthy exegetical definition of the man: *puggola*, as 'hell-gobbler': *puṃgala*. But here I must get back to the main subject.

We have now to consider the how of the man surviving and encountering apparently as adult (infantile rebirth or survival gets even less careful consideration than it does among ourselves) the result of his earthly actions. There was the alternative of Nirvana, for which, even on earth a man or woman was held to be ripe enough. But that was held to be other than being in any way reborn. Mysterious as the going of the flame of dead fires—by no means itself a going out into nothingness, as physi-

cists of acumen now remind us—untraceable as path of bird in sky, there were, the wise poem says, no words to hand to speak of this. I revert to what is both conceived and discussed ; or rather what fails to be discussed.

I am not here dwelling on any pre-determined fate awaiting the survivor. We are as yet vague and weak in so-called eschatological treatment, and tend to merge the one in the other. I will only say in passing, that, passed over as it usually is in treatment, the Sakya doctrine comes second only to that of Zoroastrianism in emphasis on the fact of adjudication, of the judgment of a tribunal, in the case of rebirth from earth to the next world. No parallel statement is brought forward, I believe, in the case of an inmate of that world passing back to earth. We have of such a case only a little Sutta with poem, in the book called *Iti-vuttaka* : 'the Thus-said-ings.' A deva falls sick with symptoms of decease, and his friends wish him well on his impending return to earth, admonishing him in the good way (§83). Nor, in the case of the arrival from earth, is anyone's judgment described save that of the man who has let slip his opportunities and been knowingly heedless. The heedful are only alluded to as being safe and happy. The Sutta may well have been, in its original form,—it retains a very vivid emphasis —an inspired message, but, as teaching, it was just the heedless who most needed it, and whose case is therefore thrown into high relief. I may add, that for all the proneness to symbolic speech, and albeit the word 'weighing' was a figure for deliberating, and judging, the 'scales,' so familiar to us in Christian art, do not appear.

But there was, in this matter of destiny at rebirth, this lively belief in adjudication, in the person of the judge (he is the ancient Vedic Yama) and in the *dossier*, and in the idea of a legal ordinance administered. In other words, there is, at least in this branch of the great subject, nothing automatic. The man does not wake up to a good or bad destiny without being ushered into it according to plan. It may be said : is not the Sutta,

in its repeated presentation (in two of the chief Collections) just a parable, an allegory? I should say, not; the Scriptures are careful when using parable to introduce it in a set idiom; I cannot recall any instance where this is omitted; the parable solution is to me very improbable.

To come to what, I repeat is not discussed; this is *whence*, when a man, leaving the earth-body, passed on to appear 'as purgatorial, peta, deva, *came the new body?* In every case, it has been shown as evident, that there was a new body, and that is all there is to say about it. Nor, apparently, were the founders asked concerning this so far as the records show. Ānanda is shown as very anxious to display his Leader's psychic communication in revealing, to all who appeared desirous to learn, the fate of their lost ones ; but he puts no question about the acquisition of the new body. The age was in such matters no more awake and interested than is our age.

In their case this was perhaps the more curious, because the teaching of another, a dual, body in earth-life, as the mate of the earth-body, was almost of necessity implicit in the current Brahman theory of the man's other-world activity during deep sleep. I refer to the well known passage in the Bri-hadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. It was no discarnate ' spirit ' who comes forth from the earth-body in sleep, released in some limited way from the tissues of the latter, but the man himself, encased in a 'finer' vehicle, who leaves ' the nest.' By this bright ' light-body ' he ' looks down ' at his sleeping other members and ' goes again to his (real) home, golden person, lonely bird,' has a pleasant time of sport and laughter and love, or sees fearsome things, learns things good and evil, and hastens back when the earth-body is beginning to wake, lest he leave that to die.

Of all this we read in the Piṭakas not one word. Yet the majority of the first Sakyan teachers were Brahmans. On the other hand,. two things may be said. It is possible that the Upaniṣad cited, evidently the work of one or more gifted,

progressive reforming teachers, may not have come to be finally edited and accepted as scriptural till long after the birth of Sakya. And the Piṭakas too were not finally edited and accepted in a Canon till centuries after that birth of Sakya, when by the Sakyan Sangha a definitely anti-Brahman position had come to be taken up, especially in regard to the man. Any teaching that involved the theory of the man passing over from one body's world to another body's world would, if worded and memorised, *tend to be let drop out.* The theory of the subtle body persisted in India and became orthodox in Sāṅkhya; and it would have furnished the Sakyans with an explanation of all bodily re-birth not by parents. But, I repeat, we must always remember, that in 'scriptures' we have, not records redacted at the time of the utterance of the events or ideas which are mentioned, but edited compilations belonging to, and bearing the stamp of a much later date. And thus we find on the one hand Brahman scriptures (wherein the belief in the reality and sublime nature of the man is upheld) with the man's activity in sleep, a second body being implicit, accepted as orthodox; on the other hand we find Buddhist scriptures (wherein the belief in the reality and sublime nature of the man has been greatly worsening) without a word on this, or other matters, which could only be brought forward with a rehabilitation of the older belief in the man. Both sleep and death are occasions for the theory of the man, as of a dual body, being proffered as explanation. And Buddhists (or Sakyans), coming to merge the man in his body and mind, were not likely to hold in worth a belief in man as the user of one body let alone two.

But what about the re-birth into a new mind? Is it a brand-new mind which they held was re-born? Was it ever held that the man had a dual mind?

When Sakya teaching took birth, it was not yet an accepted way to speak of mind as an entity distinct, either logically or actually from the man, The influence of Sāṅkhya, which was in fact a divorce of psychological from religio-philosophical

standpoints, was only beginning to be felt. It was not yet held necessary to talk of re-birth in terms of mind, as well as of body and the man. Let me not be held to push this too far. Man under a certain aspect was mind *vijñāna*. This was as 'worth-er' and as 'worder.' And in so far as there was, at death, only a 'bheda' of the body, the man in every aspect was not held as also breaking up. The new emphasis which Sakya may be said to have laid on the man under this aspect was that, as minding, the man was presenting at any moment, not at death only, a perpetual change, a change made classic under the simile of the leaping ape. Were this aspect being taught now, we might expect an exploiting of the better similes ready to hand, such as electric force and apparatus. No man in replenishing the latter, when worn out, asks for a supply with it of new electricity. That is potentially ready all the time. All the man needs at dying is the new battery. He is the force; *his translation into it is mind.* Indeed this simile which I and doubtless others, first used some 18 years ago, I see already commending itself to Buddhists rather than the classic figure of their own little studied scriptures.

Another classic figure which is now neglected was that of the station or platform: *ṭhiti*, in or on which (the preposition would be the same) the man as worther, *viz.*, *viññāṇa*, is in rebirth transferred or translated. The *ṭhiti* was at once new body and new world; a new vista in fact in the long way of man's life-faring; a new opportunity for further becoming for growth, I hold that this idea belongs to the very centre of the original Sakya, and the 'platform' figure is in harmony with it. It is accepted in the Suttas, nevertheless it must have been somewhat on a rock of stumbling, in that it tended to uphold the emphasis on the man as watcher or worther on the new platform. And indeed we meet with this idea of the progressive minding-man, or *viññāṇa*, being severely trounced in a lively Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikaya (No. 38). The belief in "that very *viññāṇa* runs on, fares on; not a different one" is condemned;

so also is the definition of *viññāṇa* as "this speaker, experiencer who now here, now there experiences the result of good and evil deeds." And we are told, that, so far from being a persistent entity, *viññāṇa* comes into being, lit. becomes, as a result of certain preceding conditions.

The trouncing is put into the mouth of the Founder, and for those who see in the monastic values of the Piṭakas the earlier values of the Sakyamuni and his comrades, it is a very useful discourse. I found it so myself in my salad days of Buddhist interpretative work. I do not wonder, that some pronoucement, corrective of the awkward earlier teaching of the man as persistent and as "growing" by way of a succession of "platforms" was felt to be needed by later monastic theorists.

The whole question of the birth and progress of the great idea of becoming in Indian ideas is of profound interest, and will one day meet with adequate treatment. We see the idea knocking as it were at the door of the strong-hold of being in the words of the progressive teachers of the Upaniṣads, declaring that the fundamental attribute of Deity was not being but "the desire to become." We see it both in their and Gotama's 'figure of man's life in its entirety as a way connoting advance in a more, a further, a new. The idea of causation as a world-law, which was a-foot at about the same time, and which should have been brought under the greater generalization of becoming, proved for a certain and a critical period to have, in Sakya, a hindering effect on that generalization. It was taught (*a*), more under the guise of atomic change, and (*b*) less in connection with process. (*c*) By the *less* of process, I mean that in the monastic formula of causation in 'ill,'[1] *only* the suppression of cause is stressed; *only* a process making to cease is enjoined. And (*a*) positive process, when applied not to 'ill' (*duhkha*) but to the man, is emphasized as, not growth, *i.e.* becoming, but atomic, momentary succession in difference. It is not in

[1] *Paṭicca-Samuppāda*, or the '12 Nidanas.'

fact till the date of the Milinda Conversations, that the question of cause and effect *as process* is shown coming to the front, with new terms for the valuing of it.[1] But by then it was too late to save the greater generalization of becoming. We see it, both in the Milinda and in Hindu treatises, lingering on in India as the legacy of the original Sakya, but in the transference to Ceylon and final redactions of the Piṭakas there the ban of the monk on Becoming (*bhava*) became the authoritative mask, under which we have to try to recognise traces of the great New Word which had moved India for a while only centuries before.

In the Piṭakas, reading between the lines, we can, I think, discern this older seeing of 'the man as *viññāṇa* getting resolved into a later seeing of '*viññāṇa* as the man,' and then seeing *viññaṇa* as just one factor among factors *making up the man.* The early Sakyan standpoint of seeing the man as *viññāṇa* is akin to the early Upaniṣadic teaching of, *e.g.*, the Aitareyya, and of *vijñānamayaṃ Brahmaṃ.* The later standpoint, probably largely due to Sāṅkhyan influence, was a seeing in man a changing complex, bodily and mental, with 'the man' ejected from *viññāṇa.* The older wording of the body breaking up at death became virtually a total dissolution, with a very ill-conceived re-becoming as a sort of resultant in the next world. There still remained the crux as to how, in decease, a power or influence could be conceived, in 'transeunce,' effecting the new man, who was yet in a way the heir of the old man.

We know ourselves, how cause used to be conceived as a transeunt influence. And mediaeval Hīnayāna also annexed, from Indian religion perhaps, the very word influence: *śakti,* and wrote of causal influence: *paccaya-satti.* *But that was much later.* Later, but not so much later, are the inadequate similes of flame lit from flame of mango from seed and the like, of the Milinda Questions, wherewith Buddhists still hope to

[1] See my *Milinda Questions*, 1930.

satisfy learners. Later again, Buddhaghosa uses a simile for re-birth, which is no sooner said than nullified: the simile of a man swinging across a conduit by a rope tied to a tree. The man is *viññāṇa*, but, he goes on, "*viññāṇa* does not arrive here (rebirth) from a previous becoming; nor does it appear from thence without conditions, such as, karma, activities (*saṅkhārā*), bending-on-to (*nati*), sphere (*visaya*), etc."

It was a troublesome and mysterious question, and one which, had but the Sakyan Sāsana, in adoring its Founder, maintained that more consistent adoration, which was the keeping intact the teaching a great psychic like him could have given about re-birth, and possibly did give, the question might have been for it, neither troubling nor so mysterious. Western writers have suggested a solution for Buddhists, which these themselves have never in the past put forward as plausible and all-suffering. This is, that, for Buddhism, a man's collective actions, called 'karma" (action), constitute a 'force' which takes effect at death in re-birth of a new man, yet of a man who, as having a karma x, and not y, is heir to x_a not to y_a.

We see above, that for Buddhaghosa, there were certain 'conditions' (*hetuṃ*) in action, and that karma was *but one in many*. But, possibly with the printing of the Pali books, a word here and there in them about man being 'heir' of his actions (karma) and the like, has suggested this solution, rather than the little known quotation from the later book, the Visuddhi Magga.

While the effective power of karma was more of a central doctrine for the Jains than it was for Sakya, there was certainly no trifling with the significance of it in the latter teaching. But, for Sakya, a man's karma came solely into account *at the adjudication subsequent to rebirth*: with the phenomenon of the rebirth itself karma had nothing to do. It is only a metaphysical playing about with ideas rather than with things, which could so trifle with results, that is, with things, as to fancy them gathered up into a sort of cumulative avalanche,

automatically bringing to pass the new-born man. I admit, that decadent Buddhist dogmatics to a certain extent invite from us this interpretation of what they mean, when expressed in modern terms of 'force' and 'resultant.' But the aim of this article is to suggest not what *they* had come down to, but what the earlier editors of the Piṭakas (late as these are in relation to original Sakya) had in mind regarding rebirth. And for the Suttas, there was *not yet felt the need* to explain the Man of the Wayfaring in the worlds in terms of ill-fitting, inadequate material similes of milk and mangoes, echoes and lamp-lighting such as were found useful (in an age which believed in analogy as sound reasoning) by much later writers. For the Suttas the man, still held as real, was (by implication) willer, chooser, valuer, experiencer of deed and of result. Hence it was he who was responsible, and not the deed, the karma. Deeds once done have left the man; they are no longer he. In deeds is no valuer; no choosing agent. Hence in deeds is no responsibility. "By you, yea, even by you have these things been done, and by no one else" is the judge's verdict in the Suttas to man at the next world's bar.

But of that bar and that verdict the Milinda Questions and the age of Buddhaghosa have not a word to say. Between them they had slain the 'man'; gradually he was becoming, and then he had become, a mere complex. Bar and verdict were inconvenient and were dropped out. We could among us not possibly have suggested such a purblind solution as this of transeunt karma to the problem of the what and how of rebirth in Buddhism, had we not in the first place failed to consider Buddhism historically, had we not in the second place ourselves been getting as wilted in our concept of the man—or as we are now saying of personality—as Buddhism grew to be.

When we come to see history in Buddhism, a history of centuries, even already in these Pali scriptures, which three great pioneers have made, and helped to make accessible to the world in one half century—Fausböll, Oldenberg, Rhys Davids—

we shall then put forward fewer ill-digested theories. We shall no longer quote as of the Piṭakas, left alone as of the original Sakya, standpoints and emphases belonging to the later after-men. We shall have put on one side for separate treatment the ever more contracting view of the 'man' at which decadent monasticism arrived; of the man in the many worlds as momentary successions, of the man at death largely replaced by an animal, of the man as capable of a perfection on earth impossible in any ideal of a perfection adequately felt after. We shall have sought, underneath this upper crust, for the remnants of a great world-gospel, bringing a new message for the man of the more that is in him and awaiting him; a message that he, being by nature and ultimately one-who-is-becoming, calls as his birthright for not one world, not one life, or life-station, but for many worlds, for many stages and platforms in his wayfaring; a message which bade him in that wayfaring ripen and realize all that lies yet dormant in his nature; a message which bade him not shrink in any way from the vistas of 'Bhava's, in that *by way of them* he will in time come to conceive and to word, and ultimately to know That Whom now he worships as ineffable, inconceivable.[1]

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

Note.—This article is built on many passages in Pali scripture and other Pali books, eferences to which I have for the most part not cumbered my pages withal. But such a withholding may be exasperating to a student in this field, and I shall be glad to supply any applicant by post with any or all such references, and shall welcome the receipt of such applications.

Chipstead, Surrey, England.

MOTHER

Heart, my heart, what means this feeling?
Heart, why are you so lonely?
What makes the tears run down the cheek?
What strange feeling over me, stealing?
Heart, acknowledge me no more,
Farewell to the cause of your longing,
Farewell to all that gives you gladness.
Oh, why is it so lonely?
Oh, mother! To-day are you happy?
Mother, mother, my mother!
Where are you in this dusky moon light,
When all's asleep and silent?
Do you know—surely you remember—
That on the pier where I wept, you, too, wept.
On that pier are you wandering?
Where beyond the pier the moon is dancing,
While along the shore the plovers are crying?
I see you when, over the distant ridge, the moon sleeps.
I think of you whenever the moonlight gleams in the silvery brook.
I hear you, as yonder brook runs leisurely with murmurs deep.
I am near you, though far away.
You, too......are near!
'Tis Sunday, a holiday, mother!
Lunch, lunch is ready, mother!
Where shall we go—to the park? To the seashore?
...........Would you were here!

JINKICHI MATSUDA

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SCOTTISH ARCHITECTURE[1]

II

From the 17th century to the present day.

The 17th century was a sad epoch for Scotland, nevertheless, a remarkable period in her architecture. And the buildings involved are doubly interesting, because much less has been said of them, than about their predecessors, the great abbeys and cathedrals of the Middle Ages. The union of the Scottish and English Crowns in 1603, was far from bringing peace to Scotland ; for the immediate result of the event lay, in the endeavour to impose the Episcopal or English form of worship on the Scottish nation. Those people who resisted, and stood for the Presbyterian Church which John Knox had founded, were constrained to assemble for religious service in the open air. Those again, who remained faithful to the Catholic Church, were a tiny minority. And those others--who accepted Episcopacy, did little in the raising of beautiful edifices, or in the repairing of the halls of prayer, which had been wrecked during the Reformation. Accordingly, the structures which make the 17th century memorable, are all or nearly all, either private homes, or public institutions whose purpose was not hieratic.

In the sixteen-hundreds, England had little or no influence on architecture in Scotland ; and her work in the art at that time, was a normal sequel to her output in previous cycles. If night and day are the standard symbols for complete dissimilarity, always it is quite impossible to point to the exact moment, when darkness gives place to illumination, so gradual is the change from the one to the other. And, in precise analogy, the art of the Middle Ages, and the art of the Renaissance, are two widely different things. But in each,

[1] For the first portion of this article see 'TheCalcutta Review.' Nov. & Dec., 1929.

or apparently each country in Europe, the departure of the Medieval work, and the triumph of the classic, occurred only by very slow degrees. If the Scottish Baronial mode, with its close relationship to French Domestic Gothic, is essentially a thing of the Middle Ages, it remained in vogue long after the time, commonly implied by that term. This Medieval manner was the customary one for large country-houses in Scotland, through at least a great part of the 17th century. It was beautifully employed ; it became still more distinctive or national than it had been previously ; and there may be mentioned as works in the formula which were raised then, Peffermill, Gogar House, Stenhopemill and Lickleyhead. Moreover, the sixteen-hundreds saw little or no change, in the matter of constructing in towns, those houses which were joined together. Such edifices were still created in a fashion, closely akin with Scottish Baronial so that cities retained even yet, the Medieval guise.

In the 17th century, Renaissance additions were occasionally bestowed on ancient Castellated domains. And ever and again in that era, there were fashioned new buildings, which may be defined as dual or transitional. They were independent, or free-standing places, and while displaying on the one hand, characteristics of Scottish Baronial, they embodied on the other hand, features of the incoming Renaissance or Classic style. For example, Heriot's Hospital has the turrets of the old manner, yet the open pediments of the new. Other instances of the transitional mode are the houses called Moray, Wintoun and Innes, also Argyll's Lodging. And if a high beauty was attained, in certain of the fabrics with the curious mingling in question, they are hardly less distinctive than the gems of work, purely in Scottish Baronial.

One of the very few hieratic structures, built in the 17th century, was the Canongate Parish Church, Edinburgh. This fine, anonymous work, which dates from the close of the period is exclusively in the Renaissance style. And at that same time,

another place thus definable was created, the Town Hall, Linlithgow. It is ascribed to John Mylne, in whose day was active, Sir William Bruce, who designed at least one house in the dual or transitional manner, Balcaskie. But he also devised a mansion, which is in the revived antique mode alone, Hopetoun, finished early in the seventeen-hundreds. And this big dwelling is usually pointed to, as marking the complete victory of the form, derived from Ancient Greece and Imperial Rome. With the completion of Hopetoun, Scottish Baronial passed wholly from use for country seats ; in the first half of the 18th century, many places of that class were raised ; and they are purely in classic. These fabrics are mostly of a sturdy build, and they are somewhat simple. Smith and MacGill, James Gibbs and Colin Campbell, were outstanding Classicists of the time, and no less eminent than they was William Adam. Although manorial homes were duly his main preoccupation, he built the Parish Church at Hamilton, one of the finest Renaissance buildings in all Scotland. And he stimulated the new fondness in the country for classicism, by his splendid publication, *Vitruvius Scoticus*. This contains upwards of a hundred engravings, and with a very few exceptions, they are from drawings by William Adam himself. The book appeared in parts, and some were not issued till subsequent to the great architect's death, which occurred in 1748.

The later decades of the 18th century, and the opening of the 19th were a signal epoch in Scottish architecture, the fine buildings being in every case, classic. Up till the former time, there had been little or no evolution, in the handling of joined houses in towns ; and as the seventeen-hundreds drew to a close, Edinburgh presented yet the aspect of a Medieval city. But she started to become now, a world-famous literary centre, and the increase in her wealth, as also in the number of her denizens, resulted in big schemes for new residences. There is exactly one Scottish architect, whose name is familiar in practically all countries, Robert Adam, second son of William

aforesaid, and Robert struck new notes in his art. His actual buildings, and his affixed adornments within them, have an elegance and a slimness which contrast sharply with the sturdy way of the previous Scottish Classicists. He was the earliest person in the British Isles, if not in the whole of Europe, to devise a number of joined houses, so as to give them the aspect of a single, palatial façade ; and his finest achievement in that line was Charlotte Square, Edinburgh. But people are amusingly prone to credit him with a far bigger number of places than he really accomplished ; and the hard truth is that he was vastly influential. The Renaissance architects in Scotland in his day, mostly shared his predilection for the graceful and the slender ; numerous of these men designed houses and interiors, in a manner closely resembling his ; and the countless things which are praised in popular writings, as lovely examples of Adam plasterwork or mantelpieces, are in few cases veritably by Robert. If much fine art of his period was wrought anonymously, there are three men of the era whose designations are well remembered, Nasmyth, Chambers and Reid. A gem by the first-named is the Rotunda, St. Bernard's Well, Edinburgh; and exquisite things by Chambers are the Royal Bank in that town, and the gateway of Duddingston House, not far off. Reid was much concerned with the laying out of the new, residential streets in the Scottish Capital; and in some of them he espoused the unity system, which Robert Adam had introduced with Charlotte Square, if the former did nothing quite so beautiful as that work, he nevertheless employed the mode at issue skilfully, in Heriot Row and Drummond Place. And he built in the same city, one of the very finest of her classic fabrics, St. George's Parish Church, completed in 1814.

It was largely the way in Europe, as the 18th Century passed into the 19th to exalt classicism as the sole, right path in architecture, and to view as barbaric the Gothic mode. Among the laurels of Robert Adam is that, although the Renaissance work

was the thing to which he devoted his life, and with which he linked his name in the mind of the world, he designed on the eve of his death a little church, in the despised pointed manner. This action by him would seem to have been the herald of a remarkable revival of Medievalism which occurred in Scotland before the eighteen hundreds were far advanced. Nor can it be doubted, that the historical stories of Sir Walter Scott, kindling as they did a fresh interest in the Middle ages, were an important factor in inspiring architects to turn back to the ways of that far-off time. About 1820, Archibald Elliot was asked to build the Calton Gaol, Edinburgh ; and Reid already mentioned, was requested, to plan a new edifice for St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. Choosing the castellated fashion, Elliot wrought a masterpiece, while Reid created a lovely work in Scottish Baronial. Presently, this manner found an ardent champion in David Bryce, who built a great number of mansions in the old, distinctive formula of Scotland. He also utilised it for large, public buildings in cities, and soon the style was being widely employed by other men, notably for fair-sized houses in towns or in their vicinity. Following Adam's lead Elliot devised a Gothic church. And if in the seventeen hundreds, only a very few places of worship had been raised, the next cycle witnessed the construction of a host of such for various sects, many of these new structures being in the pointed mode. The Revolution in 1689 had ended the endeavour to impose Episcopacy. on the Scottish nation, and the votaries of Presbyterianism thereafter styled themselves the Church of Scotland, or Established Church. They became possessed of the ancient abbeys and cathedrals, and it is to the credit of the body that, in the course of the 19th century they rehabilitated most of those grand, old fanes.

There would be grave error in supposing, that the revival of Medievalism banished favour towards Classic or Renaissance work in many if not all countries, Edinburgh is frequently spoken of as the Modern Athens ; and the man who gained for the town that proud title was Sir William Playfair, active

towards the middle of the eighteen hundreds. The College of Surgeons, and the National Gallery of Scotland, are perhaps the two finest of his Classic works in the city, and he had two main distinctions. Caring not for the elegance and slimness, which had marked Renaissance Architecture in Scotland, in the day of Robert Adam and his disciples, Playfair upheld massiveness of build; and he copied almost literally, renowned Greek edifices. In these two predilections, the master was typical of most of the other Scottish Classicists, at work about 1840, among the ablest of which men were Stark and Thomson, David Hamilton and Thomas Hamilton. If it was by certain independent fabrics, that each of these men gained his celebrity, James Gillespie-Graham was concerned, with laying out in Edinburgh, new residential streets in Renaissance style. Known as the Moray Estate, the part of the town planned by him is widely famous; and the architect uttered here, his devotion to the massive on sturdy fashion. But a memorable revolt against this last, as likewise against literal copying of Greek places, occurred the least thing after the meridian of the 19th century. There now came to prominence talented men who, turning back to the graceful and the tolerably slim, found their model in the Renaissance palaces of the Italian school, especially the Venetian. David Rhind and Dick-Peddie were notable participants in this little movement; while another was David Bryce, who has been spoken of as a champion of Scottish Baronial. And among his finest things, in the new class of Renaissance art, are the Bank of Scotland and the British Linen Bank, both in Edinburgh.

Walking to-day in any town or village in Scotland, it is often felt very difficult to believe, that fine architecture ever existed in Scotland. Industrialism has slain the beautiful; Mammon reigns; communism has failed lugubriously to give presentable dwellings to the million. In actuality, however, there is no lack of good work, in the raising of houses or cottages, places of business or halls of devotion. Fair exploits

may be discovered in each of these spheres, by those people who search long and assiduously, amid the jungle of terrible fabrics. Whereas in 1829, it was illegal in Scotland to be a member of the Catholic Church, that year saw the emancipation of this body, which, long ages before, had been the prime inspiration of lovely buildings. And of fine things raised about the dawn of the 20th century, some of the best are Catholic places of worship. These may well be named as examples, St. Peter's Church, Edinburgh, by Sir Robert Lorimer, which is in Romanesque ; and the Church of Our Lady of Loretto, Russelburgh, by Archibald MacPherson, which is in Gothic. Both these men died a little while ago, and both will be long remembered, so exquisite was the art which either of them accomplished. Must it be acknowledged reluctantly, that henceforth rare buildings will be merely incidental in Scotland ? Or will there occur a movement, repelling the current degradation?

W. G. BLAIKIE MURDOCH

CULTURE—ITS IMPORT AND VALUE[1]

For one who has no research to his credit, it must really be a very bad venture to appear in the role of a writer in the Research Society's annual conference. The thought weighed with me, and the brief acquaintance I had, of the aims and objects of the Society confirmed me in my fears. The Society, we know, stands to encourage research. And we welcome it all the more, inasmuch as it aims to strike a blow at what appears to be the most foul thing in our intellectual life, *viz.*, its sluggishness. Those among us who, in response to the vital needs of the hour, are sworn to shake off this age-old slough of slumbering credulity, are to be acclaimed as the renovators of our modern intellectual life. But barring out these few landmarks of intellectuals, the rest of us, having no aptitude for research, can do nothing else on such occasions than to sit at the side-lines and listen to the wondrous tales which our research workers would be pleased to unroll before us out of the vast storehouse of facts unearthed by years of patient and diligent research.

The learned secretary of the society, however did not seem to be very much in favour of this view. His invitation to the wider section of the general public, asking them to take active part in the deliberations of the conference, was an indication that the conference would not trade in research wares only. Rather the very tone of the invitation letter was suggestive of a new light in which the conference would meet. It showed that at least once a year,—during the days of the conference—the army of research workers would cease fighting one another over the spoils of research,—for these few days they would lay down their arms and instead of bewildering the hearts of lay people with jarring notes of discord, would meet and talk to

[1] Read before the Varendra Research Society, Annual Conference, 1929.

each other as plain men of the world. Forgetting, for the hour, the insular isolation of a scholar's life, and alike forgetting the heaviness of details of their painstaking research, they would come and join the men of the world in their simple ways of talking and thinking.

This is the spirit that assures us to come and join this conference. And if we keep this point of view in our minds,—if everybody present here will keep aside all the technicalities of his trade, and so behave that the highest treasures of which he is in possession would be made available for the benefit of all alike, we should find the Research Society transformed for a while into a centre of culture. For culture, to quote a French authority, consists essentially in what remains after one has forgotten the details of his learning.

But are we sure as to what is meant by culture? Is it correct to say, as we have suggested above, that culture means a sort of refined residuum that stands behind when everything else fades away? There is no doubt that the question is quite a pertinent one.

There is another reason why an enquiry into the meaning of culture is particularly called for at this hour. Our society is pledged to encourage research into the past history of our country, and in this past history we include all manner of facts and incidents, arts and industries,—in fact, everything that in any way contributed to our ancient culture. The discovery and selection of these relics must necessarily involve the problem of valuation. Without a proper solution of this problem the research worker may be drawn into the unhealthy game of a limitless accumulation of details. Evidently no historian is blind enough to beguile himself with the hope that his researches into the hours of breakfast of the courtiers of Chandragupta will win him a place of honour among the celebrities of the day. The problem of evaluation, however, leads to the consideration of the ideals,—the standard of excellence that appealed to our forefathers and transformed their simple

humdrum life into a fine specimen of culture. It is meet therefore that we settle among ourselves, at the outset, what is meant by culture and its value, before we embark upon the perilous voyage of discovery into the ancient glories of our country.

In a sense, we are all very confident in our estimate of men and their character. Each of us carries in his mind a rough and ready formula to tell him what people are cultured and what people are not. But the moment he stops and goes on reflecting into the grounds of decision, he begins to fumble. In fact, the term culture seems to be one of those jesting puzzles on which many have exercised their wits but none have come out wholly successful. Nevertheless this very consciousness of limitation, that even our most subtle analysis fails to embrace the whole of reality—if we be fortunate enough to keep alive to it,—would contain the germ of culture. And so we find ourselves confronted with two conflicting positions. Culture consists in forgetting, as well as in remembering. We are to forget all our achievements and triumphs,—all the excellences that we have won ; at the same time, we should bear in mind that with all our assets and embellishments, the best still remains to be realised.

The sense of exaltation with which we celebrate the hour of victory not infrequently settles down into a fairly permanent cast of character. The consciousness of superiority steals into our mind, and imperceptibly leads us into thinking that the common herd of mankind possess very little in common with ourselves. Encased in our own meshes of pride and conceit we lose contact with that wider whole of humanity on whose experience and wisdom we counted so much in the hour of trial. Culture tends to counteract this rising tide of arrogance, and by its gentle touch soon subdues that excitement of self-glorification which divides man from man. A man of culture is always overtaken by the sense of "the unattained and the unattainable," and so behaves that even in his most signal triumphs he will not raise the least little suspicion that the

chords or affinity which bind him to the rest of humanity are in danger of being snapped away.

Forgetting and remembering are then the two poles of the axis on which the life of culture revolves. But this does not lead us into the heart of the thing. Culture would be quite a poor thing if it were to rest content with a dead residuum alone. The art of disposing such a residuum goes a great way ; still unless it were to germinate into new shoots,—finer and livelier modes of thought and action, there is no culture.

"The point is, culture is a thing of life. It signifies an active habit of living and doing." Where the process of petrifaction has set in, culture loses itself into an extreme form of bigotry and narrowness. Perhaps we understand it better if we bring it, as Erskine does, in line with cultivation. What the cultivator does want is not merely tilling or manuring the soil. His eye is ever on the harvest. He cultivates the field so that he may get something out of it. Yet this something will bring him no satisfaction if it were to mean the return of the same old seeds sown in the field. The harvest is so pleasing to the farmer because it shows an abundance of life, growing in full vigour and freshness out of the dying remnants of the old stock. The farmer counts not the cost that he scatters away so many fine grains into the ground, which he will soon see changed into a muddy loam. There is a touch of heroism in him when he engages in sowing. But his real credit lies not in sowing, but in reaping a harvest, more plenteous and invigorating,—the prelude of a new life of higher happiness and greater health.

Nobility has to its credit a splendid heritage, but its culture forbids that it should make a parade of it. The mere up-start, on the contrary, lacking the richness of a noble past, is full of toils to build up an accumulation of treasures, out of nervous fear lest his poverty of stock be exposed. The up-start knows not that the very effort to conceal the hollowness of his descent by profuse decorations of his own acquisitions does but consign him to the rank of the barbaric. The

aristocrat, in his turn, living indolently upon his ancient glories and caring not to enhance their value, presents a pleasing appearance no doubt, because in his simple style of quiet dignity there is hardly anything to cause offence. But the absence of that touch of heroism, that spirit of sacrifice, characteristic of the life stirred up by the impulses of new creations, makes it a sickening sight. In fact, the pure aristocrat, dreaming upon old past, and bent upon an easy life of refinement of manners alone, often degenerates into wanton effeminacy; while the upstart, in his inordinate zeal to augment the treasures of life, becomes outrageously audacious.

In the history of races, there are records of people whose claims to eminence primarily rest upon the rich heritage which they have acquired from their forefathers. Intoxicated by the thought of the noble achievements of their ancestors, they lose the incentive to progressive expanssion of life. Knowing not through what patience and postponement, trials and struggles, their forebears came by these goods of life, they are hardly in a position to appraise them at their proper worth. What happens is that they hasten to attribute to them a sort of suprahistoric origin, to improve upon which is beyond the hope of ordinary mortals, or they will, as a cover for their own incompetence, assume an air of contemptuous indifference to these acquisitions and treat them as if they were the sole concerns of heathens and pagans, and not of the truly spiritually minded class. In both cases we witness the same phenomenon, *viz.*, an exaggerated vanity tending to smother down the instinctive fire of enthusiasm for new creations. Both are equally condemned. For neither of them can participate in the free life of culture.

On the other side, there are peoples who, in youthful exuberance of their energy aspire to remodel the earth anew. For them everything lies in the future, the past has no value. Faithful adherence to age-long institutions and practices has made a decrepit of man, and transformed him into a dwarf.

In this attitude of resentful revolt against the past, they set about in the work of reconstruction, or remaking of man in new splendour and glory. What wonder then, that these people should shine among others as the most prolific in their output of arts and industries. We are thankful to them for all they have said and done, but to credit them with culture we cannot. The reason is obvious. Absorbed in the passion of new creations they have not developed the subtle sense of gratitude for what they owe to the preceding ages. Genuine culture comes in the wake of the effort of creation, involving the active functioning of the talents wherewith a man happens to be endowed by nature. To every man the appropriate question is: what use has he made of his talents; what amount of contributions has he put in to the stock of world's wisdom and values? There are men in academic circles who would astonish the by-stander by the vastness of their learning, often embodying the contents of a large library; but what a poor specimen they furnish, so long as they do not succeed in turning their erudition to higher purposes of life. Without art there is no indication of culture. But it is a onesided statement that makes culture identical with art.

Art springs from a sense of profound discontent with all that the present stands for. Those that are ready with a cheap satisfaction with the hitherto achieved goods of life, and question not whether they are goods at all, are not likely to engage in artistic creations. It is extremely doubtful if they are at all alive in spirit.

Spiritual awakening is born in dissatisfaction—that 'noble discontent' of which sages have sung so eloquently. Discontent breeds doubt and distrust. The present-day realities, inspite of all the weight of authority which the rolling ages of time conferred on them, are viewed with suspicion. They are all laid bare and the hallowed glory which surrounded them so long is cast to the winds. Out of this attitude of distrust the enquiring soul feels within himself slowly emerging the prompt-

ings of new creations. Working upon the strewn wreckages of the past the artist hopes to draw up fresh lineaments of beauty and truth. To others as well as to himself the artist is a source of enjoyment ; but inwardly he may be plagued with the unholy passion of disowning the past. Culture demands that while we are discarding the past in the hope of building something new, we are not seized with irreverence for the past.

The cultured mind has to pass through a severe ordeal. He has to pull down, to anatomise and dissect even those splendid productions to which mankind, for generations together, have been deeply attached by sentiments of love and veneration. But at the same time he must make sure that the glamour of his own achievements does not rob him of his inner poise and serenity. If that love and admiration with which he hopes to revitalise his own creations are not extended to the works of others, all his struggles and triumphs are lost in waste deserts. Without a touch of reverence for what the hoary ages of antiquity have built for man, there is no culture.

Reverence is a subtle virtue. It is difficult to say precisely at what point one develops the reverential mood. The usual supposition is that the questioning and critical temper is not congenial to the growth of reverence. It thrives well where faith and obedience reign supreme. If readiness to ' accept and obey' be the prevailing characteristics of the conservatives, the opposite temperament should mark out the liberals. This is why conservatism has all along been regarded as the bulwark of faith and reverence, while liberalism has been almost a synonym for irreverence. To all intents and purposes, a liberal means one who, with his ready adaptability, moves along the currents of change showing scant respect for the traditional order of things ; whereas a conservative implies one whose regard for the past is so intense that he would hold fast to it with unflagging devotion. Does culture then belong to the

conservatives alone and should this be denied to the liberals? What a strange irony of fate!

The thing is, the conservatives, held up by the bogey of reverence, adhere to the study of history in the hope of getting a glimpse of the golden age which is never to return. Having nothing better to look for, they fondly wish for those days of glory to reappear in their midst. To dream upon the past becomes a passion with them. The fancies and fashions of the people of bygone days, their style and habits of life must be rescued from oblivion and fitted in the present-day surroundings. And so when we pray we must not, if we are conservatives, use the language of our daily speech, but chaunt the same old hymns of our Vedic ancestors in imitation of their accents and intonations.

The temper of liberalism cannot but laugh at the excesses of the conservatives. If the sentiments of reverence were to sit upon us like a dead weight and bring us down to the level of the dead, what does it avail to cherish such reverence? What use is there in studying history in a spirit of love and admiration, if it were to turn us into dry fossils of a bygone age? Let us rather study it, so the liberals think, in a purely secular, pragmatic spirit. Let the study of history teach us that what is once past is past for ever. A full-grown man must not commit the blunder of dressing himself in the tattered garments of a squalling baby in the cradle. This is how the reforming zeal of the liberal appears on the scene.

But the liberals forget that to drift along the overflowing course of time leads us to no better prospects either. They have to learn yet that to look back upon the masterpieces of antiquity is not to grow archaic but to draw never-failing nourishment in the stormy struggles of life.

It is obvious that true reverence, the soul of culture, is possessed neither by the conservatives, nor by the liberals. The mistake of the conservatives lies in thinking that reverence for the past must necessarily involve being buried in the past, as if

reverence were a sort of hidden treasure that had chosen its habitat among the things of antiquity. Such a zeal, to speak the truth, is the mockery of reverence masquerading in the name of reverence.

True reverence is a function of the spirit. It abides neither in the things of the past nor in the things of the future. To live by hope in the future is as much a sign of irreverence and weakness as to live on the memory of the past. If the former develops into a voluptuous type, the latter surely stagnates into the mould of a coward. None of them shows the true stature of a full-grown free man who alone knows what it is to be reverential.

Without spiritual awakening it is vain to look for reverence breaking into flame. By spiritual awakening, however, is meant nothing more than the eagerness to participate in the free life of the spirit. The beauty of the spiritual life lies in its strength and freedom,—that strength which lifts it above the passing fancies of the hour, that freedom which emboldens it to break away from the fetters of the ages. Yet it is not in breaking that its strength lies. Freedom to break is glorifying, because there is freedom to bow down as well. In this free play of breaking and bowing the virtue of reverence grows triumphant.

Freedom expresses the life of culture ; and it is this that makes it so very valuable. When we proudly proclaim that the race of our ancestors had a culture of their own let us be honest as to what that implies. They had their arts and industries, they had their poetry and literature. All this is true enough. But let us not be a dupe of superficialities. The busy historian loses no time to set up a cabinet of antiquities, and he may have a secret sense of gratification that his work will tell him what their culture was. But he should know that these things merely float on the surface. Culture is not a thing of the surface, but of the inward spirit. To pile up bricks does not give us a temple unless the shekinah is there. What made our

ancestors a cultured people was their freedom. It was not the freedom to wield a sword as they liked, but it was the freedom of the spirit,—the freedom of personality that staked much, suffered much, and yet in joyful resignation engaged in bringing out those masterpieces of antiquity that have ennobled and sanctified humanity. If we can but reciprocate that freedom of the soul that inspired our ancestors we may yet have a hope to gain some insight into their culture. To secure this end an hour of devotional study and contemplation of their outstanding creations will be of more substantial help than years of laborious research.

JITENDRA KUMAR CHAKRAVORTY

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Punjab.

The first acquisition of territory, which now forms part of the Punjab, resulted from the Mahratta treaty of 1803 but it remained attached, in some form or other, to the Government of the North Western Provinces. And we have already had occasion to refer to the annexation, after the first Sikh War, of the cis-Sutlej districts with the Jullundur Doab and how they were quickly encompassed by the extension of the North Western Provinces customs frontiers. The Punjab, to the north-west of the Bias river, was still left to be administered by the Sikhs themselves. But it was the British Resident who did really become the ruler of the province.

At his inspiration there was set in operation a scheme of fiscal reform based on some clear-cut principles.[1] To mention the two most important of them—one was that "while foreign and import trade was a fair object of taxation," "internal trade" was to be "set free," and the other that "the produce of the country should be allowed to be sold in the country without an imposition of duties."

During the Sikh administration commodities, of which salt was of course one, were largely taxed in the form of customs, excise, transit or town duties so that customs lines had to be maintained not only on the frontiers but all over the country. In 1847 in accordance with the principles enunciated above, the duties on more than half of the articles, chiefly on home-made goods for local consumption, were repealed; the duties on some others were reduced. The transit and town duties were abolished altogether and with their abolition the inland tariff lines were removed with considerable relief to commerce and

[1] Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the years 1849-50 and 1850-51.

not altogether negligible economy to the state. There were only three frontier lines to prevent goods coming from three different directions, from the east, from the west and from Kashmir and Jammu. For the sake of accuracy, it must also be said that Multan was at the time outside the said arrangements since the district under its Governor was, according to a pledge, allowed to occupy a semi-independent position.

Due to the repeal and reduction of the duties the exchequer had to forego a revenue of more than six lakhs of rupees. It was necessary to recoup the loss. Among different measures adopted for the purpose, one was the reform of the salt revenue.

The salt supply of the country came almost wholly from the great Salt Range. At a trifling cost, the salt could be extracted almost in a pure state. But the management of the salt revenue under the Sikhs was not organized on a proper basis There was no fixed scale of duties.

The cis-Indus mines were let out to individuals, who, so long as they paid the amount contracted for, were allowed every freedom to conduct the business in their own way. The revenue amounted to something like four lakhs of rupees. Gradually, considerable laxity had crept into the system. The revenue, due from the contractors, was allowed to fall into large arrears while the contractors themselves were in a similar position in respect to the salt merchants. And towards the end of the administration special privileges and exemptions, such as the right of vending salt free of duty were frequently granted to court favourites and religious characters. The amount of duty-free salt, which thus found its way into the market, had a tendency to keep down prices and benefit the consumers, though it was harmful from the point of view of state revenue.

With regard to the trans-Indus mines, which were in possession of unruly mountaineers, a very lenient policy had to be pursued. A regular collection of revenue among the fierce mountaineers, was beyond the range of practical politics. It was equally impossible to farm the revenue for nobody from the

other side of the Indus would venture out there. The trans-Indus mines were therefore left in the hands of some local chieftains who used to pay a small annual tribute. But the salt, when in transit, had to pay down duties at Peshawar and some other cities.

It was clear that a thorough overhauling of the "old, wasteful and uncertain system" at the cis-Indus mines was needed. But the Government was not yet prepared to undertake the responsibility of taking over the direct charge of managing the revenue. The actual management was still allowed to remain in the hands of a private contractor who had to bear his own costs. He was put under obligation to contribute to the state an annual sum of six lakhs of rupees, which was two lakhs in excess of previously obtained revenue. The Government however prescribed at the same time a fixed and uniform price of Rs. 2- per Punjabi maund to be realized without any discrimination from all merchants purchasing salt at the cis-Indus mines. Steps were also taken to ensure punctuality of payment. So far as the trans-Indus mines were concerned, it was yet considered impolitic to interfere with the existing arrangement.

The immediate effect of the above revision was to inflict considerable hardships on the trans-Sutlej area. Formerly a part of the Sikh kingdom had since 1846 passed into British possessions. Dependent on the Punjab mines for its supply of salt, it had now to pay, on every maund of salt that it consumed, the double tax of the Sikh excise levy at the mines and of the British impost of an almost equal amount at its frontier. Salt became "extravagantly dear" in that area and the sufferings of the poor knew no bounds.

The Second Sikh War broke out in 1848 and the Punjab was brought under direct British administration in March, 1849. A further reform of the revenue system was then undertaken. The motley duties still levied under a score of different heads (comprising import and export duties, excise duties, seigniorage, etc.) were swept away. Only three survived, the ferry tolls, the

spirit excise and the salt excise, though a fourth, the stamp duty was added to the list.

The above change rendered the three customs lines needless and they were consequently dispensed with. The inclusion of the Punjab into the British territory led to the removal of the North Western Provinces customs line too. But a new line was extended, in agreement with the Government of the North Western Provinces, along the eastern bank of the Sutlej. It was designed to guard against the importation of Sind salt into the cis-Indus plains and of Rajputana salt in that direction into the Punjab and the North Western Provinces.

The system of letting the cis-Indus mines by contract was discarded and the Government itself took over the management of the mines. The duty was changed from Rs. 2 on the Punjabi maund to exactly the same rate on the Company's maund. It meant an increase of the weight of the tax by eighteen per cent. Once the duty was paid, the Punjab salt was free to move anywhere within the British territory. Only, in the interest of Bengal revenue it was subjected at the Allahabad special line to an additional differential duty of eight annas per maund.

Manufacture of alimentary salt on the part of private inividuals was made illegal in the cis-Indus area. The penal provisions of the previously mentioned Act XIV of 1843, with necessary modifications to suit the special conditions of the province, were adopted for the purpose of suppressing illicit manufacture and smuggling.

From the very first year the Punjab salt tax brought for the Government a steadily expanding revenue. From four lakhs of rupees under the Sikh administration and six lakhs under the Regency, the revenue progressively increased from year to year with only one break in 1851-52. And in 1853-54 the net revenue stood at nearly six lakhs and a half. The increase was due more especially to larger exportation than to increased local consumption.

As regards the trans-Indus mines, the Government still preferred to pursue a policy of extreme caution. It did not venture

to impose more than a light duty of two annas at one mine and four annas at others. To prevent the salt excavated from the more lightly taxed mine, from passing beyond local limits a strong military force was always stationed there.

Even the slight intrusion into the trans-Indus area was tried to be attenuated by a provision for the grant of perquisites to the local chieftains in order that the hill chiefs might not be alienated from allegiance to their new sovereign. The net salt revenue from the area was estimated, on an average, to be Rs. 60,000.

With a very light tax, no prohibition of manufacture in certain areas, and no restriction on consumption of salt other than Government salt, the trans-Indus region stood apart and the province from our point of view, was really bifurcated into two rigidly separated compartments. In 1851 steps had to be taken by the Government to stop the lightly taxed salt of the trans-Indus area from being smuggled across the river.

PARIMAL RAY

(To be continued)

THREE PAPERS ON CHAUCER

I

FROM CHAUCERS' LYRICAL POEMS AND FROM THE POSSIBLE AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PASSAGES IN THE BOOK OF THE DUCHESS, HOUS OF FAME, PARLEMENT OF FOULES, AND PROLOGUE OF THE LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN, WHAT DOES ONE GATHER CONCERNING CHAUCER, THE MAN ?

From Chaucer's lyrical poems, one is not able to gather a great deal concerning Chaucer, the man. *The Compleynte unto Pite* belongs to the large class of pieces in which the poet-lover laments the rigor of his lady. The poet is unfortunate in his love. The lady does not look with favor on his suit although he is true and constant. This lady possesses all the good qualities of the perfect being.

> "Bountee parfit, wel-armed and richely,
> And fresshe Beautee, Lust and Jolitee,
> Assured Maner, Youthe and Honestee,
> Wisdom, Estaat, and Dreed, and Governaunce,
> Confedred bothe by bonde and alliaunce."

Pity, which has not been spent on the unhappy lover is one of her attributes. The poet, driven by pain of love, composes a bill of complaint against Cruelty, which he intends to present to Pity, the "Coroune of vertues alle!"

The story of *The Compleynte unto Pite* might serve equally well for *A Compleynte to His Lady* for the situation is the same. Both belong to the class of poems in which the lover laments his hard fate in love, caused by the coldness of his lady. The more he loves her, the more she makes him "smerte," wherefore, he sees that he may in no wise escape death. He determines, however, to serve his lady until death relieves him. This piece seems to be practically devoid of any mark of the poet's personality—either of that tone of sincerity

which is felt in his best lyrics, or of that humor which he often uses in so charming a manner in his later work.

The Compleynte of Venus is, in a certain sense, a continuation of *The Compleynte of Mars*. There is nothing to be found here, however, concerning Chaucer, the man. In the *Compleynte d'Amours* there is the lofty position of the lady—her power over the lover's life and death ; her disdain of his passion ; his feeling of unworthiness ; his protestation of service until death ; his unwillingness to blame the lady for his woes ; the conceit that the eyes are the lover's enemies ; the idea of sending a complaint to the cruel one on St. Valentine's Day,—all were the stock ideas of mediaeval love poetry.

The *Balade of Compleynte* has a ring of sincerity which impresses one. This poem produces an impression of genuine feeling. *Womanly Noblesse*, like the *Balade of Compleynte* shows genuine feeling. *Womanly Noblesse* shows the ability of the poet to stamp his own personality on his work. The delight with which the lover exalts his lady's worth by addressing her in the envoy in four different complimentary phrases, as well as in the simple humility with which he recommends himself, has a great deal of charm.

Some of these poems have been taken to furnish evidence of a hopeless love-affair of Chaucer's, but there is nothing certain about this. It was the custom for poets of Chaucer's period to write in the first person and to complain of the misfortunes of love. In *The Parlement of Foules*, one can see Chaucer's love for nature, his vivacity and his humor. This poem is a pure creation of Chaucer's own and is, to a certain extent, penetrated with the atmosphere of the books with which the poet was familiar. There are not only discreet references made to them, but numerous passages show the traces of remote suggestion. *The Hous of Fame* shows a bold and free invention and some great poetical conceiving. This poem belongs to a mind that has meditated upon the world. In none of his other poems has Chaucer displayed more

knowledge. The Arabic system of numbers, then lately introduced into Europe, the explosion of gun-powder, and the theory of sound can all be mentioned as examples of the topics with which he was familiar. *The Hous of Fame* is really introspective for in it Chaucer reviews his life and his aims. Chaucer was not happy in his love affair, and it may be for that reason that the walls of the temple of Venus are gloomy with the story of Aeneas and Dido's martyrdom.

In *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchess* one learns a little about Chaucer. In this poem he complains of sleeplessness, which is caused, he thinks, by a malady from which he has suffered for eight years, and which only one physician can remedy. To " drive the night away " he takes a book. This book is probably Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Chaucer, no doubt, reads the tale of Ceyx and Halcyone. He has no sooner finished reading this tale when he falls asleep and has a most unusual dream. It is in the month of May and his chamber is filled with the sweet music of birds. Walls and windows are all painted over with the Story of Troy, and the Romance of the Rose. When the poet awakens he finds that he still has in hand the book of *Alcyone and Seys the Kynge*, and he resolves to put the dream in rhyme.

The *Prologue* seems to be the most interesting part of *The Legende of Good Women*. Here one finds a change in the condition of the poet. Now he spends the whole day among the singing birds and worships the " Emperice and floure of floures all," the daisy. In the evening he hurries home and lies down to rest in a small arbor so that he may see the flower open, and, with this thought paramount, he falls asleep. Soon he dreams and the God of Love appears before him. He is leading by the hand a queen who looks like a daisy :

" And she was clad in real habite grene ;
A fret of gold she hadde next her heer,
And upon that a white crowne she beer,
With flourouns smale, and I shal nat lye,

For al the world ryght as a daysye
Y-corouned is with white leves lyte,
So were the flourouns of hire coroune white:
For of o perle, fyne, oriental,
Hire white coroune was i-maked al,
For which the white coroune above the grene
Made hire lyke a daysie for to sene."

The stage name of this beautiful lady is Alcestis, but "Goode Queen Alceste" is only the symbol of another queen to whom Chaucer is to deliver his book, when finished, at " Eltham or at Sheene." It is clear that the Alcestis of the *Prologue* represents Richard's Queen Anne, whose favorite flower may have been the daisy, as it was the poet's. The influence of Alcestis over the God of Love, and the way she makes this influence felt, refer to the commanding position which Queen Anne occupied.

In *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchess* Chaucer had a double task: he had to celebrate the excellencies of Blaunche and to depict the sorrows of her mourning lord. With these was a third essential of a purely personal kind ; the nature of the poem itself must be such as to conform or to anticipate the intimacy beginning, or desired by the poet, between himself and the Duke.

The knight's description of his early youth, where Chaucer may have had in mind his own early days ; how he first dedicated himself to the service of love, as it were, by destiny, and a feeling of duty ; how he then accidentally met with the beloved, and what impression this encounter made upon his heart—all these have great significance. One can readily see how Chaucer has all the traits of ideal womanhood full and vivid in his heart and in his soul. The refined, aesthetic, and moral sense of the poet are all seen in this poem.

Early in *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchess,* one can see Chaucer's dramatic tendency. The dialogue, with him, becomes a dramatic scene. Besides the dialogue, this poem contains two other parts: an "Overture," and, even before that a *Prologue.* The "Overture" consists of a series of

pictures which pass before the sleeping poet in agreeable succession and lead up to the dialogue. The bright May morning, the awakening in a chamber with beautifully painted windows, sweet singing birds—all these illustrate the poet's vivid ideas and his expressions of a deep sympathy with nature. In the *Prologue,* one can see certain characteristics and peculiarities which distinguish Chaucer as a story-teller. For example, one can take his elaboration of the chief points, while many other things are passed hurriedly over. Then he shows the preference for detailed psychological descriptions; in fact, peculiarities which reveal his tendency to dramatic form. In a certain sense, this poem marks the termination of that period of his life affected by his unfortunate love of which mention is made in the introduction of *The Dethe of Blaunche the Duchess.* In his later writings the old wound seems to be healed, but it is still frequently painful, it seems. It should, however, be remembered that poets in Chaucer's time wrote about disappointment in love. In this poem, Chaucer is shown to be a great lover of song.

In *The Parlement of Foules* one can see Chaucer's feeling for Nature—that feeling which comes to its fullest expression. His genius for characterization and his humor appear in a new light.

In *The Hous of Fame* one can see that Chaucer isolates himself more and more from the world of relaxation. He was a true love-poet to whom the longed-for happiness of love had never come. He was a worldly, joyous soul—always looking for new experiences, but he was condemned to the life of a recluse. He was an enthusiastic student of poetry and science. He imagines himself alone in a glorious, transparent temple, richly adorned with artistic hands, and filled with the august images whom his beloved poets had handed down to him. There was the burning of Troy; there was Dido; and there was Aeneas. As soon as he emerges, however, from that charmed circle, he finds himself in a desolate void. But soon he is on an eagle's wings and is carried

to the stars. The eagle points out to him the treasure he bears within himself—the poetic fancy, which can create for him a new and more beautiful world; and the power which can confer an immortality on mighty deeds. It is in spirit that he constructs the citadel of fame, reposing, as it does, on most perishable foundations—on a rock of ice. The names which are engraved on the rock of ice melt away in the beams of the sun, while those glittering on the northern side, although they are older, are still as fresh as they always were. Thus, enduring fame will grow up stronger in adversity than in prosperity. Players, singers, trumpet-blowers, and jugglers all stand around the brilliant hall which owes its beautifully engraved door as much to chance as to unusual art. Within, everything is glittering with gold and precious stones. Upon a jewelled throne, sits the goddess of Fame, with her shining, golden hair, her countless eyes, ears, tongues, and with her winged feet ; in one moment she grows from a pigmy into giant stature. The Muses who do homage to the goddess sing a beautiful song. Fame bears upon her shoulders the heraldic arms and dames of Hercules and Alexander. Two rows of columns, worked of different metals, serve as pedestals for the giant poets and historians, in whose works great deeds survive. There are Flavius Josephus ; the "Mighty Homer," with Dares and Dictys ; and Lollius-Guide de Colonna and Geoffrey of Monmouth, the "Latin poet, Virgil;" "the Venus's clerke, Ovid ;" Lucan ; Claudian ; and innumerable others. Men who seek the favor of the goddess fill the hall. Very few wish to be forgotten; almost all desire renown or, like Herostratus, a reputation, even if ever so bad. The goddess grants all the wishes or else she does the opposite to what some of them ask. Chaucer sees how everyone is overly anxious to relate that which he has scarcely heard. He sees how a lie and the truth fight for predominance. He sees how everybody runs to get the latest gossip—specially anything concerned with love affairs. This poem shows that Chaucer read a great deal.

II

THE DRAMATIC SCHEME OF THE CANTERBURY TALES, AS DEVELOPED IN THE PROLOGUE AND THE HEADLINKS AND ENDLINKS.

Since the great work of Chaucer is *The Canterbury Tales*, it is common, resting his merits on this, to speak of him as possessed of unusual dramatic power. The *Prologue* contains a series of characters introduced with sharp delineation; while the prologues connecting the several stories present brief, but spirited dialogue. The dramatic writer is more creative than descriptive; he works within and causes character to grow up before one from its living constituents in words and actions. Chaucer possessed that pictorial power which deals in a living way with men and their actions. His people come before one as a veritable troop of pilgrims, each with the mark of an individual character.

Something, perhaps, of dramatic effect may be discovered in the support and illustration which the characters receive from the aptness of the tales put into their mouths; the very second the pilgrim begins to speak, he is brought upon the stage, and becomes an actor. Yet even here he is not essentially dramatic but is engaged in illustrating the characters and adventures of others, instead of setting to view his own life and actions. A parallel for the prologue to Chaucer is not to be found in the entire range of literature because there never was an age so abounding in matter for comedy. Chaucer is dramatic because he makes his characters live before one, in their feeling and in their thought, by minute and delicate touches of observation, with almost perfect dramatic force. He is dramatic because he has made each spoken word of each character and each action of each character spring as inevitable necessity from the soul of the character that he has imagined. He has created a definite

dramatic problem and a definite dramatic solution because he has linked all the parts of action together, with great skill, into a dramatic unity. Chaucer makes great use of link passages.

The dramatic scheme of *The Canterbury Tales* as developed in the *Prologue* and the Headlinks and the Endlinks stands out in contrast against the most monotonous background of his two earlier experiments, the *Tragedies and the Legend*. Chaucer's design or scheme is a pilgrimage to Canterbury. One can read each tale separately as though it were a unit. There is no end of variety since each story is told by an entirely different person. There is someting to appeal to every one. All drama must please the people as a whole and, if it is unable to do this, it has missed its mark. The strength of the drama lies in the breadth of its appeal. It misses its purpose unless it appeals to all types—the young and the old, the educated and the uneducated. It is not successful when it attracts only a few. It must appeal to all the people with all their divergencies of culture. Those who do not fancy low comedy may find something to satisfy their taste.

> " And therefore, who so list it not yheere,
> Turne over the leef, and chose another tale;
> For he shal finde ynowe, both grete and smale,
> Of storeal thing that toucheth gentilesse,
> And eek moralitee and holinesse."

The Prioress Headlink and tale.—The gracious and gentle personality and conduct of the Prioress have a powerful effect on the Host. With the most courteous, deferential diffidence he ventures to request of her a tale, if she would be kind enough to give one. The character of her tale and her way of telling it bear out the conclusion that the affections of the Prioress are on the surface. Her story is of " Younge Heyle of Lincoln," the little character who loved to sing the "Alma Redemption Mater." He was murdered by the Jews and cast into a pit, and was found through his song which persisted until the abbot

raised the miraculous grain from his tongue. This pathetic story illustrates again Chaucer's wonderful power in the treatment of tenderness and innocence, and his tendency to draw the interest from the mere story and to center it on the nature and the personality of the principal personage.

The Pardoner's Endlink.—The Pardoner's revelation of self and his tragic narrative have relieved the company of the depression caused by the story of Virginia. The tale of the revelers calls for relief. Chaucer gives this in this endlink. With frozen impudence the Pardoner in all gravity bids the pilgrims step up and pay their money and enjoy the virtues of his relics. The Host, furious, bursts out in a torrent of abuse against him. The Pardoner sulks in silent rage. The Knight reconciles them ; they kiss ; and all ride on the way. Thus ends fragment C without any connection with the following tale.

The Clerk's Headlink.—The Host turns to the Clerk who has been riding very quietly. He bids him leave study and tell a "merry thing of adventures" eschewing figures and "high style"—and not to preach. Then he proposes a tale he learned at Padua of a worthy clerk now dead, " Francyes Petrark." This prologue, the Clerk's statement that he had learned the story from Padua, has been carried out to suggest that Chaucer himself met Petrarch on the mission to Genoa in 1373.

Great as were the many gifts of Geoffrey Chaucer to English literature, none of them can be compared to the wonderful storehouse of *The Canterbury Tales*, especially their *Prologue*, and the headlinks and the endlinks. They are full of pictures, freely, firmly, and crisply drawn by a keen observer. They show to one the men and the women of the time, sketching both their doings and their modes of thought in an inimitable style. In this way they form the essential material of which history is made, and they come unsophisticated from one writing of his own times. One finds out much concerning Chaucer, the man. First of all, he was a lover of men.

"And shortly, whan the sonne was to reste,
So hadde I spoken with hem everychon."

He was modest and unobtrusive, keeping near enough to hear the tales of the other pilgrims, but not forcing himself forward. The Host did not know him, but at the close of the tale of the Prioress called to him :

"What man artow?
Thou lookest as thou woldest fynde an hare ;
For ever upon the ground I see thee stare."

A reference to the Prologue to the *Parson's Tale* shows that Chaucer, the pilgrim (and Chaucer, the man) was in the habit of regarding himself as a gnomon of six feet in height when he wanted to tell the time. From the others there is only one tale each and two of them are unfinished. Some tales which have been written previously or which receive a different place in the work from that originally intended for them have not received the alterations required for their new position. The connective narrative of the procession has many breaks.

As soon as Chaucer had made his plan for the tales, he probably worked at them as the spirit moved him, for they are not uniform. He began or left off almost anywhere, but as a finished picture never entirely corresponds to the original design, however great the artist, so it was with Chaucer; the picture, constantly before his eye, and so often interrupted in its execution, was necessarily modified in many points. This explains the state in which one finds *The Canterbury Tales.* This vast work appears as a series of fragments. The first fragment reveals to one the overflowing joy of a creative impulse. At the beginning, though, stands the general *Prologue.* This consists of three parts of unequal length—a short exordium "when people long to go on a pilgrimage" (thenne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages). In the second part the pilgrims are placed before one's eyes. Chaucer lingers longer on the actions and

characters of his heroes than on their outward appearance. It is only by their actions that one would ever recognize them again. Chaucer has a good scheme of making contrasts. For instance, he separates the Physician from the Lawyer; the Sompnour from the Friar; the Student is placed immediately after the Merchant; and the Parson is placed after the Wife of Bath.

Notice the great effect of the final traits in the picture of the economical, suspicious Reeve :

"Tukked he was, as is a frere, aboute,
And evere he rood the hindreste of our route."

The last part of the *Prologue* is longer than the first. It begins with an address from the poet to the reader. He says that one must make allowances for the realism in his stories. He says that one must not think it is his fault if the characters act the way they do. Whoever tells a story after another is bound to give it verbatim as he heard it, "as nigh as ever he can," even with all its undesirable qualities. Next one is introduced to the pleasures of the old English tavern life. There is a brief description of the Host and he is immediately set into action. After this the pilgrimage is started and the tales begin at once. The plan of *The Canterbury Tales* as outlined in the *Prologue* evidently calls for a narrative conclusion telling of the events at the end of the pilgrimage, for one hundred and twenty-four tales and for the narrative links between the tales. The work is preserved in nine fragments which are constituted as follows : *Prologue*, Tales of Knight, Miller, Reeve, and Cook, with the connecting links ; Man of Law's headlink, *Prologue*, tale, and endlink ; Tale of Shipman, tales and links of Prioress, Thopas, Melibus, Monk, Nun's Priest, and endlink of Nun's Priest ; Tale of Physician, Words of the Host, and the *Prologue* and Tale of the Pardoner ; *Prologues* and Tales of the Wife of Bath, Friar, and Summoner ; *Prologue* and Tale of Clerk ; *Prologue*, Tale, and Epilogue of Merchant ; *Prologue* and Tale of Squire ; *Prologue* and Tale of Franklin ; Tale of second Nun

and *Prologue* and Tale of Canon's Yeoman; *Prologue* and Tale of Manciple; *Prologue* and Tale of Parson.

The statement in the Parson's headlink would seem to indicate that the plan of telling two tales on the way to Canterbury was altered to the telling of one. "Wel nyne and twenty is a companye" may indicate an original number of pilgrims differing from that of the *Prologue* as it stands.

The links between the tales are of two sorts—headlinks and endlinks. The former prepares for the next story and the latter contains an epilogue or a comment on the preceding story. Sometimes, however, a link fulfils both purposes. Such are the links: Knight, Miller, Miller-Reeve, Reeve-Cook, Shipman-Prioress, Prioress-Thopas, Thopas-Melibus, Melibus-Monk, Monk-Nun Priest's, Physician-Pardoner, Wife-Friar, Friar-Summoner, Clerk-Merchant, Squire-Franklin, and second Nun-Canon's Yeoman. There is merely a headlink before each of the following Man of Law, Squire, Clerk, Manciple, Physician. Wife and second Nun have no headlink; Cook, Pardoner, Summoner, and Franklin have no endlink. The pieces in the last three of the groups just mentioned occur at the unconnected beginning or end of one of the fragments.

After the Prologue is the Miller's headlink (A3167-86); his duty is to record the facts as they exactly are; he must not be held responsible for irregular conduct. It is the pilgrims themselves who must be indicted.

The Man of Law's headlink (60).—The day is the 18th of April (135-6). The host rouses the company; it is ten o'clock. Time passes. They should be at their stories. Several important points are encountered in this link. A number of pilgrims who are going to Thomas à Becket's tomb at Canterbury meet in the Tabard Inn at Southwark. There they find Chaucer and he joins the party. The host offers to go with them on condition that the company should try to shorten the journey by telling stories on the way to and from Canterbury. Everybody must take his part, but the host takes the part of

guide. The one who tells the best tale will have a supper at the expense of the rest.

This poem offers familiar meetings among people who may otherwise never have met in all their lives. The valiant Knight has sought battles and adventures in every land. He and his son join the pilgrimage. Then there is the Yeoman, the Knight's servant. Next comes a wealthy Franklin with his epicurean habits, and his hospitality. The Prioress is a most attractive figure—a gentle lady of fine breeding. With her she has a nun who is her "Chapelaine" and a strong-necked priest. There are two other priests of the company who are strong physically. The Sompnour is rather repulsive to some readers. He acts as a sort of bailiff to the church court of his diocese. His ruddy face, full of running sores, his small piglike eyes, his black uneven eyebrows, his scrubby beard all make the children afraid, and it is no wonder that his power in the diocese was founded upon fear! He was selfish, greedy; was venal, cruel, hot-blooded, lustful; he loved garlic and onions and strong wine, and when he was drunk he acted like a mad person. This very repulsive figure is followed by his friend, the Pardoner, who has his wallet "brimful of pardons come from Rome all hot." His business he understands very well and he can make more money in a day than the parson could get in two months. He carried an old pillowcase, which he represented as our Lady's veil, and caused some pig's bones in a glass to be worshipped as holy relics. He was always admiring his long, thin flaxen hair. He was anything but attractive. The Parson is poor, simple, loving, self-sacrificing, patient, and, at the same time, intelligent. But he is not the only intelligent one, for there is the Oxford scholar, a Lawyer, and a Physician. The first of these is unusually fond of books, and, in appearance, he is hollow-eyed, and thin; and, in a threadbare cloak, he rode a skinny jade, "for he had gotten him as yet no benefice, and he despised any worldly office"... "Not a word spake he more than was need, and that was said in form, short and quick, and full of high sentence." The

Lawyer, " a Sergeant of Law," has an air "of great reverence ;" much respected, very busy, " and yet he seemed busier than he was." He has many robes and fees from his large practice. The Physician knows all the learned authors on his subject, and practises astrology and natural magic with success upon his patients. There is a good understanding between him and the druggists—for their mutual gain, of course. " His study is but little on the Bible ;" he lived fairly well, and keeps his money well in mind. " For gold in physic is a cordial, therefore, he loved gold in special." With this group there is the Manciple, a kind of steward. He is rather genteel. He is able to fool all the thirty men he serves. Then " a Merchant there was with forked beard," in motley dress, " and on his head a beaver hat of Flanders make." " His boots clasped neatly," on his feet; a portly gentleman most adroit in managing his affairs. Then there is a sunburnt Shipman who knows all the havens " from Gothland to the Cape of Finisterre," and every creek in Britanny and Spain; but he liked wine too well. There are five Mechanics; a Haberdasher, a Carpenter, a Weaver, a Dyer, and a Tapestry-Maker. " It is full fair to be yclept 'Madam.' " The Miller is a thick-set, broad-shouldered fellow, with a red beard and a big mouth. On the very end of his nose was a wart, and thereupon grew " a tuft of hairs, red as the bristles of a sowe's ears." " He could steal corn cleverly, and at a wrestling he always bore away the prize." The Reeve, or Sheriff, is landlord on the estate of a lord, and had learned the carpenter's trade in his youth. He is shrewd and greedy. Now the plowman comes into the scene. He follows faithfully the commands of Christ, and especially the commands of a brotherly love. The Wife of Bath speaks for herself, and needs very little introduction. Of course Chaucer was in the pilgrimage, and two other persons join the party on the way. The Host presides over these tale-telling pilgrims. He is handsome and is well built. Although he attends well to the interests of his guests, he never forgets his own. He is very careful to avoid quarreling or to settle disputes.

He is a real peace-maker. He has a wife at home who is always quarreling, but she does not seem to have robbed him of his good temper.

These characters have been touched upon to show what a wide range of characters Chaucer has chosen. He intended each of his characters to tell four tales: two upon the road to Canterbury and two upon the return. Afterwards, he thought half of this number would suffice, but even half of this half was never told. Six or seven of the pilgrims never speak at all.

> "(Foure) of the clokke it was tho, as I gesse,
> For ellevene foot, or litel moore or lesse,
> My shadows was at thilke tyme, as there,
> Of swiche feet as my lengthe parted were
> In sixe feet equal of proporcioun."

The fragment containing the *Parson's Tale* was unquestionably intended as the conclusion of the whole. It was probably composed at a time when Chaucer no longer entertained the hope of accompanying his pilgrims back from Canterbury to Southwark. This was probably the reason for joining this link to the Manciple's tale. All the pilgrims have fulfilled their obligations to tell a tale, except the Parson. The day is nearly over, and there is a feeling that their place of destination is now not far distant. But it is not of this journey's end that the Parson speaks, but of that heavenly Jerusalem to which he wishes here to show his listeners the way.

The Parson's sermon treats of repentance, and thus we have Chaucer's great poem ending with a pious exhortation to repentance.

III

The subject of Marriage in the Canterbury Tales

The subject of marriage in The Canterbury Tales begins with the wife of Bath's Prologue, and ends with the Tale of the Franklin. Marriage is discussed as the most important problem in society. The act ends when the problem has been solved. The central figure in this act of the Comedy is the Wife of Bath. She starts the argument. Her doctrines are mentioned several times, and her subject is Tribulation in Marriage. She declares that she can speak on this subject with the authority of an expert. Of course she can, since she has outlived five husbands! She declares that when God sends her the sixth she is ready to welcome him.

> "Yblest be God, that I have wedded fyve:
> Welcome the sixte, whan that ever he shal!"

Although the Prologue was really a long socio-religious dissertation, its sincerity relieved it from any dryness. The Wife of Bath met with no interruption through a talk recorded in eight hundred and thirty lines. Some one told her that she should have married but once. She finds no warrant for it in the Scriptures.

> "That gentil text kan I wel understonde.
> Eek, wel I woot, he seyde myn housbonde
> Sholde lete fader and mooder, and take me;
> But of no nombre mencioun made he,
> Of bigamye, or of octagamye;
> Why sholde men speke of it vileynye."

She says the celibate life may be a holy thing, but that it does not suit her. Just as she says she shall have a husband who shall be her debtor and thrall, the Pardoner interrupts her. Evidently he has enjoyed what she had to say, for he praises

her and says she is a noble preacher. He also says, however, that what she says is enough to scare a man away from marriage. Then she tells him that her tale is not yet begun. He begs her to spare nothing "and teche us yonge men of youre praktike." She consents and goes on with her story. At the beginning, however, she says that her intention is but to make sport. The whole substance of her talk is that the wife is the head of the house. Obedience is the husband's duty. This is the only hope for happiness in wedded life. Who could know any better than the Wife of Bath? She is quite happy when she looks back on the joys of her life:

> "But, Lord Crist! whan that it remembreth me
> Upon my yowthe, and on my jolitee,
> It tikleth me aboute myn herte roote!
> Unto this day it dooth myn herte boote
> That I have had my world, as in my tyme."

The Wife of Bath is a very unusual character. The pilgrims are very attentive to her tales. But the Prioress does not understand her. The widow, for some reason, directs her talk to the clerk. She says that it is an impossibility for clerks to speak well of wives. She tells how she married Jankin, a clerk of Oxford; how she gave him all the land and fee which she had ever been given. She says that afterwards she repented it very much because he would do nothing that she wanted him to do. Once he hit her on the ear because she tore a leaf out of his book. She became angry because her husband read a book she did not want him to read.[1] Every night and day when he had leisure and freedom from his other occupations he would read this book about wicked women. This was too much for the widow, the Wife of Bath! As a final thrust she says it is impossible for any clerk to speak well of women and that when she is old and ugly, he sits down and in his dotage writes that women cannot keep their marriage vow!

[1] *Valerius and Theophrastus.*

Instead of the clerk's speaking next in order to retaliate, he watches his chance. When the wife says her prologue has been finished, the Friar shows his interest by saying :

" Well, dame, this is a long preamble of a tale!" The Sumner reprimands him :

> " 'Lo! quod the Somonour, 'Goddes armes two!
> A frere wol entremette him ever-mo.
> Lo, goode men, a flye, and eek a frere,
> Wol falle in every dysshe and mateere.
> What spekestow of ' preambulacioun ' ?
> What? amble, or trotte, or pees or go sit doun!
> Thou lettest oure disport in this manere.' "

The Host checked the quarrel that was about to take place, and told the wife to continue.

> " ' Al redy, sire,' quod she, ' right as yow lest ;
> If I have licence of this worthy Frere.'
> ' Yis, dame,' quod he, ' tel forth, and I wol heere.' "

Thus the tale proceeds. There is no dispute between the Wife of Bath and the Friar. They understand each other very well. The object of the Sumner was to snub the Friar. There exists professional jealousy between these two men. The Wife, however, cares nothing for Sumner.

The Wife's tale of what women most desire is extremely interesting. She tells this story to clinch the moral of her sermon. The chief ambition of woman is sovereignty over men. King Arthur, who found himself in a predicament, let his wife do the choosing. The result was a very happy one. They lived together happily. The Wife of Bath says that those who do not yield themselves entirely to their wives may die early. Such is the moral of her story!

Every one, thus far, seems to be greatly interested in the Wife of Bath. The Friar compliments her but quickly changes the subject in order to get even with the Sumner who had corrected him for laughing at the Wife's preamble. The Friar

tells an amusing story of a Sumner who was carried off by the devil. The Sumner became so angry that he stood up in his stirrups and made a sarcastic remark about begging friars. The Wife is really the cause of the quarrel, although she is not conscious of it. The end of the journey for the day closes with the Sumner's Tale.

The Host must think that the subject of matrimony is a dangerous one, for he does not ask the Wife to speak on this subject. Instead, he calls on the Clerk of Oxford to begin the story-telling for the next morning. Harry asks the Clerk to tell a merry tale in plain language—not in the high style of which he is doubtless a master. The Clerk gives his consent and begins the tale of Griselda, which he learned at Padua from Petrarch. Now is a splendid chance for the Clerk to retaliate, and he does! The sting of the wife's remark is still felt.

"Clerks cannot possibly speak well of wives."

He tells the story of a patient and obedient wife whose devotion to her husband was proof against every trial. The whole theme of the story is wifely fidelity and woman's great endurance in time of trouble. The pilgrims must have smiled at the scheme of the Clerk. He has succeeded in vindicating his order from her disparaging remark. He has retaliated without making any personal remarks about the wife. To cap the climax, the Clerk says, "This story is not meant as an exhortation to wives to be as patient as Griselda, for that would transcend the powers of human nature. It teaches all of us, men and women alike, how we should submit ourselves to the afflictions that God sends. The Marquis Walter was a ruthless experimenter with souls. God is not like that. The trials He sends are for our good, and we should accept them with Christian resignation."

The Clerk has defended his order by praising women and he has emphasized wifely obedience. All of a sudden he turns to the Wife of Bath and offers to recite a song which he has

just composed in honour of her, and of the sect which she represents "May God establish both her way of life and her principles; for the world would suffer if they should not prevail:"

> "Whose lyf and al hir secte God mayntene
> In hye maistrie, and elles were it scathe!"

And thus he declaims his Envoy in praise of feminism. His address is for all married women. It points out to them the good example of the Wife of Bath.

"But hearken to one word, lordings, ere, I depart; it were full hard now-a-days to find in a whole town three Griseldas, or even two. For if they were so tested, the gold of them is now so ill alloyed with brass, that though the coin be fair to the eye, it would break in two rather than bend. And so far love of the Wife of Bath,—whom and all her kind may God maintain in high mastery, it were pity else,—with heart fresh and lusty I will say you a song to gladden you, I trust; and let us cease from earnestful matters."

The clerk is a moral philosopher. He proved his competence and his sincerity. Kittredge, an authority on the works of Chaucer says, "It is one of the humors of literature that this Envoy is traditionally judged a violation of dramatic propriety, as being out of accord with the Clerk's character. On the contrary, as we have seen, it is adjusted, with the nicest art, not only to his character, but also to the situation and the relations among the dramatis personae.

The Wife of Bath's tale reveals her character. In other words, her revelations apply to herself and to attempt to extend them to wives in general is as foolish as it would be to interpret (as Kittredge says) Iago's cynical speeches as Shakespeare's satire on man and husbands.

The last line of the Clerk's advice to wives—to let their husbands "chafe and weep and wring and wail" is taken up by the merchant:

> "Wepyng and waylyng, care and oother sorwe
> I knowe ynough, on even and a-morwe,"
> Quod the Merchant, "and so doon othere mo
> That wedded been."

"There is no likeness between my wife and Griselda! I have been married only two months, and I have suffered more than any bachelor in a life-time!" There is much satire in the tale that follows. The merchant has married the wrong woman and one is not long in finding that out. The dotard January is more the object of the merchant's satire than May, the young wife. The folly of man is the merchant's subject and it is also another reply to the Wife of Bath. It seems as if one of her husbands had returned to give his side of the case.

The Host listens attentively to the Merchant's tale. He is happy to be able to say that his own wife is true. He continues, however, to wish that he were not married. He does not tell all his wife's faults because the list would "dizzy the arithmetic of memory."

The Host feels that there has been enough said about matrimony. He says the Squire must know much about love. Therefore he calls on him to talk about it.

> "Squier, com neer, if it youre wille be,
> And sey somwhat of love, for certes ye
> Konnen theron as muche as any man."

The Squire's Tale is the romance of Cambuscan and the Brazen Horse. The Franklin wants to found a family. His son who has low tastes is a grief to him. He compliments the Squire on his "gentillesse," and contrasts him with the ungracious heir. The Host becomes impatient and says, "A straw for your 'gentillesse!'" "Come on and tell us a story." The Franklin gives his consent and begins the story of Arveragus and Dorigen. He is not so easily rebuked by the Host. He continues the tale of matrimony and solves the problem by an appeal to "gentillesse." He selects a story which emphasized

this quality. The plot is concerned with a knight who is a husband, a clerk who is a magician, and a squire who is a lover. As the story goes, Arveragus, a noble knight of Brittany, wins the love of the lady Dorigen, who "takes him for her husband and her lord." The lover, through pure "gentillesse," says that he will always be her servant. For this "gentillesse," Dorigen vows that she will always be an obedient wife. And so one has the moral of the story—the married lovers live together happily. They have the give and take spirit. This, of course, is all the result of "gentillesse."

According to the courtly system, there can be no love in marriage. The man is supposed to be the master, and mastery always drives away love. The Franklin does not agree with this at all. He says that with real love there is forbearance. This is the solution he gives to the whole problem.

LOUISE A. NELSON

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE DUTCH RAILWAYS

II

Passenger trains are classified into express, fast, international, local, suburban, workmen's special, etc. Goods Services are also similarly classified into express, international, perishables, boat, minerals, etc. Each train is handled in operation according to its order of importance. There is no control system for train movements. The country being small little need is felt for running passenger trains between midnight and 5 A.M., during which period most of the goods trains are run.

All trains are booked and charted on diagrams, including freight services and parcels trains. Some trains are noted as " Facultatieve " or to be run if required, corresponding to the German " Bedarfs Zug." Trains are known by their numbers, and noted accordingly on the time tables and charts. When two or more trains are joined together they carry one number. So also when one train is split up into two at a junction to go to two directions each part bears the same number as the parent train. Separate groups of numbers are used to denote different classes of trains and the staff can at once know a train from the number. This saves a lot of unnecessary description, specially in signalling and reporting.

The actual working of trains is done with the help of time diagrams and not with tables as in England. There are some 20 sectional time charts prepared to help the train staff and stations in their working. Four service time tables are also compiled for four divisions. These time tables are made from the diagrams and not *vice versa*. The train operating staff consider the working of trains with the help of charts much easier than with service time tables, and in fact cannot believe that some of the British railways are worked absolutely without the help of charts or diagrams.

On the charts different kinds of ink are used to indicate the main classification of the train, and the thickness of the lines denote the importance of each train. The Engineering and Locomotive Departments supply the point to point permissible running times and the charts are prepared on that basis. Special trains are arranged and booked trains are cancelled by station-masters, under the guidance of Traffic (operating) Inspectors. Clearances of track are at once visible on the chart and whenever any alteration is effected all train signal and station staff concerned are informed both by circulars as well as by each other's neighbours. Each sectional chart contains all necessary information about signal boxes and blocks, gradient, distance speed restrictions, if any, etc.

The loading and time-keeping of trains are carefully studied with the help of traffic and operating statistics. Station-masters and signal-men are required regularly to report and explain all delays, and cases of habitual late runnings are followed up by the inspectors. Alterations in arrangements are effected in subsequent periods of working if experience so demands.

A few words should be said about goods terminals, particularly at the docks. In Holland the peculiar circumstances demand ample railway facilities at the docks and waterside stations for otherwise traffic may be driven away to the canals and waterways. The railway company is not slow to recognise this. The goods station arrangements on the river Maas, at Rotterdam, are magnificent, and stand in splendid co-operation with the marvellous dockyard facilities of the place. The station yard serves directly some of the largest private and railway warehouses and berths where loading and unloading is done with the help of giant cross-over cranes from the biggest Holland-America line steamers. The chief goods station offices are situated at one end in a circular building. Public business is dealt with in a spacious hall in the centre, comfortably furnished and very well heated. The windows for business are arranged on a semi-circular plan and the offices are berthed one after the

other in the order the public have to move. The station agent sits in one corner and next to him in order are the departments of wagon distribution, inwards arrivals, interchange or transfer, outwards departing, accountants, cash, and customs. The whole office is very well lighted and ventilated, each section having free opening outside.

In some of the stations special arrangements such as lifts, cranes, warehouses, etc., are provided for the handling and storing of special kinds of traffic such as coal, meat and fish, flowers and vegetables, machinery, grains, milk, etc. Proper and adequate provisions are also made in most places for co-ordinating work with road motors and vehicles.

One of the most important marshalling yards of the Dutch Railways is that at Maarn near Utrecht, where the greater part of the long-distance international traffic converges. It is an extensive yard, very carefully laid out, and is particularly free from that cramping and congested appearance which is so striking in most of the British lines. The station is 1,800 metres in length. Including the two running lines there are 29 tracks. Twenty of these are worked from both ends, with a long crossover line in the middle dividing up the whole yard into two sections. Ten deadend spurs butt out on the southern side and provide additional shunting yards for working from the east end. The average capacity of each track is about 45 wagons, a few of the longest ones holding upwards of 80 from one end. Eleven to twelve hundred wagons are dealt with in the yard per day in summer, and in winter the work increases to 13 and 14 hundred wagons per diem. On the eastern end marshalling is done on a hump helped by an efficient signal box from which the points are worked with electric power. At the other end, where also the switches are worked electrically, flat shunting is done with " frog " type or similar shunting and pilot engines. At busy hours four to five engines are at work at both ends and in the centre. There are 80 shunters and foremen in addition to signal box staff and yard master. All tracks are specially

allotted to particular classes of traffic, according to places of destination. There are special roads kept open for pilot engine movements. A repairing shop is provided at one end of the yard and there are cripple sidings leading up to it. Men's rest room and the station or yard master's office are situated conveniently in the centre and there are lighting and watering arrangements, as necessary. The whole yard is situated on one side of the running lines and the marshalling as well as the line working are controlled by three signal boxes, one at each end and one in the middle. On the western end there are one locomotive shop, several watering places, and an electricity transformer station.

Coupling and uncoupling are done in Holland with the hand, the shunters going between the wagons every time. Few accidents are reported on this account, though. At Maarn, however, shunting poles are in use partially. Wagons are fitted with double screw coupling and therefore the use of hand becomes essential. As has already been noted most of the wagons have no brakes. Braking is effected at the time of marshalling with the help of iron shoes or skids. Sand is used on the line to prevent slipping and to effect the grip of the skids if otherwise slippery. Wooden sprags or logs are also used to stop wagons in motion if necessary.

Sirens, whistles, gestures, and hand signals are used to communicate advice from shunters or foremen to drivers and signalmen. It may be of interest to note here that a system of car-retarder is in use in the Sustern marshalling yard in South Limburg, where daily some thirty loaded coal trains are marshalled over and above the handling of empty trains The retarder is worked by hydro-electric power which is automatically regulated according to the total weight of the loaded wagon. This retarder is the only of its kind in Europe.

Marshalling at the docks is of special interest. Here also the Dutch railways have not been slow to provide modern clearing and handling arrangements.

The rates and fares in Holland are governed by limits fixed under law. All charges must be approved by the Minister and within certain limits concessions may be made for conveyance of bulk traffic, particularly when there is keen competition with water transport. The Dutch railways have in this respect a reasonable complaint against the Government. The waterways in Holland are maintained and provided free, to all inland crafts and vessels, by the Government out of public funds. No restriction is placed on their rates and fares. The railways in Holland have on the other hand to meet heavy interest charges on the capital expenditure for the rolling stock as well as for the roadbed. The competition between rail and water transport is essentially unequal, and this irregularity is aggravated by Government check on railway rates and fares while the canal carriers are left uncontrolled. As the State is directly interested in the financial provisions for both, there is no reason why the Government should not insist on a healthy co-operation and co-ordination of work as between the railways and water transport in the country.

The position and the duties of the railways are governed by the Railway Law of 1875 and regulations made under it. The operation and handling of traffic are also controlled by the same legislation. In cases of complaints and acute disputes, traders approach, either directly or through various Chambers of Commerce, the Railway Company, the Governmental Supervisory body (Rijkstaezicht), or the Minister of Canals and Railways direct. Questions of law are decided by usual courts or by any special Tribunal appointed by Government.

As regards demurrage, the law gives the railway administration a right to raise charges after a period of 8 working hours from the time a wagon is placed at the disposal of the trader. This seems to be very hard for those with British experience. It must, however, be admitted, that the British practice in the matter is much too liberal, and does not make for quick release of the freight stock, thereby increasing the

efficiency of the total supply. In actual practice, if the notice of arrival of a wagon reaches the trader between 8 A.M. and 12 noon he is permitted free time till 12 noon on the following day. If the notice is received after 12 traders may unload till 6 P.M. on the next day without extra charge. For loading, the free period allowed is 24 consecutive hours from the time of placing a wagon. Traders can ask the railways to supply wagons at any stated hour. Demurrage is charged at a higher rate per hour after the first day in order to prevent long detention, as for example, at the rate of 10 cents per hour for the first 24 hours and 20 cents per hour for the second or subsequent days. Formerly, these were prohibitively heavy, being 60 cents per hour for the first 24 hours. For private sidings the times are calculated on the basis of booked train-time or on the pilot engine time, so that if a wagon is not ready for haulage at the time the train is to depart the traders have to bear charges for the whole length of time till the next train is due.

In concluding this account it will not be out of place to mention a few other interesting things. The country is peculiarly flat and the life of the people as well as the nature of the roads are peculiarly suited to the use of push bicycles. One is amazed to find the large number of bikes in use on the roads. The railways have a very difficult task to perform in the handling of the large number of bicycles brought daily to the stations, especially in summer, either for conveyance with the passengers or for temporary storage. During summer, special vans have to be provided on almost every passenger and parcels train for this traffic, and on certain lines special bicycle trains are run. At the same time every passenger station has to make room for warehousing or storing the bikes for a few hours for a small fee. Private persons often supplement the storage facilities at places adjoining the stations, and make decent incomes out of them.

The restaurant and dining arrangements at stations are made by private agencies on contract. The station waiting-halls are used for service of tea and meals, and although passengers

can stop there without ordering any food or drink the atmosphere created is such that very few people can do without either.

The Dutch railways do no cartage work by themselves, either for collection or for delivery. But this work is done by the Allgemeine Transport Company which is a daughter of the Dutch Railways. The absence of any ancillary business, such as hotels and dock services, is a specially notable feature of the railways there. Unlike England, the railways in Holland are well hit by competition from air services. The Dutch are very enterprising in the air, and already the railways are faced with the problem of diversion of a substantial portion of highly paying traffic to air transport. This has particularly affected the conveyance of long-distance first class passengers, registered parcels, cut-flowers, gold and bullion, commercial papers and stock, and some mails.

The Dutch railways however do not compare unfavourably with other countries in the matter of fares for passengers. The following table of ordinary fares is compiled to give an approximate idea of the cost of travel in different European countries :

Distance.	50 kilometers. (31·25 miles)			100 kilometres. (62·50 miles)			300 kilometres. (187·50 miles)		
Class.	1st.	2nd.	3rd.	1st.	2nd.	3rd.	1st.	2nd.	3rd.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Netherlands	0 4 1	0 3 3	0 2 4	0 8 2	0 6 6	0 4 7	1 2 0	0 17 6	0 12 3
Germany [1]	0 5 5	0 3 10	0 2 6	0 10 10	0 7 6	0 5 0	1 12 5	1 2 8	0 15 0
Switzerland	0 6 0	0 4 3	0 3 0	0 12 0	0 8 5	0 6 0	1 8 8	1 0 2	0 14 5
Sweden	0 11 0	0 5 6	0 3 7	0 19 10	0 9 11	0 6 8	2 4 7	1 2 4	0 14 11
Belgium	0 3 2	0 2 2	0 1 3	0 6 3	0 4 4	0 2 6	0 18 7	0 12 10	0 7 5
France	0 3 10	0 2 7	0 1 8	0 7 7	0 5 1	0 3 4	1 2 7	0 15 8	0 9 11
England	0 6 7	...	0 3 11	0 13 1	...	0 7 10	1 19 1	...	1 3 5

[1] Figures for Germany refer to the tariff before the 7th October, 1928, when the scales of passenger fares were revised. The present rates are 3·7 pf. for 3rd, 5·6 pf. for 2nd and 11·2 pf. for 1st class travel per kilometre. For internal traffic there are only two classes on passenger trains now—the second and the 3rd—instead of the former 3 classes.

It is hoped that the present progressive period of the Railways in Holland will be maintained, and the increased efficiency of the working of the lines under such great difficulties will be an example to all those who are more favourably placed.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

PAGANISM

God gave me a mouth to smile and to laugh with,
He gave me two arms to embrace and entwine with
He gave me two eyes to see the world's beauty ;
He gave me a brain to understand man with.
He gave me a body to live and to love with ;
He gave me a soul, but I know not what for !
But somehow I feel that I'm meant to enjoy it ;
To dance in the sun ; to drink deep of life ;
To take all the flowers that grow in Youth's Spring
He made me and gave me these sense of mine,
They cannot be carnal, they may be divine !

LILY STRICKLAND

THOMAS HARDY

(1840-1928)

Just over two years ago Thomas Hardy died. Hardy's death was practically the end of an era. The long span of four score and seven years linked him backwards with the Victorian age and far forwards with the modern. Hardy achieved the rare destiny of a man of letters, of being studied, interpreted and criticized as a classic during his own life-time. Yet it is a curious fact that inspite of being universally read and admired, he was constantly tormented by the thought that he was not only well understood but misunderstood as well. With his characteristic tragic outlook both in his verse and prose, Hardy could hardly be a popular writer and from the particular nature and quality of his philosophy it could not be appreciated except by a few. Hardy has been the victim of much unjust and undeserved criticism. Critics have complained against him just because he has not written about happiness. To find merely "a bitter contempt as of a disillusioned sensualist" or " crass Philistinism " in Hardy's view of life, betrays a very superficial and prejudiced reading of his works. Mr. G. K. Chesterton undertakes to characterize him as " the village atheist blaspheming only the village idiot." Such criticism is not only cruel but ludicrously absurd. To accept this is to forget the great artistic value and beauty of his poetry and also to ignore the novelist's strong, vigorous masculine mind. If we closely study the growth and development of his philosophy and the progress of his art in the light of the literary tendencies and ideals before and after Zola it would not be so difficult to evaluate correctly Hardy's criticism of life. It is just possible that at the end of his long career of 87 years he fell far behind the taste of the time as once he had been in advance of it. In modern fiction since nothing matters much, Hardy's type of tragic emotion is

perhaps utterly unnecessary in solving the world's riddle. At any rate, Hardy was not that kind of a writer who deliberately made the worst of things and naturally we should judge his attitude for whatever it is worth, pessimistic or gloomy if you like, in so far as it has been artistically expressed in strict conformity with the standards of all creative art. It should be clearly understood that Hardy's pessimism is not in the least personal. It is both philosophic and temperamental. Hardy himself frankly states his own view thus :

"Differing natures find their tongue in the presence of differing spectacles. Some natures become vocal by tragedy, some are vocal by comedy and it seems to me that to whichever of these aspects of life a writer's instinct for expression readily responds, to that he should allow it to respond."

In other words, Hardy's own temperament has conditioned his pessimistic view of life. Indeed, optimism or pessimism is, for the most part, the result of an endeavour to express in imaginative or intellectual form the temperamental inclination or mood. Hardy has told us again and again that he writes what he sees and that he creates a world which primarily embodies the life he perceives. Consequently it would be foolish to expect what is outside the scope of Hardy's intention or experience. Hardy's pessimism, be it said at the very outset, is not splenetic, morbid or cynical; human life would not have been worth writing about, if he were to find in it only unmitigated suffering. A life of mere unhappiness is never tragical enough. Therefore, Hardy's pessimism, if one cares to probe deep enough, will be discovered to have gone further than a mere helpless recognition of evil or blind acquiescence in it. Life to him, as to other great dramatists, is a conflict, to put it in Hardy's own words, "the inherent will to enjoy and the Circumstancial Will against enjoyment." This idea of tragic conflict is worked by him again and again, sometimes in the simplest manner and sometimes with terrible earnestness, even verging on malignity.

Hardy is undoubtedly one of the world's great tragedians. He stands out as a grim, colossal figure of the Victorian age working on a massive canvas with broad sweeps of movement, sombre, austere, grand. The second half of Queen Victoria's reign was dominated by Hardy and one other figure, no less colossal, George Meredith. These two had much in common, but their differences were also many and great. Both were novelists and poets and both worked out a philosophy of life, each distinctively one's own. Meredith made man the most important phenomenon in the scheme of things, his struggles brightened by the hope and realization of victory. Hardy made man an insignificant object in the universe, striving against powers greater than himself, against an unrelenting and remorseless Destiny which takes delight always in making human affairs go wrong. In other words, Meredith had no realization of the primeaval drama of man and his environment and the elemental forces of nature; his taste was for social or romantic comedy, that is to say, the idiosyncracies and complexities of man in a civilized society. Hardy deals with men and women in conflict with old-world traditions. They strive, struggle, resist and endure according to their capacity and limitations imposed upon them, while a blind mechanical fate grinds them to dust. It is this tyrannic preoccupation with the disordered scheme of things that gives such intensely tragic reality to the Hardy literature. It was never Hardy's business to assert the facile doctrine that God's in his Heaven and all's right with the world. Rather, he found all's wrong with the world, governed by an omnipotent Destiny, but its omnipotence, according to Hardy, is matched in man only by his infinite capacity for suffering and endurance. In Hardy, there is seldom any trace of contempt for human will or human power of resistance in the struggle. A critic calls this Hardy's "double vision," which sees the littleness as well as the greatness of human life and which also perceives the utter futility of human endeavour as well as its heroic grandeur of endurance. In this double vision lies the secret of Hardy's

tragedy. The essential quality of Hardy's tragedy consists not alone in the persons concerned in it, but in the invasion into the consciousness of these persons a sense of the total futility of things. As it is generally assumed Hardy's characters are not just puppets worked by an inexorable Fate, but this Fate itself conditions the activity of the characters who cannot, therefore, remain entirely passive. If they were, they could not have been the fit objects of Hardy's tragedy. Hardy did not impart to his tragic characters, in the jargon of our time, "an inferiority complex," he made them ride on the high tide of uncontrolled events but not merely as drift-woods. There are few tragedians of whom we can feel as we do about Hardy that he tried to show the sorriness underlying the grandest things and the grandeur underlying the sorriest things.

Little it would profit one who reads Hardy with any conventional ideas about life, society or religion. Hardy has the blunt outspokenness of a countryman and there is about his philosophy something of the coarseness of nature herself. Hardy is uncompromising in the search for truth and brutally frank. Except in the case of "*Jude the Obscure*" where one undoubtedly receives many disagreeable shocks from a terrible presentation of brutality and cruelty, the permanent impression left by Hardy's works is never one of unrelieved ugliness. *Jude* misses its point on account of all human nature being covered with slime and mud in it. Injustice or futility of life is in itself a terrible thing but to attempt to prove a general truth by imagined facts as in the case of this novel has been unsuccessful and unpleasant. "*Jude the Obscure*" leaps over the very human power of artistic expression. It is but Hardy's one single instance of the unfortunate climax of an artistic fallacy. The deliberate juggling with moral values which characterizes most of our present day realistic fiction is absolutely alien to Hardy's austerely noble attitude towards life. In facing what he believed to be the true fact of life, that is, to quote his own words "its dependance on the human heart's resource alone" he

could never admit the charge of pessimism levelled against him. In one of his earlier stories called *"An Imaginative Woman"* Hardy records: "He was a pessimist in so far as that character applies to a man who looks at the worst contingencies as well as the best in human condition." So his pessimism cannot contain at all the dispiriting coldness of the stoic; it has pity in it and bitter sadness. As in his *"Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall"*, Sir Tristram sings to Iseult the Fair :

> "Yea, Love, true is it sadness suits me best!
> Sad, sad we are; sad, sad shall ever be.
> What shall deliver us from Love's unrest,
> And bonds we did not forecast, did not see!"

The theme is not a new one; sadness has always suited Thomas Hardy best. In his early *"Wessex Poems"* he speaks of "blank misgivings" and "obstinate questionings." In the later collection of poems entitled *"Time's Laughing-stocks and Satires of Circumstance"* in which each poem is designed to show how everything is reversed or subverted by Time and Circumstance, one poem ends thus :

> " But—after love what comes?
> A scene that lours
> A few sad vacant hours,
> And then, the curtain."

In his last book of poems *"Winter Words"*, sadness grows more intense and grotesque. One poem has for its subject a woman telling her second husband how her first husband died. The man had come home drunk and as he lay in the bed in a drunken sleep she had sewed him up in the bedclothes. He was found dead in the morning—she had taken the stitches out so that nobody should suspect that she had anything to do with the tragedy. This is how the poem ends :

> "Did you intend his death by your tight-lacing?"

> " O, that I cannot own.
> I could not think of else that avail,
> When he should wake up, and attempt embracing."
> " Well, it's a cool queer tale!"

Thus it is clear that there is no essential break in the continuity of this motive. Hardy's thoughts are of graves and epitaphs of shattered lives and unfulfilled hopes. Whether his theme is of one of the old legends of Wessex or the great drama of the Napoleonic years, his vision is always sombre and sad. Hardy has faced the sadness of life and spoken it but at the same time he has never humbled or belittled life. One may accuse him of paganism or fatalism if one likes, but could one make him ever accept the unthinking optimism of a conventional kind? However much you may accuse him, he would probably smile and say to you in great compassion :

> " Mock on! mock on, yet I'll go pray
> To some Great Heart, who haply may
> Charm mental miseries awag."
> —*The Dynasts, Act VI., Sc. v.*

In Thomas Hardy's outlook of life we notice two distinct attitudes inextricably interdependant, his sense of law and his sense of pity. The first gives him the conviction that a spiritual logic governs man's life and conduct, something similar to what the Greeks call Nemesis, Hardy worked out at great length this sense of law in his grandiose world-scheme in " *The Dynasts*." It must, however, be noted that Hardy has no sympathy with the moralized Destiny or Fate of the Greek Tragedy which, in order to maintain the prescribed symmetry of human affairs was ever ready to avenge irregularities in life. Mr. William Leonard Courtney (in "Old Saws and Modern Instances") has made an interesting comparative study of Aeschylus and Hardy and tried to estimate their respective points of view of the world as it is governed. Mr. Courtney calls Aeschylus "a philosophic advocate of the Gods" and Hardy "a scientific agnostic of the modern type." That may be, but we confess that we cannot

discover in Hardy's *Dynasts* what Mr. Courtney describes "only a melancholy confession of Nescience and Agnosticism." On the contrary, Hardy makes an intelligent attempt in this book to formulate a reasonable solution of "the Mystery of this Intelligible World." Mr. F. A. Hedgecock in his brilliant dissertation in French on *Thomas Hardy, Penseur et Artiste* discusses with great clarity and precision Hardy's doctrine of law.

Whatever may be the metaphysical mystery underlying Hardy's doctrine of an omnipotent law which controls human destiny and frustrates human endeavours as well, we are inclined to think that this metaphysical mystery is nothing more or less than Hardy's sense of the wholly natural mystery of maladjustments in the very nature of things. So it is that Hardy cannot help asserting all the time the dreadful vitality of human actions and persistently dwelling on the theme of disproportionate punishment. What is less implicit in "*Desperate Remedies*" or "*A Pair of Blue Eyes*" gradually assumes definite proportions in "*Tess of the D'Urbervilles*" or "*Life's Little Ironies.*" If the development of Hardy's thought is studied in the successive novels he produced between 1871 and 1895, it will be clear that there is very little change in his fundamental outlook. The tragic idea of injustice and disproportionateness is his ever-recurring theme, finding its logical extreme in "*Jude the Obscure.*" Take the following two passages from "*A Pair of Blue Eyes*" and "*Life's Little Ironies* :"

"There are disappointments which wring us, and there are those which inflict a wound whose mark we bear to our graves. Such are so keen that no future gratification of the same desire can ever obliterate them; they become registered as permanent loss of happiness."

"Our evil actions do not remain isolated in the past, waiting only to be reversed; like locomotive plants they spread and re-root, till to destroy the original stem has no material effect in killing them."

In his earlier writings such as *Under the Green-wood Tree* and *Far from the Madding Crowd*, the mingled sweetness and bitterness of life are beautifully contrasted, but in *Tess* and

Jude, rich in power and insight though they are, " earth's old glooms and pains " are needlessly intensified. It is well that Hardy should see the injustice of this irresistible logic of life as it is worked, but not satisfied with picturing only the tragedy of human beings in fateful circumstances, he ascribes the tragedy itself to " an unsympathetic First Cause." As in the case of the tragedy of Tess, Hardy's final arrangement is not merely confined to the cruelty of social environment and custom, but of divine justice : "'justice ' was done and the President of the Immortals (in Aeschylean phrase) has ended his sport with Tess." In this one sentence we have the core of Hardy's conception of the logic of life. Hardy puts into the mouth of Sue Bridehead his selfsame belief of a hostile and implacable power which is responsible for the tragedy of *Jude the Obscure* :

> " There is something external to us which says,
> 'You shant!' First it said,
> 'You shant learn!' Then it said,
> 'You shant labour!' Now it says,
> 'You shant love!' "

In *A Pair of Blue Eyes* Hardy describes this notion " as a fancy some people hold, when in bitter mood, that inexorable circumstance is only meant to prevent what intelligence wants." The Mayor of Casterbridge cannot help realizing "the ingenious machinery contrived by Gods for reducing human possibilities of amelioration to a minimum." In *The Return of the Native* again, when Eustacia Vye turns Mrs. Yeobright away, "instead of blaming herself for the issue, she laid the fault upon the shoulders of some indistinct, colossal Prince of the world, who had framed her situation and ruled her lot." One might wonder why this should be so or why the law of life should have to be so malign and unjust. Yet, Hardy has made it his business to make an image of life in the way he sees it and understands it. More than that we cannot and must not ask.

Hardy's sense of pity is perhaps more accute than any other tragic novelist. Realizing as he does the terrible handicaps

of life he treats with gentle tolerance the sufferings of his men and women. His humanitarian pity comes from a social and moral ethics entirely his own. Hardy's measure of purity lies in the intention of heart. He calls Tess "a pure woman" because her intention was pure. He describes Tess when she is disgraced as surrounded "with a cloud of moral hobgoblins by which she was terrified without reason. It was they that were out of harmony with the actual world, not she." Thus Tess should not possibly have any responsibility in the matter; she was morally guiltless. It, therefore, follows that Hardy utterly ignores the conventional standards of morality and falsely exaggerated notions of chastity. Hardy would gladly lift the "poor wounded name" of Tess from all infamy up to the level of complete innocence. In the same manner, he would compel us to believe that "Eustacia Vye was the raw material of divinity. On Olympus she would have done well with a little preparation. She had the passions and instincts which make a model goddess, that is, which make not quite a model woman. Had it been possible for the earth and mankind to be entirely in her grasp for a while, had she handled the distaff, the spindle and the shears at her own free will, few in the world would have noticed the change of government. There would have been the same inequality of lot, the same heaping of favours here, of contumely there, the same generosity before justice, the perpetual dilemmas, the same captious alternation of caresses and blows that we endure now." Whether Hardy can prove his case or not, that is altogether a different matter. But it must be admitted that he has encircled all his pathetic, tragic men and women with tender compassion. No doubt, in *Jude*, his irony is more bitter and grim and his sense of pity seems at times to be so despairing as to be almost a negation of life. But if he has cried against the gruesome injustice of life even in such blackest mood of despair, it is for no other reason than that life has hurt his own fellow beings whom he loves. The world may be, to his eyes, only a scene of blind forces working

heedless of man's smiles or tears but it is those little smiles and little tears that interest him. To accuse a divine creator of measureless injustice, as Hardy does, is certainly to assume that it is after all worth getting justice or claiming justice done. Beyond this, Hardy resolves to say no more, as in the very last poem of his last collection of verses *Winter Words*:

"Why load men's minds with more to bear
That bear already ails to spare?
From now alway
Till my last day
What I discern I will not say.
Let Time roll backward if it will;
(Magians who drive the midnight quill
With brain aglow,
Can see it so).
What I have learnt no man shall know.
And if my vision range beyond,
The blinkered sight of souls in bond,
—By truth made free—
I'll let all be,
And show to no man what I see."

P. GUHA-THAKURTA.

INDIA

Old temples, old faiths, old gods, old India!
Even an alien such as I may know
The glam'rous beauty of your thousand moods ;
The languid passion of your breath by day
Or muted magic of your moon-drenched night ;
The tumbled grandeur of old palaces ;
Ruined temples choked in jungles' wild embrace,
Where stealthy cobras slither through the gloom,
And a cold and mocking moon looks down on
Scenes forlorn ; the gaiety of markets
Filled with life and light, seething in the sun ;
Perfumes of blooms and incense mingled with
Decay and death ; dim water-ways that thread
A winding way beneath the tangled green,
Where brown and turbanned men pole age-old craft
And sing their plaintive songs of ancient Ind ;
Wide spacious plains of palm and paddy-fields ;
Roads white with dust that countless feet have trod ;
Tinkle of bullock-bell and measured tread
Of camel-caravan, and throngs of pilgrims
Bound on unknown quests ; vagabond and priest ;
Enchanted Himalayas, majestic,
Snow-capped and remote, the mighty ramparts
Of the north rise gloriously skyward ;
Jungle and plain ; desert and wooded hill,
And all the far-flung beauty of a land
As old as time, as secret and aloof,
Whose past lives on inscrutably to-day.

LILY STRICKLAND

DANGER SPOTS IN WORLD POPULATION [1]

Professor Warren S. Thompson, Director of the Scripp Foundation at Miami University for Research in Population Problems, has, in his work "Danger Spots in World Population" made a very substantial contribution to the cause of World Peace. The author has not discussed the population problem in a conventional and orthodox manner; but has tried to show its relation to world peace. Those who are genuinely interested in world peace will find the book most interesting and instructive. Students of International relations cannot afford to miss the book ; because it presents a clear, dispassionate and scientific study of one of the chief factors which lead to war.

Some of the important conclusions of Prof. Thompson's study are as follows:—(*a*) A nation, through pressure of population and to secure means of subsistence, is forced to seek territorial expansion which often leads to war. (*b*) Control of population pressure, through the practice of *Birth Control*, is one of the surest means of aiding the cause of world peace. But it is certain that in the very countries, where the pressure of population is the greatest, such as Italy, Japan, India, China, birth control cannot be enforced effectively within several decades, even through legislation. (*c*) World peace cannot be maintained for many years, on the basis of *status quo*. (*d*) For the re-adjustment of population pressure and to avoid wars, those nations which have acquired vast territories (by using force and dispossessing other nations) and are not in need of these territories and, for many reasons, are not able to develop them for the good of the world at large, should be willing to give up some of the undeveloped lands to those nations which

1. *Danger Spots in World Population*—by Warren S. Thompson. Published by Alfred A. Knopf. New York City.

are in need of them and are able to develop them through colonisation. (*e*) Unless this is done the present *status quo*, which is based upon the " force system " of various Imperialist powers, will be overthrown by those nations whose very existence will demand re-adjustment in their favor. This will be brought about by new alignment of powers, through the activities of Japan, Italy, China, India, Germany and other countries which are under the pressure of population and feel that they are being unjustly treated by the land-grabbing powers, especially Great Britain and France. (*f*) Great Britain is anxious to maintain *status quo* in the Western Pacific and doing her best to secure American support. The United States of America has nothing to gain, from the standpoint of economic interests and world interests, by aiding Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand against Japan, China and India.

Prof. Thompson makes the most important contribution to the cause of International peace and justice when he asserts that *status quo* on the control of the undeveloped countries by various western nations, may have legal sanction ; but it has no real moral and ethical sanction. The present policy of the powers possessing vast undeveloped territories of preventing other peoples from developing them, has been justly characterised as a dog-in-the-manger policy. Prof. Thompson is not an upholder of the " White Australia " or " White Africa " policy ; because he thinks that there is no moral justification for it. Furthermore such a policy will lead inevitably to war. He writes :—

" One of the chief arguments in justification of the White man's exploitation of new lands has always been that he needed new lands and larger resources and that the natives in large parts of the earth were not using their lands and resources as well as he could ; hence he felt that he was entitled to take control of them and put them to use. He is now finding that there is some truth in the homely expression that '*chickens come*

home to roost.' The same argument for the better, more complete, use of lands would certainly justify the Oriental peoples in taking the lands which the White man is not using as well as they could." (pages 163-164.)

Professor Thompson carries his theory further and comes to a conclusion which may be regarded by the orthodox students of international law and international relations, as very revolutionary. To him it seems that when a nation is under the pressure of population and needs new territory for its very subsistence while other nations possess needless surplus territories they are not able to develop and yet refuse to make peaceful re-adjustment in favor of the former, creating a situation that may lead to war, then the power which is under population-pressure should not be held morally responsible for aggression. He writes :—

"It is an interesting kink in our notion of international ethics that aggression is condemned indiscriminately, apparently because it is aggression, while the maintenance of *status quo*, which may work untold hardship on millions of people, seems to have general approval. It is, of course, to the interest of the peoples who have all they want to throw the onus of moral responsibility for war on those who have little, and would, therefore, necessarily be the ones to initiate a struggle for a change of the *status quo*. But we should have arrived at sufficient knowledge of the methods and conditions of the acquirement of lands in past times, to prevent mere possession from creating in our minds an unshakable presumption of moral right to hold them under any and all conditions." (page 238.)

Population-pressure in Italy is so serious that it may disturb world peace, unless new outlets are found for Italian immigration and colonisation. To satisfy Italy's need Great Britain and France should make some concessions to her. France should arrange that Italy may acquire control over Syria and Britain

should allow Italy to secure possession of Iraq. Prof. Thompson thinks "if in addition to the acquisition of Syria and Iraq, the immigration policy of Australia and South Africa were so changed as to admit considerable number of Italians, the pressure in Italy would be relieved......"

Japan, India and China will need territories for expansion. At present Japan's need is the most urgent, and China's need is the least pressing. Japan needs territories where her surplus population may colonise. It has been proved conclusively that Manchuria or Korea is unsuitable for Japanese colonisation; therefore the Japanese should have opportunities in warmer countries. Prof. Thompson makes the bold suggestion that the tropical part of Australia which cannot be colonised by "White men" should be given to Japan for the purpose of colonisation. He further suggests that Britain, Australia and Holland should agree that Japan should be given possession of New Guinea.

Chinese population expansion is quietly but effectively going on in the Malay Peninsula, Indo-China, Siam and the Dutch colonies. Southward expansion of Chinese population is the logical solution of her population problem.

To relieve the population-pressure of India, Great Britain should encourage Indian immigration to Africa especially in East Africa (particularly Kenya). British authorities and British residents in Africa are opposed to Indian colonisation in East Africa and they often pretend that Indian immigration should not be encouraged in order to protect the natives (Negroes) from exploitation. It will be worthwhile to take careful consideration of Prof. Thompson's views on this subject. He writes:—

"It seems not unlikely, then, that this theory of trusteeship which is particularly applied to Africa is only a cloak under cover of which other interests can be served. This cloak also apparently hides from the conscience some of the true motives and thus renders it quiet in the face of conduct that might disturb it if they were clearly and nakedly revealed. To the

Oriental this certainly appears to be so. He sees in the History of the West during the last five hundred years or more a constant denial in conduct of the theory that lands should be preserved for the use of those who happen to live in them.

"It appears to the man in the East that the Westerner has never hesitated an instant to dispossess the natives of any land he has wanted for his own use. If he has not wholly driven out the natives or exterminated them, he has enslaved them as far as possible and made them serve him. The theory that he derives from the European's conduct as pictured in his history of expansion is that the only right is might. Nothing but force seems to him to count in the determining of the European's relations to the other peoples. Thus, if the Oriental feels that the theory of preserving the lands of African Negroes for them in the future is merely a high-sounding phrase devised to cover their exploitation solely by the Europeans, we should scarcely be surprised. Often it is not pleasant to see ourselves as others see us, and particularly is this true if the others are not properly appreciative of the values for which our civilization stands." (page 164.)

"The fact is that at the present time *every* Indian is a potential agitator against Great Britain. As such he is not a desirable immigrant, because if such people become numerous, the White man's grip on this part of the world (Africa) is certain to be loosened...Underlying all objections to the settlement of Indians in East Africa is, as we have tried to make clear in this discussion of the reasons usually given, the feeling that their presence spells the end of White exploitation in this part of the world in the not distant future. Economically the White man cannot compete with the Indian in a new tropical country. The modes of living and standards of consumption of the Indian are so low that they can beat the White man in an open competition. Furthermore, the Indian outbreeds him so rapidly that even if comparatively few were admitted, they would soon greatly outnumber him, and since they are not so docile and so easily

managed as the Negroes, they do not furnish good material for long-continued exploitation." (p. 170.)

"The settlement of East Africa by the Indian would, then, appear to be one of the ways of easing the strain in India and would also provide for the settlement and use of this now almost vacant land by one of the neediest of peoples......There is, therefore, reason to think that an outlet for the Indians as great as that of East Africa would very materially help in solving India's population problem. Throwing this area open to Indian settlement would most certainly contribute largely to a better understanding between Great Britain and India and thus render the Indians less likely to disturb the present balance of power than they will otherwise be." (pages 180-181.)

"In the past almost all Western scholars ignored the rights of the people of the Orient to expand. They thought of preserving world peace in terms of maintenance of "White supremacy" and "exploitation of the so-called backward peoples." It is most gratifying that Prof. Thompson brushes aside this double standard of International morality in International relations and suggests that "Unused lands and resources in the world should be regarded as a means of satisfying human needs rather than as prizes to be kept solely for the profit of the peoples who happen to hold them at the present moment. Only when this comes to be the general attitude of the great powers may we expect that Japan and other sorely pressed nations will cease to have any interest in creating troubled conditions from which they may possibly derive some profit. But until the nations holding excess resources reform, we cannot expect any considerable change in the conduct of the nations which are suffering from the lack of resources."

In conclusion Prof. Thompson makes the constructive suggestion that the existing "force system" in International relations should be modified through International co-operation. An International Committee should be organised for this purpose. This Committee, among other things, should carefully study

problems of pressure of population in various lands and examine the need of nations seeking for new territories and supply of raw materials. This Committee's impartial reports will help in creating public opinion in favor of peaceful adjustment of International problems which will eliminate possibilities of wars.

TARAKNATH DAS

THE VALLEY OF DREAMS

Here in a valley where streamlets are singing
And sweet golden laughter sweeps up to the skies,
Where thrushes and linnets are mating and winging
Here 'twas I loved you, O! Beautiful Eyes!
Here midst the gold-fire of wild daffodils
When the air thrilled and throbbed with love-cries,
When the moon drew a soft veil of gold o'er the hills
Here 'twas we wandered, O! Beautiful Eyes!
Here where our sweet tale of love was oft told
When life was a medley of laughter and sighs,
Here I shall wander when we have grown old
Remembering, and dreaming, O! Beautiful Eyes!

LELAND J. BERRY

THOUGHTS ON PROGRESS

State of harmony or conciliation.

(3) In conflict or antagonism there are to be noticed the spirit of domination or self-aggrandisement and that of stubbornness or non-submission at work, challenge or provocation and counter-challenge or retort, attack and counter-attack, action and reaction, heat and tension, victory and defeat, wrong-doing and vindictiveness, the shouts of joy and the cries of despair, the misunderstanding of each other's intention, the misrepresentation of each other's position, the infliction of cruelty, the unnecessary waste of energy, distortion, distraction and dislocation, disintegration and destruction, violence and vengeance, the estrangement of feelings, the harbouring of grudge and continued enmity.[1] From certain careful observations of these gloomy and appalling features of conflict [2] and from certain intense reflections on the scene of carnage and the horrors of war [3] the human mind is led to contemplate harmony or conciliation, concord or compromise, and treaty or peace as the only and ultimate condition of progress.

[1] All these points are vividly set forth in several descriptions of battles in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, particularly in the latter. As regards battle in the field of philosophical controversy, the Pali Dialogues contain the following set formula of challenge or provocation :

" You don't understand this doctrine and discipline, I do.

How should you know about this doctrine and discipline ?

You have fallen into wrong views. It is I who am in the right. I am speaking to the point, you are not.

You are putting last what ought to come first, and first what ought to come last. What you've excogitated so long, that's all quite upset. Your challenge has been taken up.

You are proved to be wrong. Set to work to clear your views. Disentangle yourself if you can."

[2] *Cf.* Kalaha-Vivāda, Cūḷavyūha and Mahāvyūha Suttas in the Sutta-Nipāta, Bk. IV

[3] *Cf.* Aśoka's R. E. XIII.

The question, then, arises : what is harmony? I can quite understand that as a passive state harmony implies essentially a sufferance granted to the manifold to exist and function retaining its own character, while as an active state it implies essentially an equipoise of the manifold where the manifold has and is anxious to maintain its own character. Accordingly harmony may be defined as that form of collective existence which is based upon some sort of mutual understanding and in which the contending parties, the rivals, opponents or belligerents, have stopped their hostilities, temporarily or permanently, to come to be somehow interrelated as distinct and at the same time interdependent individuals or groups—distinct in the sense that each party forming a factor of the inter-relation is sufficiently conscious of its own identity, special strength and importance and reluctant to lose it for all the world, and interdependent in the sense that they have felt the wisdom of realising their mutual limitations and are no longer unaware of the presence, need, strength and weakness of each other or of one another. It is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind that the peculiar character of harmony or conciliation is that the individuals or groups representing it are determined and trained up not to lose their individuality but to retain, utilise and foster it up at all costs and under all circumstances.

If the desired end be just the passive maintenance of separatism leaving each distinct factor to shift for itself without trenching upon others like the substances of the philosophy of Kabandhim Kātyāyana, it becomes necessary to keep these factors or elements permanently at reasonable distances withal in a state of tension by creating artificial barriers, as though in a zoo, the tigers in one cage and the lions in another and the lambs in a third. This is possible only by curtailing the scope of existence and activities of each and making them all dependent for their maintenance and safety upon a common care-taker, human or divine.

If the desired end, on the contrary, be an active state of co-operation and a participation in a common life or cause, it is possible only in that order of existence where all distinct but interdependent individuals or groups are required to fulfil particular or specific functions to the best of their abilities in unison with others functioning differently for the production in a common undertaking or performance of the best possible result on the whole.

Attraction and repulsion are the two formative principles that mould the life of the manifold in harmony. Repulsion is that principle which keeps the component factors at reasonable distances and attraction is that principle which brings them together from time to time. Toleration is the outcome of coercion or restraint imposed in a reasonable measure upon the life of the manifold in harmony. Consistent with the principle of repulsion, harmony dictates just the wisdom of evasion or non-intervention, which is to say, of either cynically or sceptically evading the issues in the belief that each of them is as good or as bad as the other or leaving each cause or interest to proceed on its lines in the belief that it will ultimately make for the same kind of good.[1] And consistent with the principle of attraction, harmony suggests that the best way to grow is to meet one another for the interchange of ideas, debates and deliberations in order to discover the common mission of life and its fruitful efforts.[2]

Thus I can quite appreciate that at the back of all kinds of harmony there is somehow the recognition of a grand belief of the human mind in an eternal and universal scheme of existence where all can hope and legitimately claim to enjoy life and happiness and put forth activities in their proper spheres, as well as of the belief in the operation of one common urge to progress towards a common goal, irrespective of the considera-

[1] his is the general Hindu idea of toleration.

[2] This is the novel idea of toleration ennunciated by Aśoka in his Twelfth Rock Edict.

tion whether this common urge comes from the will of God, or from the creative fervour of nature, or from the universality of truth. But the tender point of harmony is that it aims consciously just at the best conservation or preservation of the system or institution which is taken for granted as eternally of the same character. The really vulnerable point of it is that it impels men just to mark time, which is to say, to eke out their existence; that along with the curtailment of the scopes of existence and activity, it is sought to be maintained on the strength of the superstitious belief that all that is, is right in the right place and that the present circumstances will remain unchanged for ever. The consequence of this is that as soon as there is a sudden change in the world conditions, it breaks down as a house of cards.

It is easy at this stage to understand that harmony serving as the best conceivable means of satisfying the manifold requirements of humanity and containing possibilities of a variety of types of creation is certainly a condition of progress. But its preoccupation all along being rather conservation than original creation, rather eking out existence than invigorating it, rather specifying and universalising than individualising the diverse methods of training and articulation, it cannot surely be judged as the only and ultimate condition of progress.[1]

State of unity.

(4) Disappointed by the superfluous conventionalism, and constant emphasis on law and order of cumbrously disposed harmony, the human mind proceeds to satisfy itself by entertaining the state of unity as the only and ultimate condition of progress. Unity in the words of the Buddha consists in "meeting together frequently in a body, rising up together in a body and functioning together in a body." The state of unity is aptly compared by the great Buddha to the condition of the ocean into which the

[1] This is in substance an effective criticism of the principles and tenets of Hinduism hich is Bhāgavatic in its essential character.

different and various rivers merge their identity to assume the one common designation of the ocean. Keeping in view this idea of unity as formulated by the Buddha, the state of unity may be clearly defined as a highly, carefully and consciously organised order of corporate existence where the individuals representing it merge or dissolve their individualities or personal differences in order to create an artificial whole or person, and are so trained up as to behave as brave soldiers and function together as a single man and for a single purpose. Thus it becomes a great acting force, capable of conquering the world and withstanding all the obstacles and difficulties on the way. Awe-inspiring is the history of its conquests and most glorious is the record of its brilliant achievements as might be exemplified by the rapid propagation of Buddhism among different Asiatic peoples, the world-wide spread of Christianity and the hurricane-like raging of Islamic forces over three continents. Gauḍīya Vaishṇavism, Sikhism, Brahmoism, Socialism, Communism and Nationalism—each one of these may be cited as a notable example of unity in the above sense. Regimental drill and discipline constitutes its external life. It lays so much stress on this kind of discipline that ultimately discipline itself becomes the end ceasing to be the means. Consequently discipline becomes a soul-crushing superstition instead of remaining subservient to enlightenment. Adherence to the same leader, the same creed and the same corporate body is the *sine quâ non* of its inner life. The real danger of such unity is that in its dash and rash march it disturbs or destroys all harmony and comes into conflict with other forms of unity to think again of establishing a fresh order of harmony. The peculiar character of all credal movements is that on account of their one-sidedness, they are bound to be obsolete ere long after losing their objective. Every form of unity is destined to bring its glorious career to a close by affirming precisely that by denying or challenging which it started its life, the Catholic turning out to be the least catholic of all. The main weak point of unity

lies in the fact that being taught and trained up to obey implicitly the command of a supreme master or that of his lieutenant, the human beings begin to act as so many puppets losing all power of initiative, the play of will, intellect and imagination being largely possible in a single individual. As soon as the strong hand of the commander is withdrawn, disintegration overtakes the life of unity, and an authoritative royal ordinance[1] is called forth to prevent disunion and dissension playing a havoc. The bright side of unity, nevertheless, is that it serves as a powerful instrument, so long as it remains in its proper order, for impressing the mighty influence of personality and intelligence of a gifted individual whose attainments are far above the common level.

From these considerations it may be increasingly clear that although as a great acting force and a powerful instrument for extending the limits of human attainments far beyond the dreams of the multitude, unity is a condition of progress, it cannot be judged as the only and ultimate condition for the dead-weight of awe with which it suppresses the general aspirations of humanity and emasculates the lesser powers. By its undue emphasis on the uniformity of behaviour and the oneness of thought, unity serves to impoverish the wealth of the types of creation by depriving men of the right of personal initiative.

State of beatitude.

(5) Beatitude in the abstract is just the true inwardness of strangeness in so far as it concerns individual life, while in the concrete it is described as a purely spiritual or emotional state,—the true condition of soul which is blissful, joyous, glorious, unfailing, invariable, steady and the same for ever in the experience of all. It is possible in that plane of individual existence or in that level of individual experience where consciousness presents a vacant mood in the sense that it is found devoid of thoughts and sense-data as its

[1] Here Aśoka's ordinance as embodied in the Sanchi, Kausambi and Sarnath Pillar Edicts is kept in view.

content and no longer disturbed by the conative process of will. It is a tranquil state in which there is sensing of peacefulness of the whole of nature. It is a condition of emancipation in the sense that consciousness is free from all obsessions of the idea of interest, physical, intellectual, moral or even spiritual. The question is—Is such beatitude a perpetual state and can it be judged as the only and ultimate condition of progress? So long as the possibility of beatitude remains bound up with a plane of individual existence or a level of individual experience, it cannot be a perpetual state, nor can it be judged as the only and ultimate condition of progress. It is not difficult to imagine that a living individual may be disposed either vitally or reflectively. When vitally disposed, the individual begins to function as vital energy and as designing mind, functioning as vital energy when he is not functioning as designing mind and as designing mind when he is not functioning as vital energy, his functioning as vital energy being logically prior to his functioning as designing mind. The peculiarity of the vital disposition is that when it continues, the mental functions themselves partake somehow of the nature of the vital. The alternation of the twofold functioning in sequence completes a moment with a temporary lapse into and drifting in the life-continuum in its involuntary, unconscious and helpless mood with reference to the preceding moment and in its placid, potential and adjusting mood with reference to the moment which follows. The series of such moments continues up to a certain stage beyond which there takes place a prolonged drifting in the life-continuum in its above described mood. The period of time during which this drifting goes on is generally known as the period of sleep. During this period the tendency of the individual is to function as matter. The more perfectly he functions as matter the sounder is the sleep.

And when reflectively disposed, the individual begins to function as living experience and as reasoned thought, functioning as living experience when he is not functioning

as reasoned thought and *vice versa,* his functioning as living experience being logically prior to his functioning otherwise. The peculiarity of the reflective disposition is that when it continues, the vital functions themselves partake somehow of the nature of the mental. The alternation of the twofold functioning in sequence completes a moment with a temporary indwelling on the nature of the life-continuum in its wakeful, conscious and joyous mood. The series of such moments continues up to a certain stage beyond which there takes place a prolonged indwelling on the nature of the life-continuum in its wakeful, conscious and joyous mood. The period during which this indwelling goes on is to be understood as duration of the condition of beatitude. During this period the tendency of the individual is to function as mind or pure consciousness. The more perfectly he functions as mind in the above sense the greater is the vividness of the feeling of beatitude. He may die either when his disposition is vital or when his disposition is reflective. If his death takes place when his disposition is vital and he is drifting in the life-continuum, the trend of evolution which may be supposed to run is cosmic, and if it takes place when his disposition is reflective and he is indwelling on the nature of the life-continuum the trend of evolution which may be supposed to run is aesthetic or idealistic. Thus one may distinguish the courses of man's life in his twofold disposition.

But the very fact that a saint who is credited with the experience or enjoyment of beatitude feels the need of food and sleep, the legitimate inference to be drawn from it is that he is unable to continue eternally and indefinitely in his reflective disposition. An aeon, too, is but a limited portion of time. The purely spiritual or emotional interest is also an interest. As drifting in the life-continuum or functioning as matter is necessary to add vigour and freshness to the activities of man in his vital disposition, so it is conceivable that indwelling on the nature of the life-continuum is necessary to add significance and lustre to the experiences and thoughts of man in his reflective

disposition. And considered in this light, beatitude is certainly a condition of progress, though not the only and ultimate condition.

Now to conclude: we have seen clearly enough that none of the five states—strangeness, conflict, harmony, unity and beatitude, is a perpetual state, and that although each one of these may be interpreted as a possible condition of progress, none can be judged as the only and ultimate condition. To adhere to each believing it to be a perpetual state and the only and ultimate condition of progress is to move in a vicious circle. The reasonable view is to regard all of them as possible conditions or moments of man's individual or collective existence, and the progressive scheme of life is that which affords wider and wider scopes to all individuals to realise all of these. Admitted this, we are led to the next section devoted to the discussion of the modes of effecting progress,—progress that satisfies the given definition, tests and conditions.

[*To be continued.*]

B. M. BARUA.

PENITENT LOVER

I

I, flint, with steel, by river drowned
Of light emit no spark,
The river flows, the rough wind blows
With all mine I am dark.
That light from me can ever rise
Looks dead to eye and thought,
That flesh is flint and mind is steel
Unlove remembers not.
Rough wind of passion whirls me round
Unfaith to one can't bind.
What I am I never ask
My lust-imprison'd mind.
Whence am I and where to go,
Is aught secure in change?
There's none to ask and none to say
Of me and mine—how strange,
The diver dives, unlov'd, unasked
And holes are in his breast
And dries me in the sun called Faith
In sportive love to rest—
The flint and steel by touch of Love
Send sparks of love, below, above
The diver's name is Penitence,
The purifier of mind and sense.

II

When lured by magic charms of sense,
—Bemused by spells of mind
Thy love's forgot, my sweet, shy bride,
Is love then winged wind?

Ah! no, thy love's joy near and far,
    In purity and dirt,
Thy love is love, unknown or known,
    A faithful bride, no flirt.
She rescues me from harlot heart,
    She breaks the spell of sense,
She saves my waste, she cures my ills,
    Disguised as Penitence.
Love is love at death and birth,
Love is heaven and Love is earth;
To know sweet love is Love to be,
And Love is all and all forms free,
All sins for Love in darkness grope
Forgetting self in light of Hope.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

ROBERT BRIDGES

A more detailed survey of his works considered as poetry.

If mere craftsmanship is permitted to determine a poet's place, Bridges may have to reckon with even Mr. Rudyard Kipling who was his rival from (roughly speaking) 1901 to 1925 and whose admirers would have preferred him as the Laureate of England immediately after Alfred Austin. Bridges is decidedly Kipling's superior by reason of his vision, his philosophy of life. Yet we note with regret that he betrays, at any rate in his latest poem, an insularity of outlook so characteristic [1] of Kipling and from which even Tennyson was not free. Intense patriotism [2] may justify all that he says about the ideal

"Harmonized life in the aristocracy of our English motherhood"—
"whence the nobility of our sons came, and therewith
precedence of their courtesy title in the world [3]!"

[1] *Cf.* Among others the slogan of a Whiteman's Burden, "Natural Theology," "Egyptian Night" (which may be placed alongside of Tennyson's "Cycle of Cathay" or "Red fury of the Seine.")

[2] *Cf.* Bridges' War poems, his poems on English landscape or scenery and English idyllic life; also *New Poems*, No. 21.

[3] The Testament of Beauty III. 899-902. *Cf.* also stanzas 3 to 5 of Ode on the Tercentenary Commemoration of Shakespeare, 1916 (with its reference to the Great War) in *October and Other Poems* (1920). We sincerely wish we could with any show of truth subscribe to—

"Her chains are chains of Freedom, and her bright arms
Honour Justice and Truth and Love to man.

* * *

And smiting the fetters of slavery
Made the high sea-ways safe and free
In wisdom bidding aloud
To world-wide brotherhood
Till her flag was hail'd as the ensign of Liberty" etc.

It is refreshing to turn to Mr. Masefield's "*Cargoes*" with its suggestive contrast between the ancient East and the commercialised and vulgarised modern Britain (*Salt Water Poems and Ballads*).

What follows next in this poem savours of arrogance. The East has had plenty of opportunities, given by the ruling race of Englishmen, of dispassionately subjecting their doings in lands away from their own environment and social check, to a searching analysis and criticism, which results in an estimate hardly consistent with the boastful claims thus set up, even though the East is simply full of admiration of numerous traits in cultured Englishmen of the right type.

Patriotism may, perhaps, cover a multitude of sins but we doubt if it is " sufficient " for such hasty generalisations as we painfully note in (ll. 689-698 of Book III)—

> Restless and impatient man's mind is ever in quest
> of some system or mappemond or safeguard of soul,
> and coming not at Truth—ev'n as a dry-athirst horse
> that drinketh eagerly of the first gilded puddle,—
> he espouseth delusion and sweareth fealty thereto:
> and since common conditions breed common opinion,
> nations lie fascinated in their swaddling clothes
> crampt, and atrophied with their infantile suctions ;
> so in the inmost sanctum of the Hindu mind
> a milch-cow is enshrined :[4]

That such a statement, which even a decently educated Christian missionary of to-day will think twice before giving a currency, should be made by a poet whose range of reading is astoundingly wide and who is sometimes very profound too, puzzles us. If he were alive we would have prescribed for him a short course of studies in Hindu philosophy and literature. Bridges, let us hope, is the last, as he is alas the latest, exponent of the most ridiculous attitude of ignorant Westerners towards Hindu culture and civilisation—for it will be worse than an insult to the sacred memory of a great man like him to connect his name with that of Miss Mayo. Space does not permit us

[4] *The lines that follow refer to Manichees and are irrelevant to our purpose.*

even to make a bare reference to the grand philosophical achievements of *the Hindu mind* accomplished *in recent days*, or to Chaitanya and the poetry of his *Bhakti* cult, to singers like Mira Bai, to the Vaisnava poetry of Vidyapati and others or to the apotheosis of Beauty and Love in Hindu poetry, discernible in our literature even so late as immediately before the days when that literature came into contact with English thought. We prefer to remain silent about recent achievements in science of the Hindu mind.

Yet Bridges can sing in a different tune regarding the Moslem prayer in a passage of great poetic beauty and large-heartedness.[5] Nay, he can speak more rationally and sympathetically about Buddhism in a fine passage (which we quote)—needlessly marred, however, by a reference to the *Suttee* :[6]

> "Leave Tigris now and Ur. Seek out our Aryan race
> by Gunga and Hydaspes in the teeming realm
> where Sakya Muni preach'd of gentleness and love,
> and took divinity before Christ came; see how
> at every Rajah's pyre, in Punjab or Kashmire,
> in Vijayanóggar, Kalikata and Udaipur,
> for livlong centuries the mild Hindus hav burnt
> their multitudinous girl-concubines alive,
> and still beneath our lax imperial rule wil deem
> any honest outlawry of their ritual Suttee
> a tyrannous impiety of our western manner;
> which none the less withheld not of our island kings
> the last Henry, styled first Defendër of the Faith
> from slaying his wives at will.[7] * *

Here too the Hindu is our poet's *bête noire*; and *any stick* will serve his purpose. We notice this aspect of the poet's mind

[5] T. B. IV. ll. 1225-1233.

[6] "Suttee," "the purdah," the immobility of the East, the tyranny of Brahminism over the depressed classes, "Caste"-system, early marriage, the girl-wife are in all conscience notorious though fast-vanishing realities, which unfortunately shallow Western minds, are far too eager to make capital of when determined on an indictment of the Asiatics. We are too ready to allow the cheap daily press to requisition them in season and out of season but like King Charles's Head they should never trouble poets of the calibre of Bridges.

[7] T. B. IV. 338-351.

particularly because he is singularly a man of wide culture and should have been free from this narrowness, due to ignorance.

"I boast not: he that knoweth not may boast" says his Prometheus (l. 418 of *Prometheus*, the Fire-giver) and we say "Amen."

By the way, the spelling of Indian place-names in line 343 shows the special care he takes to avoid the Anglo-Indian [8] style; and all the more glaring appears, therefore, the fault we have pointed out in his description of the Hindu mind. Fault-finding, as he himself says, is not criticism, yet the critic's duty, we learn from him, is to determine the proportion of the thorns to the roses and we are guilty of doing nothing more. His, however, is not as fatal an error as of being uninteresting. Possibly, we may hold further, with Mr. Robert Lynd, that this blunder of Bridges will no more affect his poetry than Froude's inaccuracies which, Mr. Lynd rightly says, are preferred by readers to the dull writings of historians who have corrected them. [9] But poetry and history are different things.

Gunga for Ganges was known to me to be Dr. Besant's trump card in many of her Benares speeches and I wonder how it has found its way into *The Testament of Beauty* (where it is ill combined with *Hydaspes*)!

"Our lax imperial rule"—is Kiplingese with a vengeance. How far "*lax*," we of the year 1930 are thoroughly realising, from Peshawar to Chittagong!

The Poetic Quality of Bridges' Works.

We return to the more pleasant task of estimating his poetry as such. The first fruit of his poetic genius was "Prometheus, the Fire-giver," suggested, very probably, by Shelley's romantic

[8] This reminds us of the genuine "cockneyisms" occurring in Nichols' *Prometheus in Piccadilly* as a silent protest against the bastard cockneyisms of Rudyard Kipling. It is doubly unfortunate that Bridges should have betrayed in the passage just quoted from T. B. IV. (338-351) his kinship with the nauseating Imperialism of Kipling and Newbolt.

[9] Mr. Robert Lynd's fascinating essay "In Praise of Mistakes" in *The Green Man*, pp. 20-21 (Second Edition of 1930).

treatment of the classical theme but not, perhaps, unrelated to Mr. Nichols' "Prometheus in Piccadilly"; and the latest is "The Testament of Beauty," produced by the manner in which that genius, under the spell of modern scientific[10] investigations, reacted to the post-war *actualities* in the Western world and to his own experiences, so far as these actualities and personal experiences were assimilated in the course of a momentous decade and, finally, sought to be interpreted by his keen sensibility to them.

This part of my study of Bridges is further narrowed into one of his art, his technique—his rich and often happy diction and highly poetic imagery, his rhythm and fine melody, and his bold experiments in versification. I shall take these items up one by one, though not in the order implied here.

The decorations or embroideries[11] that took away from the real charm and beauty of the poetry of Yeats (1899 volume and after) and Wilde have been wisely eschewed by Bridges whose successful competitor in this respect is Mr. A. E. Housman, at least in his *Shropshire Lad* (1896) and *Last Poems* (1922). Housman's *classical* taste, displayed both in selection and rejection, has a close parallel in Bridges' art and like the latter he too is a master of the appropriate use of explosive consonants (*e.g. Reveille* in *Shropshire Lad*).

The high-class art of such technicians was in part the effect of a *revived* interest in true poetry among promising and well-educated youngmen, created by 1912, which continued to develop up to 1922. This practically ousted the "prettyfying"[12] tendency complained of by Yeats which became a temporary

[10] "Epistle I" to L. M. (called Wintry Delights) by itself is enough to demonstrate the poet's interest in science. Reference to *The Testament* is superfluous.

[11] Embroideries are, *we are told*, more common in Welsh, Icelandic, and Gaelic poetry. *Vide* Calcutta Review for March and May, 1928, for this writer's remarks on Yeats and the embroideries which came into vogue in the nineteen-nineties.

[12] *Vide Calcutta Review* for March, 1928, page 278, where I have quoted in my Yeats Essay the remark of Yeats.

vogue with some of the Georgians whose only care was for pretty images and "glittering toys."[13]

We may be permitted to just mention here that though Bridges' serious composition belongs to the 20th century his poetry-writing practically began[14] with the decline of Victorian poetry when, as competent judges hold, a new turn took about 1875. Leaving out *The Testament of Beauty* which stands somewhat apart (even though we have shown its intimate connection with his earlier productions), the best poetry *quâ* poetry of Bridges may be assigned to the period 1876 to 1898 or 1900. *In spirit*, Bridges is more a Victorian[15] than a Georgian (not to speak of Edwardian). But in his technique, he broke off completely from all tradition and he made his diction specifically his own and he is a very bold experimenter in more ways than one. As an artist he makes his poetry an artistic re-interpretation of life, filled to the brim with rich contents, which attempts a somewhat philosophical reconciliation of apparent contradictions and antitheses, such as, of acceptance (say, for instance, of Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Dante, Wordsworth and Shelley) and challenge or interrogation, or of tradition and bold innovation. For this end he relies on Evolution (creative or 'emergent'), Continuity (as against mere flux which, however is[16] recognised), on the importance of thought and proper value of reason, the sciences (especially the biological), and latest theories and hypo-

[13] For Rupert Brooke's disgust for the poetry of pretty *bric-à-brac* of the *nineties*, *vide* Introduction to Brooke's collected Poems by Edward Marsh. Brooke like Bridges is remarkable (especially for one at his age) for *clarity*, directness, simplicity, melody and even sustaining thought though he seems to me to be more realistic.

[14] He began verse composition in 1872-73 in right earnest.

[15] *Cf.* the pessimistic note of the Mid-Victorian era reflected in Arnold, Clough and Swinburne (not to mention Hardy) regarding Man and the human race appearing also in *Prometheus, the Firegiver* (ll. 1172-1233 Chorus). *Vide Demeter*, ll. 1056-64. The reserve and restraint of *Growth of Love* is also a concession to Victorian decorum.

[16] *Cf. Demeter*, ll. 315-16 : "Nought is new or strange in the eternal change." *Shorter Poems*, Book III. No. 6 :—

"Haste on, my joys! your treasure lies
In swift, unceasing flight."

theses (including those of Psychoanalysis) but mainly on reverence and[17] faith, as understood and interpreted by him. He combines, inspite of distinctions emphasised by Poe in his "The Poetic Principle," Law (or Duty) with Beauty which is a reconciliation between Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning, on the one hand, and Shelley, Keats and Swinburne, on the other, joy with sorrow, grief and melancholy (made by him natural, tender, dignified, majestic because "the melancholy of all true poets is full of life and hope").[18] A higher result is also achieved by this unique manner of his—*viz.*, the work of Fancy is now and then lyrically presented by his rare *art* with such a delicacy and beauty and a genuine poet's response of keen sensibility as at once transforms it into the work of Imagination. This is a wonderful "sea-change."

Another illustration of this happy harmony (or reconciliation) is to be found in rare excursions into the strange and far-off world of Romanticism[19] made by a genius essentially Hellenic. He was strongly in favour (both in theory[20] and practice) of bold and unhampered experiments in verse, yet would never subscribe to the *free-verse* cult because the sense of law and *form* was too strong and abiding with him.

[17] *Cf.* "Then knew I the angel faith,
Who was guarding human Love."

"Hell and Hate" (comp. December, 1913) in *October and Other Poems* (1920). *Vide* also Shorter Poems, Book V, No. 9.

[18] W. P. Ker.

[19] *Cf. Prometheus, the Firegiver*, ll. 362-68; 519-35; 766-78; 813-40 (the beautiful Ode based on Wordsworth's Ode on Intimations of Immortality); 1406-12; 1465-1480.

The entire allegory of *Eros and Psyche* is a "Spenserian romance of a fairyland of myth"—of old far-off things.

The poem "A Passer-By" ..(*Shorter Poems*, Bk. II, 2 Oct., Oxf. Ed., page 244); *Growth of Love*, Son. 18; *Shorter Poems*, Bk. I, 3, 14 (specially last two stanzas and the Romeo-Juliet-like 6th stanza); Bk. II, 11 (Dejection); Bk. III, 1; Bk. IV, 21 (specially last stanza), 24 and 25, 27 (stanza 2); *Later Poems*, No. 1 (para. 6); and Poems in Classical Prosody, Nos. 12, 13 and 14.

[20] *Cf.* Essay on Free Verse (Lecture delivered in 1922); No. II of Collected Essays, Papers, etc. (pub. 1926).

As distinguished from his philosophy (about which we shall presently say something) his poetry is remarkable for freshness and purity (though not intensity) of *feeling*. He clothes old things in new imagery because he sees them with Adam's vision—the unsophisticated vision of the first man. All is, as it were, novel to him and his sensitive heart "reciprocates" Nature's renewed beauty changing from year to year, season to season, day to day —nay, hour to hour. Such a poet must recapture the first fine rapture and his poetry will spontaneously flow out of the fulness of the heart, making the mouth speak and that melodiously. The mad hurry, fret and fury of modern life so trying to Arnold and Clough cannot repress this poet's joyous and imaginatively emotional way of seeing and describing everything. This *Renascence of Wonder* fills his Nature poetry with exquisite beauty and passages of haunting melody are not infrequent, though at times his verse is harsher but not more grating than Browning's. But the sound is never the sound of the crackling of thorns in a metallic pot.

Feeling in his Poetry.

Artist though he is pre-eminently, he cannot escape, however, a doom from which even Shakespeare is not altogether free—and to which Wordsworth, though one of the great poets, often fell a victim. Bridges too has given us *verse* which is prose[21] thrust into a metrical pattern and which deceives no reader.

This is a point which should not be laboured; yet I quote one example—out, of course, of many :

Cf. But Instinct in the beasts that live
Is of three kinds; (Nature did give
To man three shakings in her sieve)—
The first is Racial.
The second Self-preservatire
The third is Social

(Later Poems, No. 14, st. 9, page 387, Oxf. Ed, 1912.)

"Whereas the least philosophy may find
The truths are the ideas; the sole fact
Is the long story of man's growing mind"

(Later Poems, No. 13, page 382, Oxf. Ed. of Poetical Works, 1912.)

His Lyrics.

These occasional lapses enhance, by contrast, the beauty of his short lyrical pieces, remarkable as pure poetry, judged from the standpoint of diction, rhythm, melody, or even rhyme arrangement and stanza structure. One is tempted to quote whole poems but we must severely restrain ourselves and only give references.

In this group we can safely include from the *Shorter Poems in Five Books* the following :—

Bk. I, No. 1, for its varied rhythm and rhyme arrangement as well as fine nature-background; No. 2 for realistic touches, lyrical *feeling* and nature-background; No. 3 for its delicate touch of romantic sadness and personal note; No. 4 as offering us a fine Rossetti-like nature picture and 17th century "conceit" lyrically transformed, and showing the poet's characteristic reserve and restraint; No. 5 reminiscent of Wordsworth's *Green Linnet* and somewhat Rousseauistic in setting Nature against Man (but not in the manner of Shelley and Keats); No. 7 for the peculiar way in which feeling, never allowed by Bridges to get *violent* or clamorous, verges on passion;[22] No. 10 as an example of the too intellectual quality of his poetry; No. 11 for its exquisite use of the couplet in delineating his lady-love; No. 12 (also 12 of Book IV) as beautiful specimens of Bridges' Nature[23] poetry; No. 14 for its **poetic** quality, his love of music and of ***romance*** but specially as a convincing illustration of the manner in which by means of ***repetition*** of the same words or same vowel sounds he secures, like Coleridge, the charm of ravishing melodiousness (specially in the 3rd stanza) :

Book II, No. 1, for its dialogue *form* and new interpretation

[22] *Cf.* Book III, No. 10.
[23] *Cf.* Book IV, 27.

of the effect of Beauty as it is discerned in the ideal lady-love (*cf.* ll. 13-16 and 25-28); No. 2 reminiscent of Clough's "*Qua Cursum Ventus*" and "Where lies the land to which the ship would go?", but particularly for its genuine **poetic**[24] quality; No. 4 for its exquisite rhyme arrangement; No. 5 as a typical English landscape-painting in words, and No. 7 for combining the merits of 4, 5 and 9 and because it rivals 2 in poetic suggestiveness reminding us of the art of Keats; No. 10 as revealing the poet's zest for peace and 11 for its rich poetry; No. 12, the real nature of which is shown by the last stanza but two which we must quote—

> " Scatter the clouds that hide
> The face of heaven and show
> Where sweet Peace doth abide,
> Where Truth and Beauty grow."

No. 13 is specifically in Bridges' characteristic manner. In Bk. III, No. 2, realism[25] is finely used in the descriptive part, presenting a vivid snowfall in London and the rhyme words are very sonorous.

The last line of this piece with its 16 syllables beautifully illustrates Bridges' *accentual* (as opposed to syllabic) versification which runs thus :—

> " At the sight of the beauty that greets them, for the charm they have broken."

We may place by its side the last line of No. 4 which is a *representative* lyrical poem of Bridges in many ways and which appeals to us by its clarity, sincerity, freedom from embroidery or embellishment, perfection of diction, quiet tenderness melting into a delicate pensive sadness (thoroughly Miltonic), and, finally, by its suggestion of the poet's sense of mystery. A number of poets (Wordsworth, Lamb, Hood and others) have selected this touching theme of *A Dead Child*, but Bridges seems to us to outdistance them all. Let us quote the last two stanzas

[24] *Cf.* Book III, No. 12; Book IV. 21; V. 10, 11, 12.
[25] *Cf.* Bk. IV, 27.

(which will give us, of course, the closing line too which consists of 15 pure monosyllables [26] and 5 beats).

"So quiet! doth the change content thee?—Death,
whither hath he taken thee?
To a world, do I think, that rights the disaster of this?
The vision of which I miss,
Who weep for the body, and wish but to warm
thee and awaken thee?
Ah! little at best can all our hopes avail us
To lift this sorrow, or cheer us, when in the dark,
Unwilling, alone we embark,
And the things we have seen and have known and
have heard of, fail us."

This is superb in its exquisite charm. It contains depths of emotion, genuine pathos, the natural inquisitiveness of our baffled intelligence brought face to face with the supreme mystery of life and death and realisation of the nothingness of all our sense impressions.

Will any comment serve to bring out the full significance of the beautiful query—"doth the change content thee?"

For a parallel we feel we must go to the immortal bard Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. Poems like *A Dead Child*, showing this successful innovator's masterly skill in handling novel metrical patterns, to which he is helped by the principle of substituting syllabic by accentual versification and by his unerring judgment about varied line lengths and stanza structure (which again, is made by a lawless law discerned by him to include any number of

[26] *Vide* "A Miscellany" by Professor A. C. Bradley, LL.D., Litt. D. (1929), pp. 245-267, on "Monosyllabic Lines and Words in English Verse and Prose." We may refer for the magic of monosyllables to the songs of Burns. Let us also quote only one quatrain rich in Caroline nonchalance—

"Since there's no help, come, let us kiss and part!
Nay, I have done; you get no more of me!
And I am glad, yea, glad with all my heart,
That thus so cleanly I myself can free."

lines, suited to his purpose), determine the unique nature of Bridges' workmanship as 'a new *fashioner.*

This raises the important question of the value of his novel experiments in versification. He uses in this poem, for example, *beats* varying from three to six as the *emotional* variation in different parts of the poem demands; yet the norm is fixed by **five** beats. If the conventional feet names of classical poetry may be used, we may say that here we meet with iambs, truncated feet of a single stressed syallable serving for iambs, in which the unaccented syllable though actually omitted to the eye of the reader is, however, present to the trained ear for verse melody, anapæsts or what we may call a newly-discovered single-syllable feet of the poet's own which occupies the same *length of time* in reading as an iamb does, by virtue of the open long vowel sound of the fitly chosen word important in the line through its *meaning* value and emphasis, as in the case of the poet's use of "*thee*" in this poem. The feminine ending in "*ing*" or in the word "beauty" produces in some lines of verse an exquisite *musical* effect. Consonants are also distributed with rare skill by the choice of happy words, which wonderfully combine sound and sense.

Sound is generally made by technicians like Tennyson, Browning or Swinburne to remarkably echo sense in many typical lines but we note here the artist's extraordinary yet very natural power of accepting as they offer themselves to him while composing verse—that is spontaneously embodying in words what the aesthetic personal experience feels—only those words which contain in their letter collocation a harmony of sound and sense. We can easily illustrate this aspect of a true poet's genuine art by quoting almost at random verses of Shelley or Swinburne, space alone permitting. But space is inexorable and we have to desist. Our readers who enjoy poetry as it should be enjoyed, will supply the lacuna. We simply mention that the *repetition* (repetition of apt sounds be it as alliteration, assonance, or something like them) of "*p*," "*b*," "*f*," "*v*", "*b*," "*d*," "*t*";

and of "*l*," "*m*," "*n*" ;—in which most of the words occurring in the piece are so rich, and their unanalysable *distribution* in the verses as they follow one after another, and of such letter combinations (for their *sound* value alone) as "tl," "lt," "st," "ld," "bl," "ch," "th," "ng," "rt," "dr," followed by an "s," "pr," "rn," "sp," "nd," and other repetitions yielding *internal* rhymes, as in "the grasp in the clasp" (l.14), "still they will" (l.16), produce a ravishing music that must take the dullest ear by agreeable surprise—of even readers, who are, according to Shakespeare, men never to be trusted, being "fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils" alone. "Such harmony is, indeed, in immortal" sounds—sounds of music that unawares "creep in our ears, nay, penetrate into our very souls, where there must be chords of harmony ever attuned to the harmonies that exist outside us," through our senses as the immortal *Vidyapati*, the famous singer of Bengal, has taught the world, which is qualified to know such things, even though that matchless lyrist's was nothing better than a *Hindu mind !* The Hindu mind we are sorry to have to reiterate is capable of grasping more things than are dreamt of in the Westerner's—specially self-complacent Britisher's—imperialistic philosophy.

A word of apology. We have sinned, knowing fully what we do—we have analysed the music of poetry ! The critic, willy-nilly, "must murder to dissect." Our apology has, however, a double force, since the poet, with whom we have taken such liberty, in *The Testament of Beauty*, at any rate, does appear to botanize over his mother's grave, by giving to the *sciences* the dominance in poetry they actually have in his last or new testament, left as his dying and sacred gift to all lovers of good poetry, remarkable more for sound technique than sound philosophy of life, though we do not belittle the poet's philosophy to which we propose next to address ourselves.

Poe, in his essay on " The Poetic Principle," goes so far as to define poetry as the Rhythmical Creation of Beauty.

When the soul, he holds, struggles under the influence of the Poetic Sentiment which inspires it, it achieves the creation of supernal Beauty—supernal, because, the transient beauty resulting from the objects of sense that please us, is not recognised by Poe as of great importance. The soul pursues "that Loveliness whose very elements perhaps appertain to eternity alone." This, after all, is Shelley over again—or, to be more precise, Plato as interpreted by Shelley.

In Book III, No. 13, Joy[27] is identified with Life, and Love with God; and No. 15 is prominent as an instance of Bridges' highly artistic poetry of love.[28] In 19, love and beauty are identified.

Book IV, No. 8, illustrates the simple and sincere work of a perfect artist, who alone knows how to draw a satisfying picture in miniature and it may be compared with No. 14. No. 15 is an exquisite *flower* lyric. No. 18 is remarkable for its rhythmic movement. No. 25 is a fine instance of self-portraiture which makes us realise, as Blake's poetry does, the poet's isolation and divine discontent.

In Book V, we have his typical imagery in No. 8 (Asian Birds) in such lines as—

"He flew a flame against the blue;"

he speaks of the delicious notes bubbling from the birds' throats in which our poet describes the yellow bird; and we are made to visualize

"Full and sweet how they are shed;
Like round pearls from a thread!"

Again, we read, in Shelley's typical manner,—

"The motions of their flight
Are wishes of delight."

"Nightingales" (No. 12) gives us the poet's conception of song—

[27] *Cf.* Book IV, 24.
[28] *Cf.* Book IV, Nos. 10, 11, 16.

" Our song is the voice of desire, that haunts our dreams,
A throe of the heart,
Whose pining visions dim, forbidden hopes profound,
No dying cadence nor long sigh can sound,
For all our art."

Here we feel that the characteristics of Yeats and (his master) Shelley have penetrated deep into the artistic soul of one who inspite of his *sturdy individuality* allowed himself to be moulded by his predecessors and contemporaries with the liberality of a cultured man's rare power of assimilating all that is best and sweetest. Yeatsian in *form* is also the poem "Anniversary" (in *New Poems*).

One typical specimen piece of the peculiar lyric quality of Bridges, written in his unique manner, must be given in whole; and from among several characteristic poems we choose the following :—

" My spirit kisseth thine,
My spirit embraceth thee :
I feel thy being twine
Her graces over me,

In the life-kindling fold
Of God's breath; where on high,
In furthest space untold
Like a lost world I lie :

And o'er my dreaming plains
Lightens, most pale and fair,
A moon that never wanes;
Or more, if I compare,

Like what the shepherd sees
On late mid-winter dawns,
When thro' the branchèd trees,
O'er the white frosted lawns,

The huge unclouded sun,
Surprising the world whist,
Is all uprisen thereon,
Golden with melting mist."

(*Shorter Poems, Book IV. No. 28.*)

Comparable with such beautiful lyrics is No. 5 of Book V (on first love and last).

Artistic Form showing continuity of Growth.

In showing continuity of the poet's mind we confined ourselves to the presence in his earlier works of *ideas* which constitute the main part of the substance of his *Testament of Beauty* and had to give a summary of the argument of that piece.[29] But a "poem does not live in its argument merely, but in every single phrase and word and rhyme."[30] In illustrating the same continuity (with, of course, necessary development) of his **art** we have next to consider his diction, melody and rhythm (for rhyme is usually discarded by this innovator in his later productions *i.e.*, after 1919-20).

Poetic Form.

This necessitates a word or two on the poetic *form* or the mould into which the poet's thought and language are cast. This word, as the late Professor Ker has in his admirable manner shown, admits of a variety of interpretations. Professor Ker goes so far as to assert that a poet, *formerly*, had a devotion to an ideal form—he was an "adventurer trying to capture the ideal beauty, to gain perfection that no poet on earth had hitherto realised." Such, he avers, was the case with Milton pre-eminently ; and we bear in mind that Milton was in a variety of ways the exemplar of Bridges.

As regards "form" in its common signification of "metrical pattern,"[31] we have what must be called a very "composite" form in Bridges' Masks, but this pattern changes as we pass to his elegies, odes and other lyrics. The narratives have, necessarily, an intermediate type of their own. Rhythm,

[29] *Vide* Calcutta Review for July, 1930.

[30] W. P. Ker.

[31] *Cf.* Bridges' "The Necessity of Poetry" (1917), page 29. "The common explanation," says he, "of the metrical charm is, I believe, the love of patterns, and it is true that metrical poems can all be well considered as word-patterns." No. 14 (to Robert Burns ; An Epistle on Instinct) of *Later Poems* is an apt example of rhyme pattern.

according to Bridges' Lecture on *The Necessity of Poetry* (pages 25 and 30), is infinite and the rhythms selected should be congenial to the sense, Metre is produced by repetition of the selected rhythm. But the fundamental motive of our pleasure in beauty may be described as a balancing of the expected (as a soothing principle) and the unexpected (as a stimulating principle) where the expected are the norm and the unexpected,departures from the norm· This amounts to a balance between the fixed type and the freedom of *variations*. This pattern chiefly distinguishes the rhythm of verse from that of prose, and, to some extent, genuine poetry from poetic prose. In English poetry Iambic Pentameter is the commonest and most constant or formal *pattern*, it is the norm of versification.

But poetical form, in its other sense, is what makes each individual poem something *sui generis*. "Form in poetry is an essential part of its beauty."[82] This is specially true of *The Testament of Beauty* which is so easily distinguished, for example, from the *Prelude*, even though they share in a way a common aim.

Melody.

As for melody, Bridges' prosody may, in Prof. Ker's language, be called the "shadowy bodiless music in the mind of the poet before the poem is made." This in a way answers to Miss K. M. Wilson's "subconscious melody" theory advanced in her *Real Rhythm in English Poetry*. Our emphasis in this part of our study of the *poetry* of Bridges must, of course, be on his *quality as a maker*, a *fashioner* (as distinct from a seer, and independent thinker of new semi-scientific and semi-religious thoughts, inspite of his acknowledged indebtedness to Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius and Dante, and possibly, to Shelley).

In poetry of the first order, the definite relation of thought to form must be close and intimate,—the two being inseparable. There is something marvellous in Bridges' artistic

[82] "About English Poetry" by Mr. G. F. Bradby (Oxf. Un. Pr., 1929), page 7.

excellence, yet we are hardly inclined to say that like Lucretius, Dante or even Shelley, he can "heat up his prosaic argument for poetry," [33] that he can "turn the merest slag and clinker of prose into pure flame."[33] Occasionally there is, no doubt, almost a perfect fusion, in which no hard unsubduable grit of prosaic-scientific thought gives the appreciative poetry-lover an unpleasant sensation or a shock. But passages (not altogether few and far between in *the Testament*) can easily be cited totally untouched by any emotional fervour or even iridescent imaginative glow, so characteristic of Shelley, whose imagery often scintillates. This remark is meant to apply specially to Bridges' longer pieces interspersed with lyricism.[34]

Poetry—pure and simple.

His pure lyrics—and they are numerous [35]—possess the *poetic* quality in a large measure though there is something decidedly *individual* in this quality of his poetry.

Lyricism : his characteristic manner.

Even into poems not expressly lyrical, lyricism often enters in the shape of the poet's *personal* [36] note—a note of absolute sincerity and poetical ease. Though anything but a Romantic poet, like the poets of early nineteenth ceutury, Bridges is as full of

33 W. P. Ker's choice expressions in *Form and Style in Poetry* (edited by Mr. R W. Chambers (1928). "Words have an emotional and imaginative, as well as an intellectual context ** Though dealing with facts and concerned with truth" poetry has to do with truth "carried alive into the heart by passion," says Prefessor Lowes.

34 Such modern specimens suggest a very remote parallelism with the Pindaric Odes as contrasted with the relics of Alcœus or Sappho.

35 Vide *Shorter Poems.*

36 Bridges' poetical works have abundance of personal notes in them and we cannot even attempt to give exhaustive references. We shall just mention the pages of the Oxford Edition of his *Poetical Works* in one volume (1912) where instances may be found, at pp. 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 241, 244, 245, 246-247, 250, 251, 253, 254, 256-57, 258-60, 263, 264, 266-67, 268-69, 270-71, 272, 273, 274, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282,, 283, 286, 287, 289, 290-91, 293, 294, 296-97, 298-99, 300, 301-303, 305, 308, 309, 311-12, 316, 320, 368 [*Shorter Poems*]. Similar is the case with his *New* and *Later Poems*. His Eton days and Bartholomew experiences are definitely mentioned at pp. 421 and 419 respectively.

"Kate's Mother" in *New Verse* (ll. 27-38 particularly) is autobiography. So also "Melancholy," "The Great Elm," "The Sleeping Mansion," "Vision," "A Dream" in the same volume. This volume contains also "College Garden."

self-portraiture and even here and there of self-confession as the sublimely egotistic Wordsworth, the intensely emotional Shelley, the sentimental Byron or self-revealing aesthetic Keats. But Bridges is here suggestively free from the morbid self-consciousness of the Romantics of the early nineteenth century. This characteristic we note also in his essays and addresses as well as in the classical prosodic experiments. It shows his thorough discipline, his *training* and spirit of exploration of new and yet appropriate and adequate verse-medium for his *complex* matter, which by its very nature demanded a *composite* style or manner.

Variety of Forms.

The ballad form is often appropriated by Bridges to his special purpose. Then comes the lyricized narrative. We have mentioned his Masks Shorter lyrics varied in stanza structure, rhyme formula, rhythm movement, and line length, are numerous. Odes and Elegies have been successfully composed. Finally, we have his classical experiments which competent authorities consider to have many false quantities and which, apart from their metrical form, hardly commend themselves to us as genuine poetry. He also tried his hand on Scazons, Triolets, etc., to show his pridilection for "exotics," which many of his contemporaries in vain attempted to transplant on the English soil. A word on this topic will later on be necessary.

His Dramatic Attempts.

Did this master-artist detect with his carefully disciplined artistic temper and unerring skill that the dramatic manner adopted by him was *over-studied* even in its "classical tone"? He, at any rate, abandons the dramatic method of treatment in his (composite) long narrative pieces as contrasted with Mr. Nichols in his *Prometheus in Piccadilly*. Moreover, his classicism itself is too reflective to be the true-born classical mode, being tinged with the romantic element of subjectivism,[37] which does interfere

[37] This is evident even in his Masks.

with a truly dramatic detachment, as is the case, more or less, with Browning, except when Browning rests content with dramatic monologues or "persons" merely. Yet the late Poet Laureate's dramatic experiments matured his genius and art, as the prose controversies of Milton matured him for his *Paradise Lost.*

Stages in the growth of his art.

In the middle period of his poetic growth lyricism noticeably gains supremacy as is evidenced by his numerous short poems, songs, elegies, dirges, eclogues, idylls, odes, hymns, dialogues and epistles in verse; vignettes and imitations of French forms like the triolet, rondeau,[38] etc.

Many of his shorter poems bear witness to his great love of music[39] showing his affinity with Browning.

Another kind of affinity was responsible for his attempts to reproduce some of the fascinating eccentricities of Tudor and Jacobean poets. As typical examples of successful imitations we may allude to pieces like, "The Ciff-Top" of Book I,—No. 4 of *Shorter Poems* (specially st. 6); also Nos. 6 and 8; Nos. 16 (song), 17 (with its noteworthy rhyme formula) of Book III; Nos. 7, 14, 22 (in particular), and 26 of Book IV; *New Poems*, Nos. 8, 18 (Wishes), 19 (A Love Lyric), and 20 (Eros); *Later Poems* No. 6 (Vivamus) and No. 8 which is charmingly exquisite as a short lyric, suggesting more than describing the statuesque beauty of his lady-love by means of imagery perilously like the fine conceits of 17th century love-lyrists, minus their fancy-free nonchalance due to superficiality of emo-

[38] *Vide* Poetical Works in one volume (Oxf. Ed., 1912).

[39] *Cf.* "Turn our thought for awhile to the symphonies of Beethoven,
Or the rever'd preludes of mighty Sebastian ?" etc.

[Poems in Classical Prosody I. Epistle I to L.M.. Wintry Delights, page 428 Oxf. Ed.]; An Ode Written for Music called A Hymn of Nature [Later Poems, No. 19,] or the previous one (No. 18) called Ode to Music; No. 11 of Later Poems to Joseph Joachim; New Poems, No. 28, "Regina Cara, Jubilee-song, for Music, 1897."

tion. Here the emotion is more deep than fervent. The diction is remarkably simple yet sweet and the rhythm almost perfect. I omit on purpose all mention of Milton because that poet's influence appears to me to be ubiquitous.

One wonders how and why such a careful artist as Bridges, so powerfully influenced by Milton's supreme skill in verse music and grand style, should give us such a *bad imitation* of that great poet in the following lines, while speaking of the affinity of Poetry with Music, in a fine Ode which captures Milton's melody and diction wonderfully in ll. 24-30 (or even in ll. 31-36) :—

> "Or in some walled orchard nook
> She communes with her ancient book,
> Beneath the branches laden low;
> While the high sun o'er bosom'd snow
> Smiteth all day the long hill-side
> With ripening cornfields waving wild."

(*Later Poems*, page 396, Oxf. Ed.)

In many pieces we detect echoes of other poets, though such parallelisms do not establish anything more than an *unconscious* borrowing. Browning's characteristic ideas or manner are stamped on No. 19 of Book III, and Shelley's on No. 9 of *New Poems*, the 4th stanza of which is in sharp contrast with Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty*, which piece is suggested, however, by *New Poems*, No. 22; Blake's on No. 2 of Book IV of *Shorter Poems*, Coleridge's on No. 4 of Book IV (*ibid*) and Tennyson's on No. 11 of *New Poems*, Spenser's on No. 4 of Book V (Shorter Poems) and Arnold's on No. 11 (New Poems).

But his "Larks" (No. 6 of Book V) is in sharp contrast with the bird lyrics of Wordsworth, Shelley and Keats, just as his "Nightingales" has little in common with Keats' poem on the same theme, or his "North Wind in October" with Shelley's "Ode to the West Wind" and his "The South Wind" with Shelley's "Cloud" (even though like

Shelley he is here his own myth-maker). In verse pattern this poem of Bridges reproduces the pattern of Milton's *Lycidas*, both being based on the Italian model.

"A Vignette" (Later Poems, No. 4) recalls Landor, exactly as Eros (New Poems, No. 20) stanza 1, does Rossetti. "Millicent" (Later Poems, No. 5) with its exquisite and unobtrusive domestic note reminds us of Wordsworth's "She was a phantom of delight." The little piece *Dirge* (Later Poems, No. 18, Ode to Music, section VII), in its part numbered 2, is downright Swinburne, regarding man and his fate ; and No. 19 (A Hymn of Nature) reproduces Shelley's very phraseology as applied to transfigured Asia, styled by the Voice singing in the air (Act II, sc. v of *Prometheus Unbound*)—"Life of Life!" In Bridges too we have "Life of life is thy being" (l. 5).

Even Pope is requisitioned in such a piece as *La Gloire de Voltaire* (Later Poems, No. 13) where in Pope's manner Pilate is made to rub shoulders with Tom Thumb. We propose to bring to a close this topic by quoting, by way of our conclusion and comment, two lines, which may not inaptly characterize this side of Bridges' poetical efforts, *viz.*,—

The Real Meaning of some of these varieties.

"Shall we conclude his merit was his wit,
His magic art and versatility?"

Versatility, if not originality, is exemplified by the piece "Screaming Tarn" (*New Poems*) which, though reminiscent of Wordsworth's "Hart Leap Well," is in essence a Coleridgian ballad notable for its weird atmosphere.

But the *New Verse* volume (pub. 1925) marks a definite change. Here he is more idyllic and the narrative or descriptive form seems to have particularly commended itself to him. His last production (*The Testament of Beauty*) profits by the self-knowledge thus gained by the poet as an artist who ultimately discovers his appropriate "form."

Rhythm.

If it be correct to hold with Miss Wilson[40] that "we work rhythmically when our overseer mind is free-wheeling" and that "only when the conscious direction of the mind starts do we become unrhythmic," because, "reason, intellect upsets rhythm," we can easily understand Bridges' preference for "an irregularly accented rhythm" to which music tends the more when "the more the emotion of music is of the sort that appeals to the understanding." "These with predominating intellect," she says, "tend to write difficult rhythms." [41]

And some of Bridges' rhythms are difficult, specially when he is less emotional than intellectual. This may be well illustrated from his *Testament*. Rhythm as a passive experience—as of the *reader* of poetry—so far as it depends on the attention span, is apprehended by us as time divided into regular intervals only when our attention is much relaxed. Therefore even in the matter of our enjoyment of the melody of Bridges' poetry some obstacle has to be overcome, because his *intellectual* mode of presenting emotion and the *form* of discussion which his thought movement oftener than not assumes in *The Testament,* make too constant and continuous a demand upon our attention to follow his meaning to afford us the relaxation needed for enjoyment of his poetry *as music.*

Such, for instance, is not the case with Keats, Swinburne, or Yeats, not to speak of Burns. Even Spenser, Tennyson, nay, Browning when he is richly melodious, do not tax us so heavily. Personally, I have felt that a sort of artificially trained sense of melody has to be created in order to fully enjoy the music of Bridges' latest poetry, which may read to lovers of Swinburne or Yeats more as a highly metaphysical or scientific discussion in verse, relieved every now and then by beautiful poetic passages rich in verbal sweetness. After all,

40 "The Real Rhythm in English Poetry" by Miss Katharine M. Wilson, M.A. Ph.D. (Cantab,).

41 *Ibid.*

these latter are to such readers like oases in a desert—only they are not few and far between. May it not be that (*psychologically*) this phenomenon of our attention span has much to do with the relish with which we do enjoy the beauty of Bridges' melodious *single* lines in which *The Testament* remarkably abounds and in which we notice also that the latter part of the line happens to be more rhythmic than the beginning?

One or two quotations must be made :—

"a winter rose-bed
burst into crowded holiday of scent and bloom" (I. 43)

"as rye courteseying in array to the breeze of May (*Ibid*, 301)

"where plunging down the rocks they swam in the salt sea" (*Ibid*, 506)

"while loud and louder thro' the dazed head of the Sphinx
the old lion's voice roareth o'er all the lands" (*Ibid*, 789-90).

"and with rich thought atone the melancholy of doom" (II. 660)

"the empty mind may float
lightly in the full moonshine of o'erblown affluence" (III. 54-55)

"the starry plenitude of his radiant soul" (III. 229)

"at the still hour of dawn which is holier than the day" (III. 232)

"and in the whirr of its multitudinous hurry
it hummeth like the bee, a warm industrious boom
that comforteth the farm, and spreadeth far afield
with throbbing power; as when in a cathedral awhile
the great diapason speaketh, and the painted saints
feel their glass canopies flutter in the heav'nward prayer"

(III. 379-84.)

Here we have quoted *six* consecutive lines—each of which lends support to us—which by their cumulative effect enable us the better to realise the quality of the poet's music, besides showing the Miltonic ring in the last three of these six lines.

How exquisite is the music of these rhythmical verses can hardly be shown by any analysis but is sure to be felt and

enjoyed by every reader with an ear for rich melodious lines. Other instances are :—

"and for immortal Roses desireth increase" (III. 439)

which, again, is reminiscent of Shakespeare's Sonnets ;

"an inextinguishable poean of battle and blood"—

(III. 514—where the Shelleyan combination of *blood and gold* re-appears with a slight alteration).

"A sudden eruption of nature, as when earth quaketh
and faltering along the edges of its wrinkling shell
the mountains roar and crack, and vent their ruddy bowels
in spume of molten lava * * * "

(*Ibid*, 515-18.)

In this case we choose 4 consecutive lines to place them side by side with Milton's—

"as when the force
Of subterranean wind transports a hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
Of thundering Aetna, whose combustible
And fuel'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds
And leave a singed bottom all involv'd
With stench and smoke."

(Paradise Lost, Book I.)

If comparisons are "odorous," comments on these passages might be worse and we, therefore, leave it at that !

To proceed with quotations (of single lines)—

" the sculptor's thought of beauty loometh into shape" (*Ibid*, 637).

But such rhythmical movements as we detect in—

" the fine-measured motions
of immeasurable emotion" (*Ibid*, 771-72)—

strike us as examples of *overdone* poetic manner degenerating into mannerism in spite of their sweetness. "The twin persistent semitones of my Grand Chant" (I. 940) :—this is good but it is

preceded by a couple of lines which, again, show how our poet cannot resist the temptation of a *studied* effect. We quote six lines (ll. 335-40) together, including this beautiful example of his rhythm :—

> "so that whether it be starch, oil, sugar, or alcohol
> 'tis ever our old customers, carbon and hydrogen,
> pirouetting with oxygen in their morris antics;
> the chemist booketh all of them as CHO,
> and his art is as mine, when I figurate
> the twin persistent semitones [42] of my Grand Chant."

We thought it was only Browning who revelled in such "antics." Perhaps such poetry consoles the out and out *realists* of to-day, but we happen to incorrigibly belong to the old order, which, to our mind, rightly refuses to yield place to the new and yet does not corrupt the world of appreciative lovers of poetry. By a strange irony line 941 begins with—"And 'twas but bookish,"—surely thus furnishing us with an apt expression, by a happy freak of unconscious self-criticism by poets, to apply it to the writer himself. But this by the way ; for, our remark does not strictly belong to the question of Bridges' rhythms.

Though not aiming at an exhaustive list of quotations we want to add a few more illustrations of rhythmic lines from the 4th Book of the poem :—

> "The loved and loveable whose names liv evermore" (239),
> "At the unsearchable immensities of Goddes[43] realm" (673),

[42] Tone in the rhythm of poetry may correspond to tune in music but mere combination of loud or low tone rhythm, quick or slow, may not produce *tune* which grows out of rhythm but is a thing apart. For a thorough discussion of this vexed question we can only refer our readers to Saintsbury and Omond *versus* Mr. Thompson and Misses Dabney and Wilson.

[43] *Cf.* his other Chaucerian happy imitations like "Goddes grace" (already quoted at page 113 of Calcutta Review for July), "birdes," Goddes best gifts (III. 323). His choice of these obsolete forms is due, perhaps, to his own way of avoiding the commonplace by the selection of more *melodious* forms.

"For my tale was my dream and my dream the telling" (1297)

"where some poet long since
sang his throbbing passion to immortal sleep." (1349-50).

The *New Verse* volume (1925) too can furnish us with appropriate materials and we take only one or two instances out of a large number. Before doing so, we may be allowed to offer one critical comment on the use of Alexandrine by Bridges and Shelley. It is simply this. Does any admirer of the late Laureate claim that his Alexandrines, *loose* or regular—we have both the varieties in plenty in Bridges' poetry—have the Shelleyian *haunting* swing of melody? We shall quote one line each, for the present, representative of the two poets for a comparison and rest content, because space permits no elaborate treatment of this tempting topic.

" Feel their glass canopies flutter in the heavenward prayer,"

Or, to get rid of the extra syllable, the line—

"'twas the sheaves on its tongue; while the grain runneth out,"

Or, the more "cadenced" line—

"clicketeth in heartless mockery of swoon and sweat."

This is Bridges nearly at his best. Now turn for a moment to Shelley's wonderfully musical handling of the heavy beat of the Alexandrine in such a line as—

"And singing still dost soar, and soaring ever singest,"[44]

and note the effect. Milton, Browning and Bridges, among English poets, are notable as masters of verse melody as well as *music* proper ; yet Shelley hardly lags behind them in his happy unconscious hits, when he now and then writes as if he were a "*musical* prosodian" by training.

[44] *The Testament of Beauty*, Book III, ll. 384, 378 and 371, respectively and Shelley's *Skylark*, l. 10.

The very Preface of *New Verse* admits that the poems represent a "distracting variety of moods and measures," and are composed in neo-Miltonic syllabics and "offer their true desideratum to advocates of free verse," so far as Part I goes (*i.e.*, pieces written in the later manner of 1921). These are full of peculiarities called by the poet himself "incongruities." We have here a number of words selected for their *sounds* and ending in "ing" such as idling, reading, burgeoning, thronging, springing (a curious collocation) hasting, leaping, morning, indulging, dallying, etc. (at the beginning of lines), long open vowels, explosive consonants like M, T, B, D, and a fine example of sound wedded to sense in Ll. 30-35 of the opening poem, Cheddar Pinks):—

> " Reading an old poet
> while the busy world
> toil'd moil'd fussed and scurried
> worried, bought and sold
> plotted stole and quarell'd
> fought and God knows what."

The diction is mainly monosyllabic, clear and simple, and the lines run-on.

Innumerable passages of *musical verse* occur in *the Testament of Beauty* where, it appears to us, the mere *sounds* of words must have determined the poet's choice of them, irrespective of their sense value. We shall quote *only* a single instance (from Book II) :—

> " Parisian vanity reposeth thus to-day
> on Buonaparte's fame; for Alexander and he
> are kings of kings and lords of lords, the conquerors
> of conquerors all; dwarfing rude rivals whensoe'er,
> Alaric, Tamurlane, Attila and Zingis Khan,
> once names of terror and furious bombast, foremost men
> humbled, as were the seventy kings who with their thumbs
> and their great toes cut off, fingered the crumbs" *etc.* (ll. 603-610).

In *Poor Poll* (poem No. 2) the syllables are 12 to 13 in a line as in hexameter; but peculiarity of rhythm is noticeable specially because of skilful *pause variation.* As in Anglo-Saxon poetry or in Spenser, Shelley, Tennyson and Browning suggestive compounds are dexterously used. His characteristic mannerism is illustrated by l. 33—

> "That dry whistling, shrieking, tearing, cutting pincer."

Unrhymed, *uncapitalled,* unpunctuated lines like these must have once given much trouble to those who *read* (with the eye) his poetry silently. Practically, here is an epistle in *verse libre* which humorously refers to "fair Hellenic art"—hackneyed Greek tags, 'affected' so much by schoolmasters, being requisitioned. "Iambic, Scazon and Alexandrine, Spondee or Choriamb," the poet regretfully adds, are all alike to the bird.

Ll. 19-36, almost as melodious as Tennyson's verse, of *The Tapestry* (No. 3) achieve a painting in words richer than Rossetti's, followed by Browning's manner, represented by ll. 38 to 90, but specially 38 to 47. Colour too is dominant. We can only quote here, out of this long passage, one or two *single lines* illustrative of the poet's rhythm :—

> "Then one flame-yellow streak pierced thru' the molten bronze";

and,

> "The orb with slow surprise surged, till his whole blank blaze
> Dispell'd from out his path all colour—and Day began."[45]

His Landscapes.

The idyllic *Kate's Mother* satisfies Simonides' definition of poetry, presenting, in simple yet sweet language full of music, the life of the common folk in a quiet country-home—neat, snug, healthy, sweet and hospitable. Wordsworth and Tennyson are his models.

[45] Ll. 30 and 32-33.

Bridges' fine landscapes[46] possess the charm of Chinese or Japanese painting, while presenting beautifully to the reader's eye

> "The very England herself as he grew to love her
> —as any manchild loveth looking on beauty—
> England in the peace and delight of her glory,
> beneath the summer sun in the wild-roving wind
> the nightly fans hurtling steadily above me as there
> Nature flooded my heart in unseizable dream." (Ll. 21-26.)

There is a touch of Oriental decorative art in such landscape painting and it is remarkable for the type of individuality found in Chinese painting of the Tang School, which combined Taoism with the influence of the Sung-period Zen-self-consciousness. Zen in the East, like the occidental Liebnitz, whose influence is so marked on Wordsworth's representation of a harmony between Man and Nature, made man and nature sympathetic to each other long before Rousseau or even Swedenborg (with his mystical theory of correspondences). And Zen was in favour of presentation of life in full play and may be said to correspond to the Renaissance humanism minus its paganism. Just as in painting the *line*, as part of drawing and design, " becomes the primary medium for representation," so even in poetry, where spacing is reduced to rhythmic units, a single line of verse may represent the poet's art. This is why we specially refer to and illustrate Bridges' artistic workmanship by dwelling at some length on this characteristic. Only so far as *The Testament* is concerned there is a tinge of pedantry here and there which swallows up plain beauty as in the case of the literary man's art—as in the Chinese Reromin—called *bunjinga*. But in his early poetry Bridges is " a singer whom country joys enthral " (l. 5 of *To Francis Jammes*).

[46] *Cf.* also *Shorter Poems* Oxf. Edn.), Book II, Nos. 5, 7, 8, 10 (stanza 3); Book III, No. 2 (London Snow), 7 (Indolence); Book IV, No. 5 (Last Week of February, 1890), 6 (April, 1885), 8, 12, 13, 20, 21, 23; Book V, Nos. 1, 4 (The Garden in September), 7, 9 (January) 13 (specially stanzas 2 to 5 and 7), 17; *New Poems*, Ecl. I, No. 4 (st. 2), 10, 12, 14 (November), 15 (realistic delineation of Winter Night-fall), 23 (The Idle Flowers), 24 (Dunstone Hill).

Rhyme is admitted into some of the pieces such as (No. 10),[47] *Buch Der Lieder*, which is in Alexandrine disguised as quatrain structure. We flatten out stanza three and show the rhythm and rhyme—

Rhyme.

Like fresh leaves of the woodland whose trembling screens would house
The wanton birdies courting upon the springing boughs?

This poem has a charming song-melody. Such is (No. 11) "Emily Bronte" too. Here "breast" rhymes with "Christ"!

No. 14, *The Sleeping Mansion*, with its 4-beat, accentual,[48] ballad metre offers us a new "pattern" being *syllabically* longer (practically of 12-syllable lines). The 5th stanza deserves quoting for its beautiful rhythm—

"And to that slumbering mansion
Was I come as a dream,
To cheer her in stupor
And loneliness extreme."

"The car restling swiftly along the village lane"—

introduces too realistically a modern item.

Occasionally Bridges leaves us in doubt as to what is referred to. Does "her" in this poem mean the inmate or the mansion? Bridges seems to delight in mystification. The last piece (Translation from Sappho) too leaves us in uncertainty about its real purport. Similarly, in the second half of *Growth of Love,* doubt is more conspicuous than the subjective note so dominant in the sonnets 1 to 21, and we know not for certain as to who is really addressed in sonnet 25. Yet he tells us in *Shorter Poems* (I. 13, page 237, Oxf. Edn.)

"I told my secret out,
That none might be in doubt."

[47] *Cf.* also Nos. VIII, IX, and XI to XXIII.
[48] *Cf. New Poems*, No. 5 (page 335, Oxf. Edn.).

In (No. 15) *Vision,* which has a Tennysonian ring, we stumble on prose and know not how to scan the 6th line—' Thy loyalty, have been given in vain.'[49]

Low Barometer (No. 16), remarkable for his new diction, realism, use of "explosives" and his rhyme-arrangement, offers a stanza (the 6th) which in its scansion leaves some doubt in our mind. Is it correct to rewrite[50] his verse thus ?

" Sóme have séen córpses lóng intérr'd
Escápe from hállowing contról
Pále chárnel fórms—nay év'n have héard
The shrilling óf a tróubled sóul."

In a mood of humorous relaxation he indulges in a colloquial vein in the song (No. 23) *Simpkin* which captivates us with its 17th century lighter movement of a merry *jeu d'sprit,* noted for its jolly, rollicking and bantering tone. The rhythm here is quite appropriate. Goldsmith is occasionally a happy master of such beautiful, funny and tiny things.

The rhythm of (No. 17) *A Dream* (composed 1921), matches its slangy style and is fit for the satirical and humorous fling at the decadent poets of the " yellow nineties." Browning's rapid rhythm movement is reproduced in (No. 18), *To His Excellency,* with its happy humorous banter at German Uhlans in sharp contrast with Tennyson's mad fury against the French, and Kipling's offensive exclusiveness of the burden-shouldering white men.

The lilt of rollicking verse makes *Hodge* (No. 20) a fine War-time ballad. It has a reference to the aeroplane.

In the *New Verse* volume are some poems written in his later style and we shall next take a few examples from this group to illustrate his diction, imagery, rhythm, melody and versification in general.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

49 The ultra-modernist may frown and ask—" But who wants you to revive that antiquated habit?"

50 This, of course, is tentative.

Reviews

The Real Rhythm in English Poetry—by Katherine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Aberdeen University Press (published, October, 1929, Price 7*s*·6*d*.).

This is a valuable contribution, made by a writer who has already made her mark by her " Sound and Meaning in English Poetry " in 2 Books, to the study of a technical subject which has of late attracted much attention and on which the present writer has something really original to offer to those interested in the question, rather by way of a challenge to the old school of prosodic study. Miss Wilson professes to be one of the " musical prosodians " and her challenge is mainly aimed at no less an authority than Professor Saintsbury, whom she rather curtly characterizes as the champion of a " dead prosody." But is it really dead? To-day nothing but " new " things—new women, new morality, new psychology, to name only a few—are apparently alive. She complains that the Professor's attitude to prosodians of her class " is difficult to understand." Possibly. Yet Miss Wilson shows that she understands it but too well.

Saintsbury's dictatorial manner, more offensive than Dr. Johnson's, may have irritated Miss Wilson. She cannot resist the temptation to peremptorily fling back the Professor's charge of *impertinence* against those who, like her, "use musical symbols to scan." Here is tit for tat with a vengeance. She humorously takes us into her confidence by declaring that she proposes to drag us into " a highly-peppered atmosphere " and we at once realise her refreshing candour! Her plea is, however, for " toleration " as she disclaims all superiority for her method.

There is a good deal of controversial matter in her five chapters and the two Appendices are full of valuable information. Very pertinently this writer observes that most of the quarrels in prosody result not so much from reading or hearing differently as from labelling sensations differently—the difficulty lies less in hearing aright than in analysing and knowing what one does hear." That is the crux of the whole problem.

We have nothing but grateful appreciation of a number of highly illuminating or suggestive observations made by Miss Wilson but feel obliged to say that she is not altogether unbiassed against " the orthodox prosodic world." We even doubt if, indeed, Professor Saintsbury has

been justly censured over his "meaning," which appears to us to have been slightly distorted by his antagonist too eager to score a point at his expense, of "*triple*," regarding anapæsts and dactyls. We do not propose, nor feel called upon, to enter into details of a much-vexed controversy but just cite one relevant instance. In a short review we have a legitimate right to leave, for example, "meta-prosody" severely alone. We cheerfully hasten to add that "The Real Rhythm" is to us a penetrating study demanding from the writer and her readers specialised knowledge and that in breaking what is practically in a way new ground Miss Wilson makes really arresting suggestions which give us much food for careful thought.

Her method, as has now been quite clear, is to "collate the prosody of poetry with that of music." Now, the use cf musical *symbols* for poetic scansion, on the strength of a conviction that music can "mirror the rhythms of poetry," is calculated to perplex those born to the older manner. Technicalities, some of which are necessarily hard, enter largely into this fascinating study which, we gladly note, is made appropriately elaborate in Ch. IV—that on "Rhythm in Particular"—which particularly commends itself to us. She has laid under contribution, not always however for accepting their views, quite a number of authoritative writers on prosody in general, on metre, rhythm (of verse and prose), on the science of verse, on poetry on its *formal* side, and not the least, on the latest type of psychology. To the last she administers towards the close of Ch. I, a very bold but not untimely admonition, verging on rebuke not too mild, which we appreciate.

On the whole this volume of 167 pages, though it makes hardreading, will amply repay the assiduous reader and we hope it will begin a new era in the study of a somewhat misunderstood but very interesting branch of the art of poetry and we strongly recommend the book to all lovers of "*fashioners*" of poetry like, say, the late Poet-laureate, Robert Bridges, who was also a close student of the subject of prosody on which he has left to us something important among his critical papers.

J. G. B.

Readings from Smiles (with Notes)—by Rai Rasamay Mitra, Bahadur, M.A., New Revised Edition, B. Banerjea and Co., Price Re. 1-8-0—is one of the text-books recommended for the Matriculation Examination by the Calcutta University. The topics selected show judgment and care; and a good deal of pains have evidently been taken to number the lines

on each printed page. 296 pages of reading matter in bold and thick type have, however, to shoulder the heavy burden of 49 pages of Notes in very small print where we are edified by such precious bits as—" Speech—language," "becomes (a transitive verb)," " routine—a regular course of duty or action " and much besides!! One can now understand why students of to-day are in such a deplorable condition. The University should *at least* have peremptorily demanded complete wiping out of these Notes before considering it proper to recommend a book which, thus purged, would surely be welcome.

X.

A Study of the Mahāvastu by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., with a 'Note on the Mahāvastu' by Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., D.Litt. Demy 8vo., 8¾"×5½", pp. x+180. 4 Plates. Price Rs. 8. Published by Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1930.

After the war in 1814-16 Nepal was forced to have a British Residency in its territory and Brian Hodgson was early appointed Residency Surgeon and he rose to be the Resident. He retired after the massacre of Kot in 1846. During these thirty years he employed his leisure in researches of all sorts both scientific and literary. Among his literary researches one of the most important was the collection of a large number of manuscripts which he distributed to the principal learned societies of the time. The Asiatic Society's share of these manuscripts was examined by Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra and the result of his labours is embodied in the Nepalese Buddhist Literature published in 1882. The Raja was then not in the best of his health and he asked me to help him. The help was given in this way. His paṇḍits prepared abstracts of these manuscripts in Sanskrit and I translated the abstracts of bigger manuscripts into English.

Of the manuscripts presented by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society of Bengal the biggest one was the Mahāvastu Avadāna which occupies in Rajendra Lala's Nep. Bud. Lit. pp. 116-160. At the end of this abstract Rajendra Lala makes a note that Senart is preparing an edition of this work. That edition appeared in 1888 and in that year Senart came to Calcutta. I invited him to my place at Naihati but at the last moment his wife fell ill and he had to leave Calcutta without going to my place.

When the edition appeared, it was found to be in a Sanskritic form of language the like of which is not to be found in any other work yet published. The language of the poetical pieces resembled that of the poetical pieces in Lalitavistara and also in Saddharmapuṇḍarika. But the prose of the Mahāvastu is also in a Sanskritic language but a bit different from that of the poetry. The language problem of the Mahāvastu is therefore a very important one and it should be carefully studied and analysed and a systematic grammar written about it. Much has been done in this direction by Oldenberg whose judgment and scholarship is admired by all scholars, European and Indian, but much yet remains to be done.

The poetical pieces are generally a bit more ancient and they are given in support of the prose narration immediately after them ; for instance, in the early part of the work Mahāvastu, there is a description of the hells in prose put into the mouth of Mahāmaudgalyāyana who had the supernatural power of roaming all over the world from the lowest hell to the highest heaven of the Suddhāvāsa devas. After the short description in prose there is similar description in poetry but put into the mouth of the Buddha himself and the latter is quoted as a voucher of the former. This is one of the fruitful sources of repetition complained of by Berriedale Keith in the note in the form of a foreword to Dr. B. C. Law's Study of the Mahāvastu. But should we take it as a repetition? If the poetry is not repeated no one would believe the statements in prose. If these are tedious repetitions, they are not only to be tolerated but also welcomed as an honest attempt to give the tradition of the work. There are other repetitions, too, but a scholarly spirit should seek to justify them and not scare away students by decrying them.

The name ' Mahāvastu,' means ' the great thing,' ' the great subject ' and the great subject is treated from the beginning to the end in a systematic order. That order is indicated in the Nidāna or introductory summary. The three volumes of Senart are an expansion of this introductory summary, treating each ' head ' in almost the same order with some deviations in certain places. The great thing is the Buddha's spirit which gradually developed in cycles after cycles of years beginning with Aparājitadvaja to the end of Buddha's ministry and the conversion of his disciples.

In the Vedic literature especially in the Yajurveda the mantras are sometimes separated from the Brāhmanas as in the white Yajurveda. But in the black Yajurveda they are so mixed up that some of the śākhās are likened to a vomit. The Mahāvastu when compared with other forms of

Buddhist literature appeared to be so mixed up as to resemble a vomit. It has jātakas, sūtras, vinaya narrations, udānas, all mixed up in one work while both in Sanskrit and in Pāli they are different subjects and treated of in different works. This mixed Mahāvastu is rather a hard subject for study and though Senart's edition appeared in 1888, few have ventured to study in original Sanskrit.

The services of Dr. Bimala Churn Law are indeed very great because out of that apparently disorderly work he has tried to evolve system and to encourage people to study it by showing that the study would be profitable. The repetitions were useful when Buddhism was a living force in India but in the 20th century they have no living interest and Dr. Law has done well to discard them all and give us the substance of the whole thing in plain and business-like language. He has attempted to divide his work into three sections—(1) Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, (2) Gautama Buddha, and (3) Stories. This is very good for modern readers who, I am sure, will thank him for evolving order out of what seemed to Keith to be an impenetrable disorder. The reader will now be able to see that the advent of Śākyamuni is not an accident. It is the outcome of self-exertion for many cycles of time—hundreds of thousands kalpas—a kalpa being 4,354,560,000 years. The entire story of this self-exertion is embodied in this work and therefore it richly and rightly deserves the name of the Mahāvastu. Our Śākyamuni who in the Theravāda is regarded as a human being cannot be so great a *vastu* as to merit the name of the Mahāvastu. It is the Mahāsāṅghikas who thought him so. I believe there is a fundamental misconception about the import of this work. The general idea is that it is the work of the Lokottaravādins or those who thought Buddha to be a superhuman and supernatural being, forming a branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas. Not one sect only of the Mahāsāṅghikas thought him to be lokottara or superhuman but all the Mahāsāṅghikas always thought him to be so. The construction of the sentence, "Āryamahāsāṅghikānāṁ lokottaravādināṁ madhyadeśikānāṁ pāṭhena vinayapiṭakasya mahāvastue ādi," does not justify us in thinking that Lokottaravādins are a branch of the Mahāsāṅghikas. It rather leads us to think that all the Mahāsāṅghikas were Lokottaravādins. There is a list of the 18 sects which arose shortly after the split in the 2nd century after Buddha in the Mahāvaṁsa but the Lokottaravādins do not appear there. The Kathāvatthu composed by monks assembled at the 3rd Buddhist Council at Pāṭaliputta in the 17th year of the reign of Aśoka contains the doctrines of all the various Buddhist sects which existed at that time but there is no mention of any sect known as the Lokottara-

vādins. So Lokottaravādinām is not the name of a sect but it is an adjective of the Mahāsāṅghikas. If this is true, the attempt of bringing the Mahāvastu down to the 3rd century A.D. falls to the ground. The book was written at a period when supporting prose narrations by ancient poetical pieces held its ground, *i.e.*, at a time when books like the Lalitavistara, the Saddharmapuṇḍarika, etc., were composed and the name of the Mahāsāṅghikas shows that it is at least earlier than these works, because these are pronounced Mahāyāna works while the Mahāvastu is not only not a Mahāyāna work but also a book of the Mahāsāṅghikas, and if we are to believe in Suzuki, the Mahāyāna developed from the Mahāsāṅghikas some centuries after their formation.

The Mahāvastu is a great work not only because it is the history of Buddha for several cycles of kalpas but also for the great ideas of creation, of the origin of government and of other topics of supreme importance in ancient India. In the matter of creation it commences with the Suddhāvāsa Devas who are self-illuminating, self-mobilised, light, whose only food is prīti or love and who do not require the help of the sun or the moon to exist in the world. This self-illuminating being roamed all over space and all over time at their own will without any let or hindrance. How in several kalpas they became human beings is a wonderful development and those who want to know the steps of development are recommended to read the section commencing with the Rājavaṁsa. The Rājavaṁsa had its origin not in any divine right but in a pure convention. The cultivators chose the strongest man, appointed him to protect their harvest and compensated him with a sixth of their produce. He is often called Gaṇa-dāsa or the servant of the people. The first king is called Mahāsammata or 'the Great Elected' ; this is a theory of state built upon a pure convention not to be found in any other Indian literature. The descriptions of cities, gardens, palaces, processions, etc., are not only vivid and life-like but true so far as ancient India is concerned. Some of the scenes are exceedingly beautiful. The scene of Rāhula's conversion is pathetic in the extreme. The poor boy asked his mother, in the presence of the Buddha, "Where is my father? Who is this monk in whom I am getting so much interested ? Is he a relation of ours ? Why is it that when I sit under his shadow I feel so comfortable ? " Suddhodana had given orders that no one should reveal the relation of Buddha to Rāhula on pain of death. The hesitation of Yasodharā to tell the truth is beautifully expressed; on the one side the son is pathetically appealing to her and on the other the order of her father-in-law is imperative; but she yields to the importunities of her son and the son at once goes to his

father and asks for inheritance and that inheritance is given by handing over the little boy to Sāriputta, the chief disciple, for ordination. Dr. Law gives the story of this conversion and I am sure, readers will be greatly interested in it.

There is no doubt that the Mahāvastu is a great work and perhaps the most ancient Buddhist work of great bulk extant and it treats of a great subject, the superhuman being of a Buddha and we owe it to Dr. B. C. Law's indefatigable exertion of making Buddhist ideas available to modern readers that this great work, 'The Mahāvastu,' has been made accessible to the modern readers in a presentable shape. It is very convenient to read Dr. Law's 'A Study of the Mahāvastu'; as I have said before, by avoiding repetitions he has greatly facilitated the study of the ideas of the book and by separating the earlier migration of the Buddha spirit from the life of Gautama Buddha he has still more facilitated its study. By the separation of the Jātaka stories from the body of the book, he has made its study easy. It is a great want that he has supplied and future generations will be greatly benefited by his exertions.

HARAPRASĀD SHĀSTRĪ

Administration Reports of Bengal, Madras, and Bihar and Orissa Provinces for 1928-29. These recently published reports afford us an opportunity of reviewing the principal economic, political and social events in the three major Provinces of India.

Economic conditions.—It is pleasing to note that there has been economic progress in all the three provinces. The diminution of crime, the increase in the number of trading and banking companies, the slow progress of the co-operative credit societies, the progressive improvement of local and municipal administrative bodies, the increase of foreign trade at the port centres, the progress of agricultural research, the spread of industrial education, the diminished number of labour strikes, the improvement in the standard of the living of the depressed classes, the reaping of substantial closing balances, marked improvements in the public health of the people and the formation of more universities to develop the cultural aspect of education bespeaks the slow and steady progress of the masses towards better economic conditions. While Madras was certainly fortunate in this respect Bengal lags behind her in this direction. The prevalence of industrial disputes, the reappearance of communal strife at Khargpur, the breaches

in the embankment of the River Padma, the late harvesting of crops in some of the districts, the continuance of unemployment amongst the landless middle-class people, the prevalence of malaria, cholera, and small-pox and the continued depression in the coal industry and the reduced prosperity of the tea industry tell their own tale of the unfavourable economic conditions in the province of Bengal. These ought naturally to have reflected themselves in a deficit budget but actually the year ended with a larger closing balance of about Rs. 31,25,000; improvement in actual revenue contributing only 4 lakhs towards this unexpected contingency.

More favourable conditions existed in Bihar than in the previous year. Though communal disturbances and labour strikes existed as in the sister province there was a general absence of serious tension on the part of the different sections of the people. The financial state continued as before, but economical budgetting saved the province from bankruptcy.

Political conditions.—" Bombay works, Bengal talks, and Madras hears " is often the opinion expressed by intelligent foreign observers of the political activities of the country. That there is a lot of truth in this cryptic remark goes without saying. The boycott agitation due to the advent of the Simon Commission, the spread of the youth movement, the dissensions between the rival political parties, and the creation of new Muslim parties form the chief events of political interest in all the three important provinces.

It is very pleasing to observe that the transferred departments are the chief spending departments and marked improvements are noticeable in the field of agriculture, forests, industries, co-operative and public health departments. If some graphs and useful statistical tables running over a decade are introduced in the Reports of the Madras and the Bengal Province these reports would undoubtedly be read with much interest.

Matters of fact are presented in a short summary manner and research students in economics would have to cautiously interpret these facts and the inhabitants of the different provinces would naturally find these facts very helpful as a check on hasty legislation or derive useful lessons from new experiments conducted in these different provinces. A painful and indeed taxing study of the reports would be of great value in the matter of comparison and contrast between the different provinces. Such an intelligent study would prove very useful to all future students of Indian economic progress.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

The Co-operative Organisation in British India—By B. G. Bhatnagar, M.A, pp. 321. **Co-operative Credit in Jamui Subdivision**—By Sadashiva Prasad, B.A. (Hons.), pp. 64. **The Co-operative Movement in India**—By S. L. Raina B.A., M.R.A.S. (London), pp. 130.

Mr. Bhatnagar devotes himself to the exposition of the doctrine of the co-operative movement. The pure theory and philosophy of the subject, both in its particularist and universal aspects, have been outlined lucidly and clearly. While conceptual knowledge and theoretical exposition form the essential objects of the first writer the second author discusses the historical and realistic trend of the co-operative credit movement in the Jamui Subdivision of the Bihar Province. Both these types of approach are given up in the third book and the study of comparison and contrast is taken up

A student entering upon a serious study of the co-operative movement cannot hope to neglect any of these books. To the average student and the lay reader the first book forms an introductory one and would enable them to have an intelligent grasp of the subject. From this he can pass on to the second and work through Sadasiva Prasad's monograph. This painstaking inquiry is an important study. Highly useful and very helpful conclusions are drawn as a result of his intensive study. The circumspection in the granting of loans, the eternal vigilance on the part of the Central Bank in supervising the primary village societies and the necessity of teaching the illiterate borrowers to use capital at the right time to the right amount in the right manner are clearly pointed out during the course of the investigation.

From this monograph he can pass on to Raina's study which is a critical and stimulating monograph presenting to the readers the salient illustrative features of the current of co-operative activity in some of the major provinces of India.

Though these books and monographs are a bit old they afford interesting reading to the student, the lay reader and the co-operative worker.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

The Educational Theory of Comenius—By Shamsul Ghani Khan. Army Rotary Press, Delhi, 1928.

Ths book may be divided into four sections;—the first, dealing with the author's life ; the second, with that of Comenius ; the third, treating of his books; and the fourth or last, with a criticism of his work and in-

fluence. Comenius or rather Komensky, whose name no doubt will sound strange to most ears, was born towards the end of the 16th century in Moravia: thus his mother-language was Czech. He was at first called to the service of the church but his work as the superintendent of the church school gradually engrossed his attention and proved the more attractive metal. We find him engaged in peaceful, constructive work in spite of the jars of religious feuds which constituted so much danger to ordered society in those days. Among the writings of Comenius may be named the *Great Didactic*, written in a general way so as to appeal to all; *Janua* (texts for the study of languages—original and translation printed on parallel pages) ; *Orbis Pictis* (the first picture-book for schools which appreciated the importance of visualisation in school education); and *Schola Ludus* (a dramatised version of the *Janua*, written to utilise children's play-impulses). Much importance is attached to these. It may be remarked in passing that the teaching of language and also of subject-matter cannot both be kept up equally well in the same book but this was sought to be achieved by the Latin text-books in which 8,000 Latin words were arranged in 1,000 sentences grouped under 100 chapters. It was the aim of the *Great Didactic* to cover all the aspects of education and completely reorganize the educational system. Religion and science combined to keep on all narrowness from his scheme of education and the influence of a narrow religion is to be seen—for example, in his aversion to dancing which he described as a circle whose centre is the devil. A religious bias is to be seen, again, in his tendency to throw the gates of schools open to all—to make education democratic. Comenius favoured the idea of co-education, emphasised group-teaching over individual instructions and recommended the use of monitors. We have travelled a long way since, and the class is now only a unit of organisation, not of teaching.

Among other remarkable traits of the theory of Comenius may be mentioned his advocacy for the education of women and his support of the vernacular as the medium of instruction. The author has also incidentally and with skill traced the influence of Bacon on Comenius both in his Sense-Realism and his Pansophia—his name for a bold and ingenious conception of an authoritative, well-selected, well-arranged, comprehensive and unified statement of the knowledge of the universe in all its aspects, physical, social and spiritual, and the Schola Scholarum to be staffed by men who should "speed the light of wisdom throughout the human race with greater success than has hitherto been attained, and benefit humanity by new and useful inventions." In spite of limitations due to lack of

funds aud co-operation, the ideal, it is refreshing to note, was kept steadily in view by the great educator.

We feel constrained to observe that too much space has been devoted to the account of the author himself—thirty pages out of a total of 267. Though this is in a perfect consonance with our own tradition, still to complain, in one breath, of want of space and to come forward with unnecessary details about the author's grandmother's brother and the couplet composed in his memory,—this is, to say the least, grotesque and a little terrifying.

We demur also to the application of the term "Utilitarianism" to the tone of the teachings of Comenius and think that this is stretching the point too far. The get-up of the book leaves much to be desired and the errors in printing and obvious omissions are positively disgusting. In spite of all these defects, the book is an honest attempt to understand and popularise the teachings of Comenius written in a style easy of comprehension and free from subtleties of expression, and we trust it will interest all who have made a historical study of the science of education.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Teaching English—By G. Y. Elton. Edited by J. Compton, Macmillan and Co., Limited, St. Martin's Street, London, 1929.

This rather unostentatious manual of precepts or principles which makes for real efficiency in teaching English deserves to be read with care and appreciation. The author, whose soul is writ large across the pages,—scintillating with sympathy and intelligence—the two substantial assets for any teacher worth his salt,—was a son of Prof. O. Elton, a distinguished historian and critic of English literature who needs no introduction. The short biographical notice by the father commemorating the son, a writer and teacher of much promise cut off from this world by one of theworld's unhappy accidents, will repay perusal as will also the prefatory note by Mr. Fowler. The language of the draft, designed to be a joint production, has been left as it stood originally at the time of the author's premature death admittedly informal, with "the sparkle of good table-talk" and will help to contribute to the enjoyment of a spicy repast. The book is evidently meant for teachers for whom there is a special recipe—the Epilogue—which should be thrown broadcast among our schools and colleges. It will be a source of profit mixed with pleasure, if used intelligently in our undergra-

duate classes and even higher. Some of the sentences and sentiments will bearr epetition ; *e.g.*, "In order not to flounder in the musky side of literature, you have only to remember that it's a practical subject, just like any other art, and deals entirely in essence with 'what one would do if one was some one else,' the most excellent and noble of all subjects, and 'how other people exist and do things.'" Again—"If you think literature is nothing but 'play-instinct' and people's efforts to amuse other people, the subject becomes jelly-like and unwieldy and there are no rules except the degree of amusement felt by every particular person at every particular moment. It becomes unteachable. If you think of it as a very direct and clear form of the doing-instinct—a way of doing things in the spirit that you haven't a chance of doing in the flesh, then it's plain sailing."

It is rather unusual to speak of a book as deserving the highest praise, but this book, it must be said, is worthy of such a commendation. Its spirited style and way of writing will bring joy and delight to all teachers, tired with the drudgery of the daily routine and perhaps a little impatient or wavering in their idealism; while the numerous suggestions, fresh and practical, *e.g.*, those on five minute essays, will prove—we feel confident—positively stimulating.

P. R. SEN

Ourselves

OUR RETIRING VICE-CHANCELLOR.

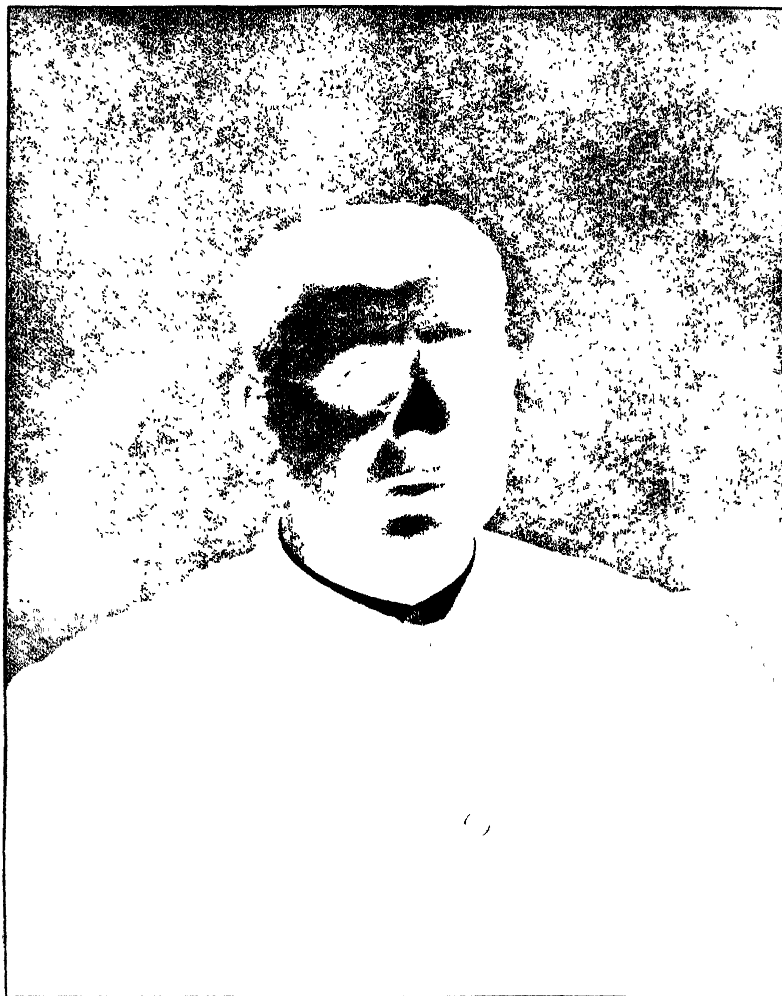
We sincerely congratulate our retiring Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Urquhart, on the well-deserved honour done to him by the University which at a Special Convocation held for the purpose on the 5th of August conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Law in grateful recognition of his valuable services to the University as its Vice-Chancellor. His Excellency, the Chancellor, made a suitable speech on the occasion appreciating Dr. Urquhart's good work and the Senate also at a special meeting had recorded its high appreciation of the same. Dr. Urquhart has a brilliant record of educational work in this country and will, we hope, continue it for many years more.

OUR NEW VICE-CHANCELLOR.

In offering to our new Vice-Chancellor, Lt.-Col. Hassan Suhrawardy, O.B.E., M.D., D.P.H., F.R.C.S., Chief Medical Officer, E. B. Ry., who took charge of his high office, occupied now for the first time by a representative of the Moslem community of Bengal, from Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.L., D.Litt., D.D., Principal, Scottish Churches College, on the 9th August, our hearty congratulations and warm welcome, we are glad to note that he is not new to us. For years he has been serving this University as a Fellow and a Syndic. He has thus an intimate knowledge of the affairs of the University which is being re-organised for the second time since the death of the great Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to whom the institution is immensely indebted for all that it stands for as a centre of culture and a seat of learning, professing to specially devote itself to the advancement of learning. We are sincerely glad that a long-

standing grievance of our Moslem brethren is thus removed and fervently hope that on the whole our *Alma Mater* will be in the long run benefited by this change of policy. He is called upon, however, immediately on assuming charge to face a serious situation created by financial difficulties of an unusual character and will be required to act with exceptional caution and tact, if the teaching side of the University, which should count for more than the merely administrative, is to successfully tide over what looks like a crisis. It is reassuring to notice that in declaring his policy in an interview with the *Statesman* he has courageously and wisely observed that his will be "the policy of a man who does not belong to any party." If, indeed, he succeeds, as he admirably intends "to secure freedom from financial and other embarrassments" for what he is pleased to characterize as "a cockpit of political turmoil," he will have earned the highest praise when the time will come for him to hand his charge over to his successor. He will, under the circumstances, make whoever is honestly interested in the educational progress of Bengal and the Bengalis, vigilantly watch his career in this new and responsible sphere of his activities and sympathetically interpret all he says and does. He deserves from all connected in any way with the work of the University cordial support, and loyal co-operation freely extended in perfect fellowship to a person bent upon achieving salutary reforms. We hope he adequately realises the nature of the extremely difficult task he is imposing on himself in a spirit which speaks highly of him as a public man whose sole concern is to care more for measures than men or sectional interests. May he succeed in redeeming the pledge thus nobly given at the very outset!

We may mention that Dr. Suhrawardy belongs to a well-known and highly-cultured family of Bengal Moslems, many members of which have made their mark by dint of their merit and we wish that fresh laurels may be won by him by his successful conduct of our University affairs.



THE LATE RAI CHUNILAL BOSE BAHADUR,
C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.

THE LATE RAI BAHADUR CHUNILAL BOSE.

We are sincerely sorry to have to record our deep sense of grief at the sudden death of Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose, C.I.E., I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S, which melancholy event took place at his Ranchi residence on the 2nd of August last. It means a personal loss for us and for the University of Calcutta of which he was in a number of ways an eminent representative since the year 1898, when he was nominated a Fellow and attached to the Faculty of Medicine. When the election of Fellows under the Indian Universities Act of 1904 came into force, he became an Ordinary Fellow of the Faculty of Science and subsequently an important and active member of the Boards of Studies in Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Physiology and Medicine. He served also as Chairman of the Students' Residence Committee and as an Examiner and Paper-Setter.

The Coates Memorial Prize for 1901 was awarded to him for his thesis on "Nerium Odorum."

In 1915 well-deserved distinction came to him in the shape of the title of Companion of the Imperial Service Order and he held the responsible office of the Sheriff of Calcutta in 1921 and was made, the next year, Companion of the Indian Empire. As Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Science for 1929 he prepared his lectures on "Food"—a subject to which he devoted his best energies—which unfortunately he could not deliver for ill-health.

He was specially noted for his zeal for public welfare and gave his valuable time to welfare work unstintedly but what we particularly admired in him was his inborn politeness and unfailing courtesy. He was truly a Nature's born gentleman of the old type which is to-day getting in this land to be a rare thing.

We offer to the bereaved family our sincere condolence and cordial sympathy.

* * *

A NEW Ph.D.

Mr. Dhirendramohan Datta, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the Syndicate at its meeting of August 1, 1930, on his thesis entitled "The Six Ways of Knowing—a critical and comparative study of the Six Pramānas of Advaita Vedānta."

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1930



EMERSON IN CONCORD

The story goes that some years ago a Japanese student who had just entered Yale was asked by a professor of that University why he had left his own country to come to America to study. The Japanese replied that in Tokyo he had, by chance, run across a book by Ralph Waldo Emerson which had been translated into Japanese, and the contents had made such a lasting impression upon him that he had at once vowed to see for himself the country which had produced such a man. This is only one illustration from many where Emerson's word has influenced an individual of a different generation and nationality. Emerson always spoke to individuals—not to a crowd, for everyone who reads him with the receptive attitude, feels that his stimulating words are addressed to him alone.

It was in 1803 that Emerson was born in Summer Street, Boston, near what is now the South Terminal Station. Edgar Allan Poe and Benjamin Franklin were also born there but these three geniuses, of course, are different. Emerson was always extremely fond of Boston, and, in one of his poems he says, "This darling town of ours." On his father's side, Emerson came of eight successive generations of ministers and consequently he was well supplied with religion. On his mother's side, he was also descended from clerical ancestors. William

Emerson, Ralph Waldo's father, was a clergyman of the transition of Unitarianism, and Ruth Haskins, his mother, was a woman with no small amount of courage. In 1811 her husband passed on and this left her with five boys to bring up. Ralph Waldo was the second of the five.

It would not be fair to say that Emerson was exactly an abnormal boy, but it is true that he had no intimate playmates. He did not take part in sports or athletic contests in school or college, for he never pretended to care for such things. He spent his time studying and meditating. Dr. William H. Furness says: "I don't think he ever enjoyed in boy's plays; not because of any physical inability, but simply because, from his earliest years, he dwelt in a higher sphere. My one deep impression is, that, from his earliest childhood, our friend lived and moved and had his being in an atmosphere of letters, quite apart by himself. I can as little remember when he was not literary in his pursuits as when I first made his acquaintance."[1] In Emerson's Journal of 1859, there is the following: "'In the morning solitude,' said Pythagoras. By all means give the youth solitude, that Nature may speak to his imagination, as it does never in company; and for the like reason give him a chamber alone:—and that was the best thing I found in college." Emerson, of course, was mature when he wrote this but it shows how necessary solitude was to him.

But to return to the father of this family. He was a cheerful and genial man, of literary taste and skill. For years he was editor of the *Monthly Anthology*, a journal in which the best men of letters of the day in Boston and in Cambridge were interested. He was one of the founders of the *Ministers' Library*, afterwards merged in the *Boston Athenaeum*. Both he and his father, William of Concord, were admired for their eloquence; they were more interested in the central ethics of Christianity than in the grim doctrines in which it had been

[1] From a letter about Emerson by his earliest friend, Dr. Furness.

developed; and, in spite of the reaction towards Calvinism which Whitefield's eloquence and Edward's fire had produced in many New England churches, they did not emphasize Grace in their sermons, but appealed to the virtue and good sense of their people in the name of God.

> "For faith and truth and mighty love,
> Which from the Godhead flow,
> Showed them the life in heaven above
> Springs from the life below." [1]

Whether his duties occupied Mr. Emerson's time so much that he could not spare much to his children, or that Ralph was too much concerned with his meditations to notice his father except when he was made to do so, is not known; but the son had very little recollection of his father, although it seems that in the family letters, Ralph's education had begun before he was three, at the "dame school," and that his father, when at home, required that William and Ralph should recite to him a sentence of English grammar before breakfast.

It has been noted that Rev. William Emerson died in 1811 and, to a woman of Mrs. Emerson's type, the providing for her sons meant infinitely more than mere food, raiment, and shelter. Their souls came first, their minds next, their bodies last: this was the order in which their claims presented themselves to the brave mother's mind. Her sons would have to be educated, for the traditions of the family in all its branches required that they should be well read and instructed, and Harvard College was the means by which this was to be attained. The friends of her husband and his parishioners, and the relatives did what they could to help the family of their departed pastor. The church continued the salary for six months and paid five hundred dollars a year for seven years. Mrs. Emerson stayed in the parsonage and the successor of her husband boarded with her,

1 Hymn by Mr. Emerson at the ordination of his successor, Rev. Chandler Robbins.

but he did not live long. When Mr. Frothingham was settled as minister, Mrs. Emerson moved first to Atkinson Street, then to a house on Beacon Hill, and supported her family by taking boarders. The boys took care of the vestry. Their mother, however, did not want them to lose much time from their reading. "To their books they took as ducklings to water." It was when someone spoke of their progress that their Aunt Mary said: "Sir, they were born to be educated." One cannot over-estimate the effect upon these young minds of their proud, pious, exacting and, best of all, inspiring Aunt Moody Emerson. In her infancy she had been adopted by relatives who were so poor that they lived in constant fear of the sheriff. She, who had been trained in hardship and sordid poverty and in religious influences mostly Calvinistic, had read more books than most of the clergymen of her time. Although she was often cruelly frank in her criticisms of her friends, she was very fond of her young relatives, and commanded their loyal affection. Their mother was the serene presence in the house, and their aunt was the stimulant. She guided the reading of her nephews and made them think about it. Of her, her nephew wrote: "She gave high counsels. It was the privilege of certain boys to have this immeasurably high standard indicated to their childhood, a blessing which nothing else in education could supply." "Lift your aims;" "Always do what you are afraid to do;" "Scorn trifles;"—were some of the maxims she gave her nephews and they made them their own. In his Journal dated simply February seventh, is the following: "The religion of of my Aunt is the purest and most sublime of any I can conceive. It appears to be based on broad and deep and remote principles of experience and adequateness to an end-principle which few can comprehend and fewer feel. It labours to reconcile the apparent insignificancy of the field to the surpassing grandeur of the Operator, and founds the benignity and Mercy of the Scheme on adventurous but probable comparisons of the condition of other orders of being. Although it is an intellectual

offspring of beauty and splendour, if that were all, it breathes a practical spirit of rigid and austere devotion. It is independent of forms and ceremonies, and its ethereal nature gives a glow of soul to her whole life." Then again, in his account of her he says: "She had the misfortune of spinning with a greater velocity than any of the other tops—in ordinary motion, in conversation, in thought."

In 1813 Ralph, as he was called until he left college, when he chose to be called Waldo, entered the Latin school and received there most of his official schooling until he entered college. He made two lifetime friends before he was ten years old: William Furness, a distinguished Unitarian clergyman, and Samuel Bradford, a respected man of affairs. Both survived him. An English biographer has said that Emerson "chose to lead a life of absolute conformity to the moral law." Dr. Furness says that he has heard Emerson's own confession to the effect that he deliberately and continuously played truant at the Webb School, and that he enjoyed the stolen hours on the Common until such time as was needed for "sorrow, dogging sin" in the shape of bread and butter confinement probably devoted to the making of verses. It may be true that Emerson did not indulge in athletics but his boyhood was not entirely devoid of those things on which most boys thrive. In a Journal there is the following: "Affectionate recollections of going into water after school in Charles Street, and the plafond view of rope-walks. What dangers turned us pale at a panic of North-Enders, South-Enders, Round-Pointers! Sea-Fencibles and the soldiery of 1813, and Noodle's Island. The pride of local knowledge of the Extinguisher, Dispatch and Cataract fire-engines. Armories and immense procession of boys in uniform at the Washington Benevolent Association." But he always found that his social life was only good for him when it was an undiluted distillation of solitude.

The family began to feel the pinch of poverty towards the end of 1814, and, it is said, they even fell short of bread.

Dr. Ezra Ripley instantly came to their aid and took his step-son's widow and her boys to his fireside in Concord. A letter from Edward to William (Dec. 1814), who was then a Freshman in college, shows that the brothers were in the Concord schools. "Ralph and I and Charles go to Mr. Patten's school. Charles spelt with the first class. We all say that we like Mr. Patten better every day. I wish very much that you could come here." Each son, except Buckeley who was mentally weak, was prepared for college, and each one did his share of the work himself. They lived frugally among the frugal; applied for and kept any scholarships they could get; earned money by serving in the Commons or by helping their more prosperous and perhaps less diligent fellow-students; by teaching during the vacations; and by winning an occasional prize for a poem, declamation, or essay. Mrs. Emerson never lacked friends who gladly helped her boys, but any assistance received she accepted only as a loan to be returned. Each of her sons felt it his duty to help her and the younger ones.

Ralph Waldo Emerson entered Harvard at the age of fourteen. In his Freshman year he was a hired messenger for the President—a so-called "President's Freshman." This enabled him to have a free room in Wadsworth House. He tutored, waited upon the tables in term time, and taught school during the vacation. During the last three years of college Emerson lived in Hollis, but he lived as much by himself as was possible in a college dormitory. If the Emerson boys could not get enough money by writing, they sometimes took contracts outside. Where the money went that the boys managed to earn is easily shown when one remembers that Ralph Waldo sent home the five dollars which he won at the Boylston prize declamation but on his next visit home he found that William (the oldest brother) had paid the baker with it. Ralph was hoping that his mother would use it to buy a shawl. He was graduated from Harvard in the class of 1821, and was chosen class poet.

Ralph was his brother William's assistant in a finishing school for young ladies. William had opened this school and, when Ralph was well established, William went to Germany to study for the ministry. Ralph conducted the school for more than a year, but it was a trial for a timid youth who was not used to girls. Many of the girls were older than he was and, on election day, they used to ask him to give them a holiday so that he could vote. They knew he was under twenty-one, but they liked to see him blush. In the meantime, he was preparing himself for the ministry. He closed the school on February 8, 1825, after he had become free from debt, and the next day he went to Cambridge to study divinity. Emerson, of course, became a Unitarian minister, and he might have continued in that profession if it had not been for the fact that he did not like to preach and that he did not like pastoral work. At one time he had to visit an old parishioner who was preparing to leave this earth. The young minister sat by the bedside of the old man, but he could not think of a thing to say. After a long silence, he stammered out a few generalities. This, however, annoyed the old fellow who exclaimed in an irritable tone of voice: "Young man, if you don't know your business, you had better go home!" Emerson took the advice and, furthermore, he soon left the ministry.

Before he left the church a great influence came into his life. In December 1827, during a visit to Concord, he met Ellen Louisa Tucker, and went away not unaffected by her sterling character and her beauty. In the same month of the next year he was engaged to her. When he began to speak of his prospects he records that she said, "I do not wish to hear of your prospects." That is a very unusual incident. Within a month, however, when the "prospects" were the brightest, Ellen Tucker showed alarming signs of the development of consumption. In the summer of 1829, however, when Emerson went with her and her family on a driving journey in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, she apparently improved.

They were married at Concord on September thirtieth, and Emerson took her to Boston to the house of his parishioners and lifelong friends, Mr. and Mrs. Abel Adams on Charadon Street. Emerson's mother lived with them, and her son, Charles, then studying law, was one of the family also. The young wife, however, passed on a year and a half after her marriage in spite of all the care that was given her. In his Journal dated February 13, 1831, Chardon St., there is the following passage: "Five days are wasted since Ellen went to Heaven to see, to know, to worship, to love, to intercede...... Reunite us, O thou Father of our spirits......Shall I ever again be able to connect the face of outward nature, the mists of the morn, the star of the eve, the flowers, and all poetry, with the heart and life of an enchanting friend? No, there is one birth, and one baptism, and one first love, and the affections cannot keep their youth any more than men." In Journal XX of 1829, there is the following which is addressed to her:

"All that thy virgin soul can ask be thine,
Beautiful Ellen,—let this prayer be mine.
The first devotion that my soul has paid,
To mortal grace it pays to thee, fair maid.
I am enamoured of thy loveliness,
Lovesick with thy sweet beauty, which shall bless,
With its glad light my path of life around,
Which now is joyless where thou art now found.
Now am I stricken with the sympathy
That binds the whole world in electric tie;
I hail love's birth within my hermit breast,
And welcome the bright ordinance to be blest.
I was a hermit when the love Muse cheers,
I sped apart my solitary years,
I found no joy in woman's meaning eye
When Fashion's merry mob were dancing by;
Yet had I read the law all laws above,
Great nature hath ordained the heart to love;
Yet had I heard that in this mortal state
To every mind exists its natural mate;

That God at first did marry soul to soul,
Though lands divide and seas between them roll.
Then eagerly I searched each circle round,
I panted for my mate, but no mate found.
I saw bright eyes, fair forms, complexions fine,
But not a single soul that spoke to mine.
At last the star broke through the hiding cloud,
At last I found thee in the silken crowd;
I found thee, Ellen, born to love and shine,
And I who found am blessed to call thee mine."

The following is also found in one of his Journals :

" Dear, Ellen, many a golden year
May ripe, then dim thy beauty's bloom,
But never shall the hour appear
In sunny joy, in sorrow's gloom,
When aught shall hinder me from telling
My ardent love, all loves excelling.

The spot is not in the rounded earth
In cities vast, in islands lone,
When I will not proclaim thy worth,
With you, with you, I'll say I love thee,
Be the moon of Jove or of Mars above thee.

And when this porcelain clay of thine
Is laid beneath the cold earth's flowers,
And close beside reposes mine,
Prey to the sun and air and showers,
I'll find thy soul in the upper sphere,
And say I love thee in Paradise here."

It has been noted that Emerson left the ministry. In June, 1832 he proposed to his church that they should dispense with the use of the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and not insist upon the authority for its observance. It is said that many of the younger members of his church were ready to follow him in his views and practice, though one lady came to him after the meeting and said : " You have taken my Lord away

and I know not where you have laid Him." The church did not permit him to make the changes he proposed or to discontinue his part in the rite. He became a Lyceum Lecturer, the greatest, perhaps, that America has ever known. He lectured in England and in New England, in western villages, and along the coast of California. On December 25, 1832, he sailed for Europe and landed at Malta. He went to Italy, England, and France. During this visit he met Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Landor, and he also laid the foundation for his long friendship with Carlyle. In his essay on *Self-reliance*, he says that "travelling is a fool's paradise." Emerson believed that no person could gain any inspiration from travelling unless he already had the inspiration within himself.

It is said that when Emerson was asked by his cousin, the Rev. David Green Haskins, to define his religious position, he said very slowly: "I believe I am more of a Quaker than anything else. I believe in the 'still small voice,' and that voice is Christ within us." In 1834 one finds him lecturing and preaching with his headquarters at Concord. While he was preaching at Plymouth he met Miss Lydia Jackson, and in September 1835, he married her and brought her home to the house he had purchased in Concord where they lived the rest of their lives. With his inheritance from his first wife, his lecturing fees, and the income from his books, he was able to live a life of meditation and reading.

In 1836 he published the first essay in *Nature*, which he had begun in 1834. On the first page of this essay he shows the independent soul that is bound by no tradition. "Let us demand our own works and laws and worship." Emerson, in *Nature*, and Carlyle, in *Sartor Resartus*, produced early in life a book that contained much of their philosophy. It took eleven years to sell only five hundred copies of *Nature*, and this shows that the influence of a book is sometimes in inverse proportion to its commercial success. It did not take Carlyle very long to recognize the significance of his friend's book,

for he wrote: "Your little azure-colored *Nature* gave me true satisfaction. I read it, and then lent it about to all my acquaintances that had a sense for such things; from whom a similar verdict always came back. You say it is the first chapter of something greater. I call it rather the Foundation and Ground-plan on which you may build whatsoever of great and true has been given you to build. It is the true Apocalypse, this when the Open Secret becomes revealed to a man. I rejoice much in the glad serenity of soul with which you look out on this wondrous Dwelling-place of yours and mine, with an ear for the *Ewigen Melodien*, which pipe in the winds round us, and utter themselves forth in all sounds and sights and things." The difference between Carlyle and Emerson is the difference between the concrete and the abstract. Carlyle was interested in Men: Oliver, Frederick; Emerson was interested in Man. One cannot imagine Emerson's writing a novel, but Carlyle began his career by writing one.[1] Carlyle, however, never finished this novel. Once he wrote to Emerson: "I wish you would become *concrete*, and write in prose the straightest way." Emerson did not read many novels, but one of the few he did read was Sir Walter Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor*. It is in Carlyle's *French Revolution* that the dead come to life again and one can see them as they lived; it is in Emerson's essays that one sometimes moves in a world of abstractions but one breathes purified air.

On November 9, 1837, Emerson wrote the following in his Journal; "Right-minded men have recently been called to decide for abolition." That same day he received a letter in behalf of the Salem Lyceum which requested him to lecture there the next winter. The letter further stated; "The subject is, of course, discretionary with yourself, provided no allusions are made to religious controversy, or other exciting topics upon which the public mind is honestly divided." Emerson

[1] Wotton Reinfred.

wrote in his Journal, "I replied on the same day to Mr.— by quoting these words and adding," 'I am really sorry that any person in Salem should think me capable of accepting an invitation so encumbered.' "

From the beginning of the anti-slavery movement, Emerson stood for Freedom. He had even admitted anti-slavery speakers into his pulpit. In November of 1837 he made an anti-slavery address and in 1844 he made another one on the occasion of the anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves in the British West Indies. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Act by Congress was not welcomed by Emerson. He woke in the mornings with a sad heart. In his public speeches at this time he spoke of it as "a law which everyone of you will break on the earliest occasion; a law which no man can obey or abet without loss of self-respect and forfeiture of the name of gentleman." One day when his children told him that the subject given out for the school composition was *The Building of a House* he said; "You must be sure to say that no house now-a-days is perfect without having a nook where a fugitive slave can be safely hidden away." In his Journal of 1853 ,he writes; "I waked last night and bemoaned because I had thrown myself into this deplorable question of slavery, which seems to want nothing so much as a few assured voices. But then in hours of sanity I recover myself, and say, God must govern his own world, and knows his way out of this pit without any desertion of my post, which has none to guard it but me. I have quite other slaves to free than those negroes, to wit, imprisoned spirits, imprisoned thoughts, far back in the brain of man, far retired in the heaven of invention, and which, important to the republic of man, have no watchman or lover or defender but I." In his Journal of January 1, 1861 he writes, "The furious slave-holder does not see that the one thing he is doing by night and by day is to destroy slavery. They who help and they who hinder are all equally diligent in hastening its downfall. Blessed be the inevitabilities.

Do the duty of the hour. Just now the supreme public duty of all thinking men is to assert freedom. Go where it is threatened and say 'I am for it and do not wish to live in the world a moment longer than it exists.'

Charles Emerson who was to marry Miss Elizabeth Hoar had intended to live with his brother Ralph Waldo. But as Charles reached the age of thirty he passed on in May 1836, just a few months before he was to marry. His brother wrote, "And here I am at home again. My brother, my friend, my ornament, my joy and pride has fallen by the wayside, or rather has risen out of his dust. Beautiful without any parallel in my experience of young men was his life; happiest his death. Miserable is my own prospect from whom my friend is taken. I read now his pages, I remember all his words and motives without any pang, so healthy and humane a life it was, and not like Edward's, a tragedy of poverty and sickness tearing genius. I have felt in him the inestimable advantage, when God allows it, of finding a brother and a friend in one."

It is said that when Emerson was delivering a new lecture in Concord, Miss Helen Thoreau said to Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Emerson's sister, "There is a thought almost identical with that in Henry's Journal." Mr. Brown took it to Emerson who was interested and asked her to bring the youth to see him. She did, and a relation which lasted all their lives began. Thoreau lived with Emerson two years. The following is found in a Journal: "Long ago I wrote of Gifts and neglected a capital example. John Thoreau, Jr., one day put a blue-bird's box on my barn,—fifteen years ago, it must be,—and there it still is, with every summer a melodious family in it, adorning the place and singing his praises. There's a gift for you which cost the giver no money, but nothing which he bought could have been so good...I think of another quite inestimable; John Thoreau knew how much I should value a head of little Waldo, then five years old. He came to me and offered to take him to a daguerreotypist who was then in town, and he, Thoreau, would

see it well done. He did it and brought me the daguerre, which I thankfully paid for. A few months after, my boy died, and I have since to thank John Thoreau for that wise and gentle piece of friendship."[1] Waldo was an affectionate and sedate little boy who used to follow his father from the study to the garden. His words: "Papa, I am afraid you will dig your leg," has been told to illustrate Emerson's lack of dexterity with tools. He found out through experience that the handling of a hoe or a spade was for him a luxury. His gardening was confined to the picking up of fruit or to the pruning of trees. In writing of his garden, he says: "Rosebugs and wasps appear best when flying; they sail like little pinnaces of the air. I admired them most *when flying away from my garden.*"

Emerson was glad to assume any duties that the town placed upon him. Almost immediately upon his arrival to Concord he was chosen a member of the School Committee, and later he served on it for a number of years. He never felt that he had the least executive ability, and on the village Committee, as later on the Board of Overseers of the University, he was unusually modest. Always practical, always punctiliously courteous was Emerson. His sometimes rather bold ideas never ruined his manners. When the dinner bell rang, he put asiden his pen, even if he were in the middle of a sentence; it was not right to keep anyone waiting. Emerson was not a philosopher like Kant, Schopenhauer, or Berkeley. He was a philosopher in the sense that he was a lover of wisdom. He was serene in his life and in his mind. He *announced* truths, and was so sure of them that he did not pay much attention whether they were accepted or not. He had very little of the propaganda spirit, and he knew that the truth would eventually prevail. He refused to argue and he declined to explain. Intuition was his only basis. Emerson reported what he saw with the eye of the spirit just as a realistic novelist would report what he saw

[1] John Thoreau, Jr., was the older brother of Henry.

in the natural world. In reply for a request for details he wrote: "I could not give account of myself if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the arguments you cruelly hint at, on which any doctrine of mind stands; for I do not know what arguments mean in reference to any expression of a thought. I delight in telling what I think; but if you ask me how I dare say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men." He believed that the Divine Personality included everything. He believed that nature and man were both divine —that man is the voice and the nature hand-writing of God. While Emerson's mind was free of the limits of all space and time, he was strongly identified with Boston and Concord. He was an observer as well as a mystic. It has been well said that in Emerson's *Essays*, "the whole is often less than the sum of its parts." One is constantly stimulated by a succession of epigrams. Some of his essays read as well backwards as forwards: one can begin anywhere and still find some striking challenge to thought. Emerson's purpose is not so much to think a subject through for his readers and give them the result of his meditation as it is to startle them into thinking for themselves. His style is most peculiarly fitted to do this, and he does not look at both sides of any question. He does not load down his sentences with clauses which qualify the main issue. He throws at the reader a strong statement so one-sided that at first it almost provokes contradiction. His purpose, of course, is to stimulate thought. His short, terse sentences rouse the sluggish mind into vigorous action.

It is said that Emerson's skill in taking and handling a baby was in remarkable contrast to his awkwardness with tools or animals. The nurse, who drew back instinctively when he offered to take a brand-new baby from her arms, soon saw that there was no cause for her anxiety. If a child cried at the table, Emerson would send it out to see if the gate had been closed or whether the clouds were coming up—so confident was he that the great face of Nature would calm the little grief.

With young people he always inspired affection and awe, but never fear. The sincerity, the beauty, the hopefulness of young people always charmed him.

The school of thought, beginning in Unitarianism, went into Transcendentalism, and then into such movements like Abolitionism and social reform. When Thoreau was jailed for his political principles, Emerson went to see him, and was shocked at the sight behind the bars. To his sad question: "Henry, why are you here?" came the defiant rejoinder, "Why are you not here?"

Emerson's last few years were happy and quiet. He read a lecture before his townspeople each winter as late as 1880, but he had to have one of his family close by in order to help him with a word and to assist him in keeping his place in the manuscript. On April 27, 1882, he passed on. A boulder properly marks his resting place, and the inscription thereupon is characteristically obscure to those unfamiliar with his philosophy.

"The passive master lent his hand
To the vast soul that o'er him planned."

If anyone is puzzled by these two lines, he should read Emerson's poem, *The Problem*. In regard to Emerson, one might well quote the words of Matthew Arnold: "He is the friend of all those who live in the spirit." One needs to say no more.

LOUISE A. NELSON

POSITION OF WOMEN IN BENGAL IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The middle of the Eighteenth Century forms an important epoch in the History of Bengal. It was the time which witnessed a good many political, social and economic changes pregnant with important issues for the future. It is really important to know what was the actual condition of women in the society of Bengal during that transitional period in the country's life.

For average Hindu women in gentle families religious worship was one of their daily duties[1]; it was on the good or bad actions of a mistress that the weal or woe of a family depended.[2] Mr. Dow writes in his 'Hindustan':—"Women are so sacred in India, that even the common soldiery leave them unmolested in the midst of slaughter and devastation. The Harem is a sanctuary against all the licentiousness of victory; and ruffians covered with the blood of a husband, shrink back with confusion from the secret apartments of his wives."[3] Verelst, on the other hand, has drawn quite a contrary picture of the women of the age; but his conclusion seems to have been based more or less on isolated instances or practices amongst certain classes, rather than on a general and accurate survey of the social conditions of the whole country. He says, "Women in the East are transferred with little ceremony, and whether they be wives or concubines, the men seldom await their consent. Were our laws of rape and rules of evidence enforced, one half of the males would incur the penalty of

[1] "With a deep reverence Vidyā began her worship," Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara, p. 74 (Basumati Edn.).

[2] "Family pleasures depend on the virtues or vice of the mistress," Bhāratacandra, "Hari Hoḍe Annadār Dayā" in Annandāmangala, p. 55 (B.E.).

[3] Quoted by Verelst in his "View of the Rise, Progress, etc., of Bengal," p. 138

death."[4] He cites in his favour the case of Mirjafar presenting Clive with many of Sirajuddowlah's women after the latter's defeat at the hands of the English. But the circumstances under which these women were presented were apparently unusual; for though Mirjafar had been placed on the Musnud of Bengal, still in reality he was busy in securing the favour of Clive, in whose hands the key of the political destiny of Bengal had already been transferred. Moreover, Mirjafar was himself a weak-minded moral wretch,[5] and his treatment of women must have been something different from that of an ordinary man with a grain of morality or common sense in him. We have other instances which would show that "women in the East" were not "transferred with little ceremony." Sherferaz Khan had to suffer in the long run for his unrestrained passion for the newly-married daughter-in-law of Jagat Seth,[6] and Sirajuddowlah was also amply paid back for his lust after Tārāsundarī, the daughter of Rāni Bhavāṇī.[7] Verelst has again pointed out that "In the year 1762, a native detected one of his women in an act of infidelity. Throughout the East, women are wholly subject to the will of their masters and every husband is the avenger of his own wrongs. The man, therefore, satisfied of her guilt, proceeded to punishment by cutting off her nose. He was arraigned at the Calcutta sessions. He confessed that he had done nothing to offend the laws and customs in which he had been educated; that the

[4] View of the Rise, Progress, etc., p. 141.

[5] "Towards the close of Nawab Mahabet Jung's rule, Mirjafar kept two women named Muni Begum and Baboo Begum. He loved them passionately but through fear of Aly Verdy kept the matter concealed."—Khulāṣat ut-Tawārīkh, B. and O. Research Society's Journal, 1919, pp. 291, 325.

[6] Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 495...... although he knew the disgrace which would be fixed on the family by shewing a wife unveiled to the stranger.

[7] Akṣaya Kumār Maitra's Sirajuddowlah, pp. 80-81. The author writes in the foot-note that this story was collected from Late Rājā Umesacandra of Barānagar and has been published by a noted writer Viṣṇucaraṇa Caṭṭopādhyāya, in the old monthly magazine 'Navya Bhārata' of 1298 B. S.; 'Sāhitya,' Magh, 1304 B. S.

woman was his property; and that, by such customs, he had a right to set a mark upon her, for her infamy; that he had never heard of the laws by which they tried him; did they believe that if he had known the punishment to be death, he would ever have committed what they call crimes ?"[8] But instead of proving that the women were generally condemned to a very ignoble state of existence, this statement of Verelst shows that the laws of the country were severe for those women, who committed any act of adultery or infidelity, in which cases the punishment could go even up to mutilation.[9] The man, when brought before the Calcutta Sessions, was really surprised to hear of a new kind of law, which did not allow him to inflict a heavy punishment on an adulterous and faithless wife. Of course, this sort of punishment by mutilation must have been very seldom inflicted, and was limited, more or less, among the lower classes of society. Even in these days of advanced civilisation such cases sometimes occur, when wives guilty of a serious breach of marital morality are subjected to heavy corporal punishments by their husbands, but that does not prove that in the present age the women are universally treated with cruelty and inhumanity.

The several dark female characters, which the poets of the age have drawn[10] were, in the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sen[11] representations of persons tainted more or less with foreign influences, and he has supported his statement by two quotations

[8] View of the Rise, Progress, etc., p. 25; Firminger's Introduction to the Fifth Report, Vol. I, p. lxxxvii.

[9] About this time a Brahmin of Santipur was accused before Rājā Kṛṣṇacandra of illicit intercourse with a daughter of a shoemaker. The Raja excommunicated him from the society, and inspite of his appeal to the Nawab, the latter could not regain his former status.—Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, p. 417.

"In 1807 the 'Tapta mukti' or ordeal by hot clarified butter before 7,000 spectators on a young woman accused by her husband of adultery."—C. R., Vol. VII, p. 423.

[10] Hīrā in Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara; Vidu Brāhmaṇī in Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, and others.

[11] Baṅgabhāṣā O Sāhitya, pp. 461-462.

from 'Laylāmajnu.'[12] But this is hardly a strong support for the learned Dr. Sen's theory,—it lacks positive and direct evidence in its favour. These might have been, more probably, representations of persons contaminated by the evil influences of the popular Sahajiyā cult,[13] or the practices of the degenerated Tantric worship.

There is, however, no doubt that "women were wholly subject to the will of their master." They were generally guided by the dictates of their husbands, and could not interfere in anything without their consent.[14] They were kept confined within the limits of their house and were not allowed to expose themselves publicly. Verelst writes, "the confinement of women is a law that cannot be changed. Throughout India the practice most certainly prevails, and is closely connected with the manner and religion of the people. The Hindu not less than the Mahomedan dreads the exposal of his women as the worst dishonour."[15] Appearance with bare face or head on the part of women was highly censured, and they were always expected to be modest and gentle in their habits and demeanour. Their husbands were all in all to them, and devoid of their husband's protection, there was no other place on earth where they could lead their lives honourably and happily, not even in their paternal home.[16] They could not even go to their father's house without the consent of their

[12] There was a Kuṭani in this town, the like of whom could not be found in this country.

[13] Rāmprasāda's Vidyasundara, pp. 27-28 (Basumati Edition).

[14] For a chaste woman her husband is the only support in this world; Bhāratacandra, Gopāla Uḍer Gāna, p. 229 (B. E.); "the life of a woman is not good, she is always dependent and has to bear the burden of others."—*Ibid*, p. 222.

[15] Verelst, "View of the Rise, Progress, etc.," p. 138. "How is it that in our society a young woman is not veiled." Rāmaprasāda's Padāvalī, p. 115 (B. E.); Grose's Voyage to the East Indies, Vol. I, p. 240.

[16] "You would go to your father's house in the hope of having your mother's love, but your sister-in-law will always want to drive you away; the father does not make any enquiries, nor does the mother speak sweetly, if they find (their daughter) unfortunate in her marital relation." 'Jayār Upadeś,' in Bhāratacandra's Annadāmaṅgala, p. 26 (B. E.).

husband. In the Bengali manuscript 'Bhavānīmaṅgala' by Gaṅgānārāyaṇa, the poet indirectly hints at this feature of the social life of the day. We find there that Girirāja expressed a great desire to take Gaurī to his house and said, "My daughter, do what you now think proper." At this Gaurī replied that she could not go without Śiva's consent; quite evidently, Śiva and Gaurī, Girirāja and Menakā, of Bengali religious poetry of 18th century, are reflections of the average son-in-law, daughter and parents-in-law of actual contemporary Bengali society.[17]

Sometimes, however, the women could rise above this state of dependence, and could take serious and prominent parts in politics and in the general administration of the estates and affairs entrusted to their care. Rani Bhavani,[18] whose name has become a by-word for charity and generosity, was the most prominent figure among this class of women. As a zemindar, she was very strong and assertive, and was known for her impartial administration of justice. Her attempts for the spread of education, her love for her country and skill in administration, her piety and affection for the poor, have made her name immortal among her countrymen. The temples that were built under her care and patronage, have elicited admiration from foreign travellers.[19] Tradition says that once Narendra Nārāyaṇa Rāya, the father of Bhāratacandra Rāya-guṇākara, used some abusive terms about Mahārāṇī Viṣṇukumārī, the mother of Mahārājā Kīrticandra of Burdwān, in connection with a dispute regarding a plot of land; highly incensed at this, the Mahārāṇī ordered two of her Rajput generals, named Ālamcandra and

[17] The manuscript "Bhavāṇī-Maṅgala" by Gaṅgānārāyaṇa, is one of the most valuable works of that age. It has been preserved with much care in the Ratan Library, at Suri, by Babu Śivaratan Mitra, who took great pains in restoring it.

[18] "Rani Bhavani is a heroine among the Bengalees."—H. Beveridge.

[19] "Baranagar is famous as the place where Rani Bhavani spent the last years of her life, and where she died. She built some remarkable temples here. In size or shape, they are ordinary enough, but two of them are richly ornamented with terra-cotta tiles, each containing a figure of Hindu gods very excellently modelled, and in perfect preservation."—H. Beveridge.

Kṣemacandra, either to kill the infant son of Narendra Rāya then and there, or to occupy Bhūrsut for her during that night. In obedience to her commands, the generals, with 10,000 ten thousand soldiers, occupied the fort of Bhavāṇīpura as well as the fort of Pero (the abode of Narendra Nārāyana). Next morning Viṣṇukumārī personally proceeded to the fort of Pero and, after showing proper respect to the women and the priests and making suitable arrangement for the worship of the local deity, returned to Burdwan.[20] We meet with a similar picture of a lady-zemindar elsewhere. Devi Sinha, a local zemindar in a part of Rungpur, had become so oppressive, that the other zemindars and the ryots, revolted against him. The leader of this revolt, as the poet-chronicler says, was a woman-zemindar of the name of Jayadurgā Chaudhurāṇī.[21] We meet with a few such characters amongst Muhammadan women also. "The exhortations of Doordaneh Begum, the wife of Murshidkuli, the governor of Orissa, to fight against Aly Verdy, as well as the appearance of the Begum of Aly Verdy with Aly Verdy on the battlefield, show that the Muhammadan ladies also took part in politics and state affairs, and that they had not all succumbed to the prevalent form of seclusion. Aly Verdy's Begum played the rôle of supreme political officer in Bengal whilst her husband fought the battles with the Mahrattas.[22] Thus in the world's broad field and " in the bivouac of life " the women of the age

[20] Introduction to Bhāratacandra's Works published by the New Victoria Press.

[21] D. C. Sen's 'Typical Selections from Old Bengali Literature,' Part II, pp. 1413-1418. "The leader of this conspiracy was Jayadurgā Chaudhurāṇī, a woman of much intelligence and spirit......... "—*Ibid.* We can compare with this the character of Devī Chaudhurāṇī, who took the leadership of a native revolt against the Company, in the days of Warren Hastings. Hastings had thought too lightly of her movements, but when her soldiers attacked the house of a rich merchant in Calcutta, Hastings was awakened to the seriousness of the rising and took proper measures for its suppression.—'Sahitya,' Jaiṣtha issue, 1305, B.S.

[22] Riyaz-us-salatin, p. 329, footnote 1; Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 511. The Begum of Nawab Shujauddin took active part in the Government of her husband. It was she who proposed the name of Alivardi, for the deputy-governorship of Patna, in 1729 A.D., and herself invested him with a khelyat.—Seir-ul-mutakherin, Vol. I.

could sometimes stand side by side with the men,—they were not only angels of service at home but were also active participators in the conflicts abroad.

Female education was also not unknown to the age. Vidyā, the heroine of Bhāratacandra's as well as Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara has been pictured as a woman possessed of a good education.[23] Her education, as it has been said, was so high as to enable her to proclaim that she would marry him only, who could overpower her in debates.[24] Ānandamayī, the niece of the poet Jayanārāyaṇa was a poetess of fair repute and composed Harilīlā in 1772 along with her uncle.[25] Thus we see plainly enough that the women of the age were not universally steeped in the darkness of ignorance; in the distant corners of the villages there flourished female poets and writers, who can claim to be regarded as worthy predecessors of their more educated sisters of the present day. Muhammadan women also were given some amount of education.[26] There flourished in Orissa, a few years later, a poetess

[23] "The high-minded Vīrasimha became deeply anxious in heart as to how he could find a suitable match for his daughter, who was the best of all in beauty, qualities, pedigree and behaviour, and especially who was always victorious in intellectual discussions"—Works of Rāmaprasāda Sena, p. 8 (B.E.).

[24] "She vowed that she would marry him only who would overpower her in argument and debate."—Works of Bhāratacandra, p. 63 (B.E.).

[25] "Ānandamayī was married at the age of nine to Ajodhyārāma Sena, the son of Kavibhūṣana Ruparāma, of the village of Payagrām, in 1761 A.D.

Ajodhyārāma was highly proficient in Sanskrit, but the fame of his wife's intellectual attainments had marred his repute. Harideva Tarkālaṅkāra, the son of the well-known Kṛṣnadeva Vidyāvāgīśa of Rājanagar, wrote out for Ānandamayī a treatise in Sanskrit on the workship of Śiva. As the work contained some mistakes here and there, she abused Vidyāvāgīśa Mahāśaya for his being negligent about his son's studies.

Rājavallabha wrote to Rāmagati Sena asking, for a proof of "Agniṣtoma" sacrifice and a diagram of the sacrifical altar, but as Rāmagati Sena was very busy then, these directions were written out by Ānandamayī by her own hand and were sent to Rājavallabha."—Translated from D. C. Sen's Vaṅgabhāṣa O Sāhitya, p. 508 (5th Edition).

[26] "This man who had been bred in the house of Seradjeddoulla's father and in that of Alyvardy Khan's consort; who had made his fortune by marrying an orphan virgin in whose education that unfortunate grandmother had taken pleasure."—Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 242.

of t'e name of Rani Nissanka Rai.[27] It is not certain if there were any special institutions or arrangements for the education of the girls or whether they received their education in the same institutions with the boys. Most probably, the education of the girls was more a matter of private than public concern, as the age required them to be " ministering angels " rather than fair statesmen or orators, though we have already seen that a few of them were concerned in matters of state as well. It was under tutors employed by their parents at home, that the girls received their education, which aimed chiefly at equipping them with the knowledge and materials necessary for an honest and happy domestic life in the world. Ward wrote in 1818 A.D. that, a few years ago, there lived at Benares a female philosopher named Hati Vidyālaṇkāra. "She was born in Bengal; her father and husband were Kulin Brahmins; ...the husband of Hati actually left her a widow. Her father also died; and she therefore fell into great distress. In these circumstances like many others who became disgusted with the world, she went to reside at Benares. Here she pursued learning afresh, and after acquiring some knowledge of the law books and other Shāstras, she began to instruct others, and obtained a number of pupils, so that she was universally known by the name of Hati Vidyālaṅkāra, *i.e.*, ornamented with learning." [28] The wife of Yasovanta Rāya, a Brahmin of Nasipur, understood Bengali accounts and and the wives of Raja Navakṛṣṇa were famed for being able to read.[29] Many female mendicants among the Vairaginis and Sannyasinis had some knowledge of Sanskrit and a still greater number were conversant with the popular poetry in the dialects of the country.[30]

Music was also cultivated by them.[31] They played on musical

[27] Majumdar's ' Typical Selections from Oriya Literature,' Vol. II, Introduction.

[28] History of the Hindoos, Vol. I, p. 699.

[29] *Ibid.*

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] "After combing her hair and putting on a fine dress she engaged herself in witty

instruments and their songs were sung in tune with these.[32] At a marriage ceremony the women had to sing some auspicious songs in connection with several women's rites, and this required no doubt, practice and general cultivation of music to a certain standard.[33] The fact that Ānandamayī, who belonged to this age, could herself compose the opera " Umār Vivāha," adds further evidence of musical training amongst women. The musical instruments used at that time, were 'Rabāb,' ' Tānpurā,' ' Vīṇā' (lute), 'Morachanga' and 'Mandirā,' 'Kapīnās,' 'Svaptasvara' (a kind of lute) and 'Parivādini Vīṇā.' [34]

In family life, the mistress of the household occupied a very important position. A good and pious mistress served as a ministering angel to her family and a bad and impious one was an evil r settled on the fortunes of that family. A bad wife was looked up on as the cause of unhappiness to her husband.[35] An ideal (uttamā ') wife was one who was always solicitous of her husband's welfare, though the latter might commit something wrong; next to her ('madhyamā') in merit was she who returned good for good and evil for evil to her husband; but one who returued evil for good done by her husband was a bad wife ('adhamā'). A wife who became angry with her husband without rhyme or reason was nicknamed a 'Candī Nāyikā'(Lady Fury).[36]

jestings, and in singing songs with her companions."—Bhāratacandra's Rasamañjarī, Section on 'Vasarasajjā,' p. 167 (B.E.).

[32] "At Vidya's words her companions began singing songs and playing on musical instruments."—Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara, p. 79 (B.E.).

[33] "Go and invite the women of the locality for celebrating the women's rites and for singing auspicious songs."—Umār Vivāha by Ānandamayī; *vide* Typical Selections, etc., Part II, p. 1872.

" There was a sound of conch-shells bells, and lutes and the women were singing sweet songs."—Rāmāyaṇa by Dvija-Bhavānī; *vide* Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 583.

[34] (*a*). Jayanārāyaṇa Sena's Harilila, Typical Selections, etc., Part II, p. 155.

(*b*). Bhāratacandra, p. 79 (B.E.).

[35] " He, whose wife is wicked, is dead even in his life-time; he should retire to the forest." Bhāratacandra's Annadāmaṅgal, Section on 'Siver bhikṣāy gamanodyoga,' p. 25 (B.E.).

[36] Bhāratacandra, ' Rasamanjarī,' p. 169 (B.E.).

The position of a wife in the Hindu joint family was inter-related with the interests and the comforts of the other members of the family. She had her duties not only to her husband but also to each and every member of her family; and a husband, who regarded his wife as an object of personal enjoyment and comfort only, was looked upon as violating the sacred ties of a joint family. In this connection we can very well compare the instructions that Vidyā, the heroine of Rāmaprasad's Vidyāsundara, received from her mother, when the former was going for the first time to her father-in-law's house :—" My darling ! as it is a custom, so I speak a few words unto you. Try to be like unto the superiors of your family, and serve them to their satisfaction. She, who has kindness for her fellow-beings, becomes the mistress of the house."[87] It would be unwarrantable to suppose that the girls, after their marriage at a comparatively early age, were thrust amidst the severe duties of a practical life without any previous training or equipment. The innocent amusements and diversions of their early days, in the course of which they very often created a mimic world of their own, served to sow in their hearts the seeds of the higher duties of a household life. We find a very real picture of this 'play way' in the writings of a contemporary poet. "Princess Umā was in the company of her playmates of equal age, Yasodā, Rohiṇi, Citralekhā and others. Being pleased at heart, she had taken her seat in the midst of all and had made a temple of clay under the 'Bakula' tree. Along with Jayā and Haimavatī, who had prepared ovens with red earthen pots and red fuel, she was busy cooking nicely. After preparing rice of dust, Gaurī served it to all. They did not really eat anything and only touched their mouths with their hands. They finished washing their mouths without real water, and asked for betel. She prepared beds of Kadamba leaves, and they went to bed amidst great merriment, a pair of friends lying

[87] Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 49 (B.E.).

down in each bed...... Some of them swept the grounds anc besmeared it with water and cowdung, as if it were the family of a householder." The last phrase of this passage is significant, and the accuracy of the description shows that this picture was really drawn from the family life of contemporary society.[38]

When a woman became pregnant a special ceremony was arranged for her on an auspicious day. She was dressed in new clothes and was presented with offerings of felicitation (Sādh-Bhet) amidst the rejoicings of the members of her family.[39] The women were very fond of betels and arecanut.[40] Women in the villages used to take their bath in the ponds, and were fond of going there in company, with water pitchers in their arms.[41] They were expert in the art of cooking and did not depend on servants or cooks for preparing meals for the members of their family.[42] While entering the kitchen, first of all, they worshipped or invoked the goddess Annapurṇā, and did not eat a particle of the food prepared by them before feeding all the

[38] Dharmamaṅgala by Sahadeva Cakravartī; *vide* Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 182.

There is no doubt that this was a traditional feature of Hindu family life, and we find a poet of the 10th century A.D. writing in the same vein :—

Wife—" I will go to your country, my husband, but ill will it fare with me, when I am in need of apparel."

Husband—" In my fair city a colony of weavers will I found for you."

Wife—" I will go with you, my husband, but who will be my brothers and sisters there."

Husband—" My brother and sisters will, my darling, be brothers and sisters unto you."—Typical Selections, etc., Part I, p. 171.

[39] " Give her Sādh-Bhet,—she has become pregnant."—Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 22 (B.E.).

[40] (*a*) " With the mouth full of betel and arecanut, and with a necklace round the neck."—Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara.

(*b*) " Flies flit before her mouth devoid of the fragrance of betels "—Bhāratacandra's Annadāmaṅgala, p. 54 (B.E.).

[41] " At that moment the women of the village came to take their bath along with their companions."—Bhāratacandra's Vidyāsundara, pp. 66-67 (B.E.).

[42] (*a*) Bhāratacandra's Mānsiṁha, Chap. on " Randhan," pp. 132-133.

(*b*) Gaṅgānārayaṇa's Bhavānimaṅgala : " Some were engaged in cooking, some in boiling the milk, etc.."

contemporary European writers. Mr. Bolts says,—" Even those very women, who live sequestered from the world, and of course are inexperienced in such difficulties and misfortunes as serve to fortify the mind and heart, or such distress as will render life irksome or impel to desperation, often manifest such fortitude as amazes Europeans but to hear of, in the horrid deaths which they voluntarily brave, of burning alive with the dead bodies of their husbands in funeral fires." [49] In his "Sketches of the Hindoos," [50] Craufard has given a thrilling description of the manner in which the women burnt themselves:—" A funeral pile being erected on a piece of ground that was consecrated to the purpose, the body of the Raja was brought from the fort, accompanied by many Brahmins and others and followed by the widow attended by relations of both sexes. Being arrived at the funeral pile, the body was placed on it, and certain ceremonies being performed, the widow took leave of her relations....... But she was perfectly composed, smiled and endeavoured to comfort them. She then advanced to the pile, and in a solemn manner walked round it. She stopped ; and after contemplating the corpse, touched the feet with her hand, and raised it to her forehead, inclining her body forwards. She then saluted the spectators in the same manner; and with the assistance of the Brahmans mounted the pile, and seated herself by the side of the corpse. Some who stood near her with torches in their hands set fire to it, and as it was composed of dry wood, straw and other combustible materials, it was instantly in a flame." The Brahmins and the priests took an important part in such 'Sati' sacrifices.[51] The courage and fortitude with which the widows, unperturbed in the least by the considerations of worldly enjoyments, offered themselves up in such

49 Bolts' Considerations, p. 7.

50 Sketch XII, Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

51 Edmund Ives' Voyage, Chap. 2, p. 23.

ghastly sacrifices, were extraordinary.[52] These sacrifices, so shocking to humanity, however, demonstrated the strength of conjugal fidelity.[53] Scrafton remarks: "Another circumstance that contributes to form their general character, is their marrying when infants; and yet no women are more remarkable for the custom of burning with their husbands. Many authors ascribe this to have been instituted to prevent their wives poisoning them; but I am well persuaded they often submit to it by a nice sense of honour and conjugal affection."[54] It is a mistake to suppose that in all cases women sacrificed themselves being forced by the conventions of the society and the expostulations of the priests and their relatives. "At five o' the clock in the morning of the 4th of February 1742-43, died Rhaam Chand Pandit, of the Maharatta tribe, aged twenty-eight years. His widow (for he had but one wife), aged between seventeen and eighteen, as soon as he expired, disdaining to wait the term allowed her for reflection, immediately declared to the Brahmins and witnesses present her resolution to burn. As the family was of no small consideration, all the merchants of Cossimbazar[55] and her relations, left no arguments unessayed to dissuade her from it.[56] But she listened to none, and "her friends finding her thus peremptory and resolved, were obliged at last to assent." She had to wait till the Faujdar's permis sion for her burning had been received. Here it is important to note that the state had already adopted some measures to prevent forcible and involuntary cases of such sacrifices.[57]

[52] "Such is the influence of customs and the sense of shame that a woman of the highest birth......will undergo this awful sacrifice with as much fortitude and composure as ever were exhibited by any hero or philosopher of antiquity."—Craufard, Vol. III, pp. 15-16; Bolts' Considerations, p. 7.

[53] "A woman desires to get her husband's body. It is proved by the fact that she burns herself with her dead husband."—Bhāratacandra's Annadāmaṅgala, pp. 22, B.E.

[54] Reflections on the Government of Indostan, pp. 110-11.

[55] Thus some of the Mahratta families had by this time settled in Bengal.

[56] Craufard, Vol. II, Sketch XII, p. 19.

[57] "The order of leave for her burning did not arrive from Hasseyn Khan, Fouzdaar of Murshidabad, until after one, and it was then brought by one of the Soubah's own

There were, however, particular circumstances in which the practice of Sati was forbidden. The burning of a pregnant woman was not allowed by the Śāstras,[58] and when the husband died at a distance from his wife she could not burn herself, unless she could procure her husband's girdle and turban to be placed on the funeral pile.[59] Scrofton remarks that "the practice (of Sati) was far from common, and was only complied with by those of illustrious families."[60] Sometimes temples were erected on the spot where one of those sacrifices had been performed. Craufard says that he had seen one of those places, "where the spot on which the funeral pile had been erected was inclosed and covered with bamboos, formed into a kind of bower, planted with flowering creepers. The inside was set round with flowers, and at one end there was an image."[61] Some Hindus, though few, buried the dead, and among them it was the duty of the widow to bury herself with the body of her dead husband.[62]

KALI KINKAR DATTA

officers who had orders to see that she burnt voluntarily."—Craufard, Sketch XII, Vol. II, p. 21.

58 "Nahe Śāstra sammatā sasatvā sahamṛtā."—Rāmaprasāda's Vidyāsundara, p. 33 (B.E.).

59 Craufard, Sketch XII, p. 16.

60 Reflections on the Government of Indostan, p. 11.

61 Sketches of the Hindoos, Vol. II, Sketch XII, pp. 32-33.

62 *Ibid*, p. 37.

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK

Bishopthorpe, a typical Yorkshire village, derives beauty from its gardens, but for dignity and grace it looks to the Church and the palace of the Archbishop. Looking through the outer gate the palace is seen at the end of a straight beautiful drive, and as you walk towards it the artistic character of the surroundings becomes more and more vivid. The eye feasts on green lawns, streams of daffodils, beds of primroses, and sweet little flowers suffused with red or richly spotted with blue, yellow, or violet, and magnificent trees from Syria, Himalaya, Western Europe, and other parts of the world. At the foot of the residence the drive opens its arms, as if to embrace the sacred heritage of the past with its floral pageantry, and dips its limbs in the river Ouse flowing peacefully alongside. In one part of the grounds an ancient fish-pond may be seen with its overhanging trees and bushes. At the back of the palace there is a rock garden with a sun-dial in the centre.

The serenity of the atmosphere is enhanced by the placidity of the river, the best view of which is obtained at the place where the walk curves to meet it. Here looking through an avenue of trees the river appears as calm as a lake, not a ripple is to be seen, the sleeping shadows of the trees sleep on, and the glassy surface throws a perfect reflection of the blue sky and its few rolling clouds. A delicate fragrance hangs in the air. The quietness is broken, now and then, by the warbled song of a bird.

The Library room is large and well furnished. At its further end are shelves of books nicely bound in leather; the windows open on the greenery outside; a fire burns cheerfully in the gate.

The most interesting occupant of the room was at the time of our visit the Archbishop himself, who received us with a

charming smile and by his pleasantry at once put us at ease. We no longer felt that we were in the presence of a leading classical scholar and the highest ecclesiastic of Northern England; on the contrary we imagined that we were just having a chat with a gentleman of kindly manners and bright humour.

The deep insight that Dr. Temple showed in numerous subjects, his remarkably genial disposition, and his eagerness to know about the East and its affairs impressed us very much. And while he touched this topic and that and summed them up in short pithy sentences, his exuberance occasionally burst into peals of laughter suggestive of spontaneity and infectious too.

Dr. Temple deplored the present tendency of the East to copy evils rather than virtues of the West, its paraphernalia instead of its indwelling spirit, and gave an illustration of what he meant. A few years ago, said the Archbishop, a conference met at Jerusalem and some of the Delegates of the East pressed upon Professor Tawny their desire to have Western institutions in their countries. The Professor sympathised with the Delegates and attempted to direct their attention to the value of the individuality of each country, and of the spirit of co-operation as against extreme nationalism, and the desirability of excercising discrimination in adopting Western culture. But the Delegates were adamant. The Professor was so exasperated, continued the Archbishop, that at last he burst out ; "What I can't understand is why all you Asiatics should want to go to Hell the European way."

No one, who is conversant with conditions in the East, would altogether deny the truth of Dr. Temple's statement. The salvation of the East lies, not in slavish imitation, but in wise selection and creative effort. The wholsale and reckless adoption of Western dress, manner, and institutions must, on the one hand, strike a crushing blow at the root of Oriental culture and, on the other, bring in its train all the evils with which Western countries are afflicted.

His Grace was particularly interested in India. "I have been told," said the Archbishop, "that the behaviour of Englishmen towards Indians is different in India from what it is in this country." "The Englishmen change their attitude when they pass Port Said either way," I added. "Some of them," was the Archbishop's reply. It was evident that he did not favour this change of attitude. Dr. Temple had been closely following events in India and remarked upon its present disturbed state and on Lord Irwin's gesture of conciliation. When one of us said that Lord Irwin's policy, considering the debates in Parliament, seemed to be unpopular in this country, he replied: "Only that which Parliament does really matters."

Mahatma Gandhi was the next topic. The Archbishop had read C. F. Andrews' "Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas," and asked one or two questions: "I wonder what Mahatma Gandhi has in store for his country when he attains his objective?" asked the Archbishop. "He has so far given no constructive plan." Mahatma Gandhi, we replied, is a spiritual teacher rather than a statesman, his chief mission in life being not so much to give cut-and-dried schemes for the development of the country as to embody in his life and teachings the spirit of the East, to show the world at large what great possibilities lie in the doctrine of non-violence, and to voice the right of India to develop her culture along lines best suited to the genius of her people. As to who will give constructive plans, we added, it will not be Gandhi alone but Indian statesmen and experts aided by him.

His Grace then kindly offered to show us the palace. History now began to unfold before our eyes. We were told how the Chapel was originally built in 1241 and how some parts of it had to be restored later; how in the dining-room with its heavy long wooden table, some centuries old, Archbishop Scrope was ordered by Henry IV, to be executed; and how, in another room, he (Dr. Temple) liked the portrait of a gentleman, not because of its artistic accomplishment, but on account of the size and shape of the gentleman's hat; and so on.

Returning to the hall we signed our names in the visitors' books and after expressing our heartful thanks we took leave of His Grace, the palace of historical associations and memories, and the garden now looking gay under the mid-day sun.

B. L. SHARMA

RED LILIES

White lilies are too pale and cold ;
We see them most at funerals,
On tombs, or in a church.
And who has seen a red-lily
In the hand of an angel?
Red-lilies are blossoms of the sun,
The bloom of passion, stirred to life
By love and fairy music.
They are the joyous bacchantes
That mock their timid sisters,
With a vibrate that mixes
With the living world.
Red lilies are pagan blooms
Who wear their fortune in their face
Who turn their beauty to the sun
And give their fragrance to the wind,
Uncloistered and in love with life!

LILY STRICKLAND

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR, ROSE AYLMER, AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH CALCUTTA[1]

This is how Crabbe Robinson who knew him while he lived at Florence in 1830, described the Boeotian Savage Landor :—"He was a man of florid complexion, with large full eyes, altogether a leonine man, and with a fierceness of tone well-suited to his name, his decisions being confident, and on all subjects, whether of taste or life, unqualified, each standing for itself, not caring whether it was in harmony with what had gone before, or would follow from the same oracular lips." Landor's laughter was pantomimic as also genial, and his very words were thunder and lightning, as his friend Southey said. And, if his wrath was Achillean, his humour was generally elephantine. This is the man who some years earlier than his death wrote the well-known lines so Greek in spirit as well as in form :—

I strove with none for none was worth my strife,
Nature I loved and next to Nature, Art,
I warmed both hands before the fire of life;
It sinks and I am ready to depart.

These four lines sum up as it were, the whole life-story of the great author of the '*Imaginary Conversations*. For, in spite of his ungovernable nature, and unsubduable temperament Landor

1 "The Statesman, Calcutta, publishes the following on 'Rose Aylmer Memory,' in its Sunday issue, of Dec. 15, 1929:—'It was largely owing to Mr. H. Beveridge, whose death has been recorded in the Statesman, that the monument over Rose Aylmer's grave in Calcutta, was discovered and saved from complete destruction. Writing in 1886, his friend, the late Brigade-Surgeon Bustead, owed his indebtedness to Mr. Beveridge for information that led, after an arduous and at first fruitless search, to the tomb being found in the Park Street Cemetery. The monument was falling into ruins, the inscriptions scarcely legible. Public attention was called to the urgent need of measures to prevent further dilapidation. 'It may be worth mention,' says a Times' correspondent, 'that an autograph letter has lately been shown to me in which Landor referred to Rose Aylmer and her monument.' The present article on the memory of Miss Aylmer was written eight months previously."

was like a stormy mountain pine that could produce lilies. Leigh Hunt who came in contact with him near about 1820, said of him that "after indulging the partialities of his friendships and enmities and trampling on kings and ministers, he shall cool himself, like a Spartan worshipping a moon-beam, in the patient meekness of Lady Jane Grey." He liked much the companionship of children. His love for animals is well-known to readers of his works. Landor's favourite animal was a dog. His tender feeling for flowers has left its indelible trace on many of his poems. A story tells us that when one day, in a fit of anger, he had thrown his cook out of the window of his house in which he was living at Feisole, and immediately after he saw the cook again appear at the window, he exclaimed "Good God! I forgot the violets!"

The contrast between Landor's marriage and his views on marriage are well-known to readers of his biography. He wrote, "Death itself to the reflecting mind is less serious than marriage. Death is not even a blow, is not even a pulsation, it is a pause. But marriage enrolls the awful lot of numberless generations." The man who pronounced such a judgment on marriage, himself at the age of thirty-six came across a youthful lady at a ball at Bath. "By heavens!" he exclaimed, "that's the nicest girl in the room, and I'll marry her." After a few weeks he actually did marry that girl. This lady was however many years younger than himself—a not uncommon provincial beauty regarded by his biographers as not worthy to be the life-mate of Landor. With this lady he had many quarrels before their final disunion.

But this man, so unhappy with his wife, was nevertheless, very gentle towards women whom he regarded as a superior sort of beings—always very attractive. Lady Blessington praised his politeness in very loud terms: indeed, she considered him the most genuinely polite man in Europe. And here are the words of Mrs. Lynn Lynton after her first chance meeting with Landor past seventy years of age—"A noble-looking old

man, badly dressed in shabby snuff-coloured clothes, a dirty old blue necktie, unstarched cotton shirt—with a front more like a night-gown than a shirt—and knubby applepie boots. But underneath the old rusty hat-brim gleamed a pair of quiet and penetrating grey-blue eyes, the voice was sweet and masterly, the manner that of a man of rare distinction. I was taken by surprise. Here stood in the flesh one of my great spiritual masters, one of my most revered spiritual guides. I remember how the blood came into my face as I dashed up to him with both hands held out and said, "Mr. Landor! oh, is this Mr. Landor?" as if he had been a god suddenly revealed. And I remember the amused smile with which he took both my hands and said, "And who is this little girl, I wonder?"

While his university career was ending through quarrel and untameableness, Landor formed a series of tender friendships with girls of his own age. The earliest of these girl-friends was Ianthe—(Miss Sophia West, an Irish girl)—as Landor called her, who cherished a genuine affection for this ungovernable youth. Fifty years later, when Landor grew old, it was probably his greatest consolation to be able to live as a neighbour to the Countess de Molande as his beloved Ianthe had then become. Many of his finest lyrics are addressed to this girl, and Landor was glad that she cared for them. The following is one of Landor's best-known song-cameos dedicated to her memory (first published in '*Hsroic Idylls*,' the last of Landor's books) :—

" Well I remember how you smiled
To see me write your name upon
The soft sea-sand—O what a child!
You think you're writing upon stone!
I have since written what no tide
Shall ever wash away, what men
Unborn shall read o'er ocean wide,
And find Ianthe's name again! "

But the most remarkable and the best lines which Landor ever wrote, were written on another of his girl-friends—

Rose Aylmer—about whom we desire to write in the present article.

Not long after his Oxford career terminated, when about twenty years of age, in 1797 Landor was living a secluded life on the Welsh coast. It was there and then that he first met and entered into friendly relations with Lord Aylmer's family. One of the youngest ladies of the family, who became Landor's favourite for the rest of his life, was Miss Aylmer, at that time four years younger than himself. During their excursions along the sea-coast and in the midst of their other amusements, these two youthful friends were thrown much together. The sad and gentle allusions to her in some of his latterly composed poems are the outcome of the abiding impression which Rose Aylmer made on Landor.

In one of his little poems '*The Three Roses*' Landor thus sings of his young companion and her latter-born two sisters—

"When the buds began to burst
Long ago with Rose the first,
I was walking joyous then,
Far above all other men,
Till before us up there stood
Britonferry's oaken wood,
Whispering, 'happy as thou art,
Happiness and thou must part."

And he probably composed the following beautiful epigram on his beloved girl during the early days of his friendship with her—

" I hardly know one flower that grows
On my small garden plot,
Perhaps I may have seen a Rose,
And said, Forget-me-not."

One of his sea-shore rambles with Rose Aylmer forms the subject of a poem 'Abertawy' (Celtic for Swansea) in which

Landor recalls how in his attempt to provide his tired-out girl-friend with a seat, he had to pluck up from a moss-grown bank some 'tiniest thorniest' rose bushes :—

> " At last I did it —eight or ten—
> We both were snugly seated then,
> But then she was a half-round bead
> And cried—" Good gracious! how you bleed!"
> Gently she wiped it off and bound
> With timorous touch that dreadful wound.
> To lift it from its nurse's knee
> I feared and quite as much feared she,
> For might it not increase the pain,
> And make the wound burst out again?
> She coaxed it to lie quite there,
> With a low tune I bent to hear,
> How close I bent I quite forget,
> I only know I hear it yet."

It should be remembered as the most curious thing about this friendship that Landor's introduction to fame was indirectly or accidentally associated with Miss Aylmer. She happened to lend Landor a romance by Clara Reeve from the circulating library at Swansea. Landor came by a sketchy and so-called Arabian tale at the end of the book which instantly seized his imagination and inspired him to compose his first important poem '*Gebir,*' which appeared anonymously in the very year of the '*Lyrical Ballads*' of Wordsworth and Coleridge, in 1798. Thus we see that Rose Aylmer became indirectly instrumental to the composition of a work which was the delight of Southey and even of Shelley afterwards. Southey who reviewed the book wrote to one of his friends, "I would go a hundred miles to see the anonymous author" and to another he wrote, " There is a poem called '*Gebir*' written by God knows who, sold for a shilling : it has miraculous beauties."

One most interesting episode in the history of this friendship of Landor with Miss Aylmer is her coming to India and her

untimely death in Calcutta. This should interest readers of Landor who reside in India now and will reside ever afterwards. What brought Miss Aylmer to India has been told by H. E. Busteed in his very interesting 'Echoes from Old Calcutta'—a perusal of which prompted the present writer to write this article—so much indebted to his book for much hitherto unknown information. We read in it that "Lady Aylmer, the widow of Henry, the fourth Baron, married secondly Mr. Howell Price. Possibly it was in consequence of this marriage that her daughter Rose Aylmer went to Calcutta to her aunt, Lady Russel, wife of Sir Henry Russel, then one of the Puisne Judges, who was afterwards made Chief Justice, and eventually a Baronet. He and Lord Aylmer had married sisters, the daughters of Sir Charles Whitworth and sisters of the Earl of Whitworth." We also read that "An expression in one of the 'gravely tender lines' from the poem 'Abertawy' already referred to seems to indicate that Miss Aylmer's going to India was not her own choice :—

"Where is she now? Called far away,
By one she dared not disobey,
To those proud halls, for youth unfit,
Where princes stand and judges sit,
Where Ganges rolls his widest wave
She dropped her blossom in the grave,
Her noble name she never changed
Nor was her nobler heart estranged."

Miss Aylmer died in Calcutta on March 2, 1800. The following obituary notice appeared in the Calcutta Gazette in the first week of that month—"On Saturday last at the house of her uncle, Sir Henry Russel, in the bloom of youth and possession of every accomplishment that could gladden or embellish life, deplored by her relatives and regretted by a society of which she was the brightest ornament, died the Hon'ble Miss Aylmer."

When Landor heard the sad news, his thoughts, we are told, were, "for days and nights entirely possessed" by it. Prof.

Colvin in his valuable biography records that " during his vigils he wrote the first draft of the little elegy, carved as it were, in ivory or gem, which in its later form became famous. Here is that indefinably charming elegiac piece,—quite in the manner of the early Greek poets :—

" Ah, what avails the sceptred race.
Ah, what the form divine!
What every virtue, every grace,
Rose Aylmer, all were thine.
Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
May weep but never see,
A night of memories and of sighs
I consecrate to thee."—

Which owes to an after-thought of Landor, the addition of touching as well as beautiful effect by the two-fold iteration of the young girl's beautiful name. Prof. Colvin also records that "just, natural, simple severely and at the same time hauntingly melodious, are the lines which made afterwards so deep an impression upon Charles Lamb." Wrote Charles Lamb to Landor : "Many things I had to say to you which there are not time for. One why should I forget? 'Tis for Rose Aylmer, which has a charm which I cannot explain. I lived upon it for weeks." Wrote Crabbe Robinion : " I have just seen Charles and Mary Lamb living in absolute solitude at Enfield. I found your poems lying open before Lamb...He is ever uttering Rose Aylmer." All this testifies to the wonderful influence which these lines of Landor—first printed in Simonidea (1805) and then reprinted in "*Gebir, Count Julian and Other Poems*" (1831)—exert on the minds of all lovers of poetry. Among recent authorities, moved by this elegiac poem, the most remarkable is perhaps Prof. Saintsbury who wrote about it, " You may read Rose Aylmer for the hundredth time, with effect of that ' divine despair ' which inspires and is inspired by only the greatest poetry." Mrs. Meynell was moved to say, " Never was a human name more exquisitely sung than in these perfect stanzas," and Mr. Forster

wrote, "Its deep and tender pathos could hardly be surpassed; in delicacy and sweetness of expression it is perfect."

The South Park Cemetery, Calcutta, is adorned by a monument over a grave—on which is enshrined the following inscriptions 'on a black slab of marble.'—

"In Memory of
The Honourable
Rose Whitworth Aylmer,
Who departed this life, March 2nd,
A.D. 1800,
Aged 20 years.

"What was her fate? Long, long before her hour
Death called her tender soul by break of bliss,
From the first blossoms to the buds of Joy,
Those few our noxious fate unblasted leaves
In this inclement clime of human life."

This Calcutta tomb embalms the sacred friendship of a man who is one of the most outstanding figures in the history of English literature. To it Landor looked—across the seas—as he composed his best-known lines.

KALIPADA MUKHERJEE

REVIVAL OF BRAH-MANISM AND BUDDHISM

Brahmanism's birth-land bore the classical name of Aryavarta. It is bounded on the West by the Indus with its tributaries, on the East similarly by the Ganges, on the South by the Vindhya chain and on the North by sub-Himalayan tracts. For modern convenience Aryavarta may be roughly taken as Hindustan proper and West Bengal. Interested attention is attracted by the declaration of the sage Jajnavalkya in King Janaka's Court at Mithila. Manu's description of Aryavarta is too well-known for citation. But to the sage Yajnavalkya, according to Brihadaranyaka Upanishat,[1] Aryavarta was as if the whole world.

" By the command of that Akshara. O Gargi, some rivers flow to the East from the white mountains others to the West or to any other quarter "—S.B.E.. Vol. XV.

A glance at a map of India will clearly show the reference to.the tributaries of these fine rivers of Northern India, which bounded his native land.

In Aryavarta Parasuram first reduced human types into social castes and Brahmanic people were blest with no history so long as the system of caste lasted in pristine purity. But climatic and other physical changes, expansion of human intercourse through expansive geographical knowledge and other similar causes united against binding society to any theory however unchangeable in thought. Biology sheds some light on the question under consideration. Heredity is not the only factor in the formation of character. Twins of the same sex are known to develop differently in character. *Anti-caste* revolutions may not therefore be unreasonable to anticipate.

[1] एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य प्रशासने गार्गि प्राच्योऽन्या नद्यः स्यन्दन्ते श्वेतेभ्यः पर्वतेभ्यः प्रतीच्योऽन्या यां यां च दिशमन्वेति ।—३य अः । ८म ब्राह्मणं । ९ श्लोक

Besides India ancient Egypt and Peru had some form of caste system but all trace of it has been obliterated in both these countries. In India alone it survives in a recognisable form, however changed it may be from the original. The instability of the system of four castes is recognised by authoritative Brahmans. In Manu and the Mahabharat are laid down rules for earning law-given honest livelihood when the sceptre is not in Kshatriya hand. This is technically called 'आपद्धर्म,' literally meaning rule of conduct during danger. These considerations show the tradition concerning the revolution caused by the assassination of King Satatapa to be a historical probability if not a fact. In any case the Nanda Dynasty was of Sudra origin.

Buddha preached his rules of life about a century before the Nandas. He was concerned with two royal families. With the adoption of monasticism by Buddha's son Rahula his house became extinct. The other was represented by Bimbisara and his parricide son Ajatasatru. That the mixture of non-Aryan Lichchavi blood stained the purity of the Kshatriya descent of these two royal families is beyond doubt. The conclusion seems reasonable that in Buddha's time the system of four castes was not in its ideal form.

The worldly-minded Brahman who found favour with the Nanda Kings finally conspired against the last of that line and helped Chandra Gupta to ascend the throne.

The conspiracy ended, and Chandra Gupta ascended the throne. Chandra Gupta was the low-born son of a barber woman known by her caste-name Mura. His disregard of caste by marrying the daughter of the Greek King Seleucus must have been a source of disappointment to Brahman aspirants of royal favour. A spirit of regal toleration seems to have characterised the rule of Mura's descendants. As is well known, Chandra Gupta's grand-son Asoka published a rock-cut edict [1]

[1] Rock Edict III.

enjoining equal consideration for Buddhist monks then called " Sramans " and Brahmans. Absence of royal favour naturally led to importance of intellectual and spiritual pursuits. Brahmanic revival may therefore be not unreasonably placed in Maurya period.

The re-appearance of Vedantism in Gaudacharya (*cir.* 6th century A.D.) after its loss with the disappearance of Suka is in the nature of a resurrection. The interval between him and Suka is incalculable. The Bhagavata Purana mentions Suka as having visited Parikshit, the immediate successor of the Pandava brothers during his last days.

Light converges on the question by the tradition preserved by the school of Vedantic study following Sankaracharya. The daily study commences with a salutation[1] addressed to a succession of instructors in the science regarded as divine :

"The first and foremost is the supreme Revealer of truth. The next is Brahma, the archangel of creation then come Vasista, Sakti, his son Parasara, Vyasa, Suka, the great Gaudapada, the glorious Govindanath his disciple, then Sankaracharya his disciple. Salutations to former preceptors." An account, legendary or historical is preserved by the celebrated Madhavacharya ..which has some bearing on the chronology of spiritual descent of Vedantism. It is to be remembered that Madhava, after renunciation of worldly life. was initiated into Monasticism by Bharati Tirtha and took the name of Vidyaranya Swami and died as Mohunt or abbot of Sringeri Math. After having written the first six chapters of the well-known Vedantic Work ' Panchadasi ' he departed this life, the remaining nine chapters were written by his preceptor Bharati Tirtha. Madhava's literary works are encyclopedic in character.

[1] नारायणं पद्मभवं वशिष्टं
शक्तिं च तत्पुत्र पराशरञ्च
व्यासं शुकं गौड़पदं महान्तं
गोविन्द नाथ शङ्कराचार्यं
नमो पूर्व्वं गुरुभ्यो

Among them is ' Sankaravijaya ' purporting to be a record of Sankara's theological victories. Madhava identifies Sankara's preceptor Govindanath with Patanjali who flourished in the Sunga period (*cir.* 2nd century A.D.) According to him Patanjali assumed the name Govindanath and was initiated into Vedantic culture by Gaudacharya. He retired into a cave on the banks of the Narbada and remained in spiritual trance for an age until roused by Sankara whom he instructed and then expired. This legend is hardly capable of historical rationalisation. Most probably it had its origin at a time when monastic claim on public support could only be based on monastic possession of super-natural powers, which is not quite extinct even at the present day. It is not necessary to deny the possibility of the acquisition of uncommon powers by individuals but the case of a class is quite different. It may be assumed that Govindanath had Patanjali as an *alias* which led to his identification with the author of " Mahabhasya " and Yoga Sutram who bore the same name.

This digression apart, for the present purpose it is only necessary to note the discontinuity of Vedantic culture among Brahmans. A related incident is recorded by Ram Mohan Roy. His opponents denied the existence of the Brahma Sutram in Bengal and he had to refer to the presence of a copy or few copies with some learned Brahmans and some public institutions in Bengal.

Record of the state of Brahman learning was investigated by Buddha after his Great Renunciation. The related information is so easily accessible as to render further consideration of the subject wholly superfluous in the present connection.

It seems clear that the changes in priestly character, manners and customs and general conditions cannot be accurately ascertained. Interrupted movements may reasonably be accepted as historical occurrences in Aryavarta. Conditions may therefore be taken as reasonably to be based on the application of collective psychology on available evidence.

An expectation of worldly benefits disappears in the absence of royal favour. Intellectual, moral, social and spiritual culture are then the only means of attaining and preserving higher or spiritual life. It is to be noted in passing that the ten great sins (mahāpāpas) are the same in Manu as in Buddhist theology.

Those gifted with faith in super-rational Reality, when unpersecuted, are generally unrecognised. The inseparable companion of that faith is selfless devotion to the temporal and spiritual well-being of all. This characteristic of those of true faith sometimes tends to conflict with vested interests germinating persecution. Otherwise their lives are comparable to the trackless movements of deep-water fish. Faith, when observed by the intellect often takes the form of philosophy breeding intellectual pride. Viewed by untrained emotion faith becomes the working machinery for securing worldly advancement or gives birth to miracle-shaped allegories and external ceremonials, not so extensive and ostentatious as under royal favour. These in most cases are children rebelling against their mother faith.

From the Maurya kings' equal regard for Brahmans and Sramans sprang up between them friendly association. The bond of fellowship thus created gained in strength during the two centuries of Maurya ascendency. With the Brahman kings, known as Sunga who overthrew the Mauryas the position changed. It introduced the persecution of Buddhists for the first time in India. To the credit of the people of Aryavarta it is to be noted that public opinion symbolised as a roaring lion frustrated the attempted persecution of Buddhists near Vaisali and was transferred to upper Punjab.

It is to be noted that the persecution of Buddhists originated with kings of the Brahman caste but outside Aryavarta. The Sungas were overthrown by another Brahmanic dynasty, that of the Kanva. But their short existence of scarcely half a century does not seem to have left any recognisable mark on the social or religious life of the people. The Andhras then came

into power and brought Ujjayini into prominence as the clearing house for trade and religion.

The Andhra dynasty were absentee Kings of Aryavarta. Their influence, if any, is outside present consideration.

The Brahmanic and Buddhist religions stream in confluence during the Gupta period. Flowing down in time the united waters attained the greatest depth and expanse under the Gupta Kings more specially under Samudragupta. No great obstacle appears to have been met with so long as the sceptre was held by Harsabardhan, although his brother Prabhakarabardhan was killed by Sasanka, the King of Goura professing Brahmanic religion who is usually charged with anti-Buddhist tendencies.

Buddha and his associates are known to have preached mostly to the common people and in Magadhi Pali, their literary tongue whatever the vernacular might have been. But in the Court of the Kushana King Kanishka (1st century A.D.) the Buddhist monk Buddhaghosa wrote his splendid "Buddha Charit" in Sanskrit.

Scholars have traced the origin of some of the metres clothing Kalidas's poetry to this life of Buddha. It is interesting to note Kalidas's pun on the man of the greatest Buddhist Logician "Dignaga" in "Meghaduta." To the equal treatment of Brahmans and Buddhists by the Maurya kings may be reasonably attributed the creation of an intellectual interest amongst the learned, independent of religious beliefs, the names of Sanskrita.

The sisterly flow of the streams of Brahmanism and Buddhism ended with the life of King Harsa Deva in 647 A.D. and all traces of Buddhism disappeared from her mother land to be discovered by scholars from abroad.

MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE LAYTON REPORT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BENGAL'S FINANCE.

I

It can hardly be denied that much of the political trouble that immediately followed the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and which brought about the collapse of the new constitution in the Province of Bengal was directly due to the unsatisfactory financial arrangements. There was other causes no doubt—powerful political causes—to which must be apportioned the major share of responsibility for the collapse of the new constitution. For the existence of a large number of irreconcilables, and a widespread movement of these irreconcilables, to destroy Dyarchy, must have its inevitable effects in the new constitutional machinery. But at the same time it is an unchallengeable truth that the unsatisfactory financial arrangement greatly swelled the ranks of those irreconcilables. For, it became perfectly clear as days went on that with the existing financial resources it was absolutely impossible for any minister—however popular and well intentioned he may be—to launch any ambitious scheme of "nation building," which will bring about any appreciable improvement in the condition of the masses within an appreciable length of time. The unsatisfactory financial arrangement then, was itself a cause of intensifying the political discontent, which throughout the last decade, proved so fatal to the working of the new constitution. The first desideratum for the smooth working of a constitution in such a big country like India, divided into a number of provinces, with a central Government at its head, is a fair and equitable financial arrangement, between the provinces on the one hand and the central Government on the other. Such an arrangement is all the more necessary because the Indian constitution if it is to function

satisfactorily must be federal in character—leaving as much of independence to the provinces, as possible, by retaining for the central Government, those functions only which it cannot do without. But the difficulty of the problem lies in this that any scheme of financial clean-cut, which at first sight seems to be the only way of securing fiscal autonomy for the provinces, is inseparably connected with so many difficulties, that the scheme is recognised to be neither desirable nor possible. It is inevitable then that some sources of revenue must be shared between the central government on the one hand and the various provinces on the other. But at the same time it must be recognised that such an arrangement, though inevitable, must be so modelled, that the central Government must on no account be permitted to tamper with the fiscal autonomy of the provinces. It is further necessary that the provinces, on which has devolved the great responsibility of raising the standard of living of the masses, by educating the ignorants, by improving their health, and last but not least, by raising their income, should be allowed a number of very elastic sources of revenue. The object of the present paper is to analyse critically the new scheme as adumbrated by Mr. Layton, and to consider whether its recommendations are in any way adequate to tackle the complex problem as stated before. But before considering Mr. Layton's Report, it is necessary to understand the existing financial arrangement, which itself is a product of History. In the next section therefore I will attempt a short historical survey of the various financial arrangements from 1833 down to the present time.

II

Since 1833 Public Finance was wholly centralised in the hands of the Government of India. According to the new constitutional arrangement of 1861, this central control was in no way relaxed. The central Government exercised sole control over entire Indian revenues and were alone liable for all the demands

that could be made on it. In distributing these revenues to the various provincial governments, the central Government was naturally greatly handicapped by their want of knowledge of local conditions and needs. Thus handicapped the central Government could not possibly distribute the revenues to the various provinces, according to their respective administrative requirements. Provincial expenditure, accordingly, was determined not by the resources or requirement, but the attention the respective provincial governments succeeded in securing from the centre. "The distribution of public income at that time" has been well characterised by Sir John Strachey "as degenerating into something like a scramble in which the most violent had the advantage, with very little of reason."

It was inevitable that such a system would encourage extravagance in the provinces and Lord Mayo realised that the best way of checking it was to make the provinces responsible for their own finance. This financial responsibility, Lord Mayo thought to impose on the provinces by his famous decentralisation scheme of 1871. According to this scheme the Provincial Governments were charged with the responsibility of meeting from a permanently fixed grant, the expenses of certain definite services, *e.g.*, Police, Jail, Education and Medical services. The increase in this expenditure was to be met by the imposition of certain local taxes. Provinces were given greater financial powers and were empowered to create appointments up to the individual limit of Rs. 250 per month.

But the chief defect of Mayo's decentralisation scheme was that no attempt was made to correct the already existing inequalities between the respective provinces, for in determining the amount of fixed grants that were given to the provinces for meeting the expenditure of the aforesaid specified services, Mayo's scheme adopted the existing or old arrangements as the basis of the new. It is important for us to note that Mayo's decentralisation scheme instead of correcting the existing inequalities, tended to perpetuate them.

This scheme succeeded in the sense that the provinces were compelled to economise in administering those services, the financial responsibility of which were transferred to them. For the extra cost, if any, would have to be raised by themselves by means of some local taxes. So in 1877 this scheme was further extended and other heads of expenditure were transferred to the provinces. Thus financial control of Services connected with general administration, Land revenue, Excise, Stamp and Law and Justice was assigned to the provinces. Again in order that the provinces may be encouraged to increase the revenues collected in their respective territories, Stamp, Law and Justice, Excise and Licence duty—these four heads of revenues were assigned to the provinces. But the revenue thus assigned was recognised to be inadequate for provincial purposes and hence this was supplemented by the old method of "fixed grants."

In 1882, the system of fixed grants was abolished and it was in this year that the system of Divided heads was introduced. Heads of revenue were henceforth divided into—Imperial, Provincial and Divided.

This settlement was quinquenninal and was revised in 1887, 1892 and 1897. It is obvious that the central Government due to its pre-eminent position would make these revisions to its advantage. If at the time of revision any of the provincial governments had any surplus, the central Government was sure to absorb it. So at the closing of every quinquennial settlement the provinces were tempted to extravagance and show a deficit budget, and it cannot be otherwise for the system of absorbing every provincial surplus meant in effect that economy was to be penalised and extravagance encouraged. It should be noted that under this scheme the inequalities of 1871 were further increased.

These defects were soon recognised and were sought to be remedied by placing the financial relations on semi-permanent basis. The provinces were permitted to reap the benefit of their own economy; provincial surpluses were no longer absorbed by the centre and the provincial share of public

income was fixed definitely. The revenues thus assigned to the provinces were only just sufficient to meet their normal expenditure. This was supplemented by annual grants for special purposes contemptuously characterised by the receiving province as 'doles.' But be it noted that previous inequalities were permitted to remain as they were, and no attempt was made even then to correct them. The central Government kept close control over provincial revenues, and provincial budgets, before being presented at the provincial legislatures were to be approved by the central Government.

The Commission of 1907 appointed to adjust financial relations between the centre and the provinces suggested certain reforms, but decided against any fundamental departure from the existing order. They recommended that greater financial powers, more sources of revenue and greater power over the budget must be given to the provinces; and these recommendations were accepted in 1912 and the provinces were given much greater financial latitude; but what is material for us to note is that the main feature of the settlement of 1904, with all its accumulated inequalities, made permanent in 1912 remained practically unchanged till 1921.

III

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report constitutes one of the most important landmark in the history of financial decentralisation in India. It proposed to sweep away the centralised system of administration that existed hitherto and with the object of creating a sense of provincial autonomy proposed to give the provinces a constitutional control over certain resources, which the provinces will be free to increase or decrease. The joint authors realised that if the principle of responsible government was to have fair play in the provinces, the old order must be changed root and branch. According to the old system, certain heads of revenues are shared by the central Government and the provinces—the central Government first keeping to itself its

own requirements and then distributing the surplus among the provinces, according to the principle of estimated needs. This arrangement necessarily involved some amount of control and interference by the central Government in provincial matters. The provincial government, even though it was in every sense a subordinate government, resented this interference, and it was recognised that there would be conflict and deadlock if the central bureaucratic government sought to control and interfere with the provincial governments which to a certain extent and in certain matters would become democratic. In order therefore that self-government may thrive in the provinces the joint authors felt that this system of "divided heads" must be abolished, and provinces must be given absolutely distinct sources of revenue. They took the main items of revenue one by one and considered whether it was more appropriate to regard its proceeds as a central or as a provincial receipt—while all the time keeping their eyes steadfastly on considerations of practical administration. Thus according to their scheme, Customs, non-alcoholicExcise including Salt, general Stamp, Income Tax, and Receipt from Railways, and Post and Telegraph, should be assigned to the central Government. Land Revenue, Irrigation, alcoholic Excise, Forest, Court-fee stamp, Registration fees and certain minor sources of revenues were assigned to the provinces.

It was estimated however that under the new scheme there would be a deficit in the central budget and as a transitional measure the authors reconded that this all-India deficit should be met by provincial contribution. Each province should contribute 87 per cent. of the difference between the gross provincial revenue and gross provincial expenditure (*i.e.*, gross provincial surplus).

It is obvious therefore that the joint authors were drifting distinctly to some sort of federal finance according to which the central Government will be in charge of certain heads of revenue and the provincial government in others, while it would be constitutionally provided that each would be supreme in its

own sphere. They conceived that the system of divided heads was the greatest impediment to provincial autonomy and as such boldly recommended its abolition.

The question of financial adjustment was referred to the Meston Committee. The Committee was asked to suggest any modification to be made in the provincial contribution for the present and thereafter, with a view to their equitable distribution until there ceased to be an all-India deficit. They suggested that it would be better to take increased spending power as the basis instead of a percentage of the gross provincial surplus, as recommended in the joint Report.

As regards standard contribution they rejected the system of flat rate and recommended that the ideal basis would be the capacity of each province to contribute to the central exchequer; and in fixing this scale of payment they took into account various factors such as agricultural and industrial wealth, liability to famine capacity and need of each province for expansion and development, elasticity of the existing heads of revenue, development of mineral wealth, forest, etc. The interval of time in which the standard contribution should be reached they fixed to be seven years—the process of transition should be continuous, beginning in the second year and proceeding in six equal annual steps.

The Jt. Parliamentary Committee, while accepting the main recommendations, suggested—

(1) that instead of making the receipt from income-tax wholly imperial, provinces should be given some share in the growth of revenue under that head;

(2) that in no case the initial contributions of the provinces should be increased, but a gradual reduction should be aimed at; and

(3) that the provincial contributions should cease at the earliest possible moment.

It should be noted in this connection that the question of remedying the already accumulated inequalities between the various provinces, was once again raised before the Meston

Committee ; but true to the traditions laid down by other previous committees, the matter was shelved as being for the present impracticable and, as we will find in the next section, the new scheme itself favoured some provinces at the expense of others.

IV

The reforms have been working in India for nearly a decade. The anticipations on which the Meston Committee based its calculations proved indeed too wide in the mark. Instead of having surpluses—a portion of which according to the Meston Scheme was to be absorbed by the centre—each of the provinces in the first three years of the Reforms have had large deficits. They had to take recourse to additional taxation in order to carry on the humdrum functions of Government. And indeed this single fact of additional taxation with the advent of the new system, which brought no corresponding increase in any of the nation-building services, thoroughly discredited the reforms in the eye of the classes and the masses. Nor are we to believe the centre to be comparatively well-off. The Meston Committee calculated the exchange rate at 2*s*. a rupee, whereas the actual exchange rate refused to abide by the ruling of Babington Smith Committee, and came down to nearly 1*s*. 4*d*. The Military expenditure they fixed at 42 crores but it rose to 67 crores, though the figure is steadily decreasing till it is 55 crores to-day.

Railways which were expected to contribute from 8 to 10 crores annually to the Central Exchequer did not pay even their working expenses and interest charges. The situation however showed signs of improvement, and from the year 1927-28, the provincial contributions have completely ceased.

But the problem from the viewpoint of the provinces has another and a much graver aspect. And in considering the question from this standpoint we are led to consider the chief and fundamental defects of the Meston scheme. The criticisms

have been well summarised by Mr. Layton in the following words :—

Firstly, although the provinces were entrusted with departments that had rapidly expanding needs, the resources assigned to them were insufficient and inelastic; whereas the central sources of revenue which have to meet comparatively stationary needs are expanding and capable of a good deal of expansion.

The main items of central expenditure are Army, General administration and Debt services—and in the absence of any abnormal development there is no reason why the total central expenditure under these heads should not be stationary or falling. If we however look to the revenue side of the central budget we will find that all the substantial and elastic sources of revenue are retained in the hands of the Central Government. Thus Customs, which contributed nearly Rs. 34·4 crores in 1921-22 and nearly Rs. 50 crores, in 1929-30, Income Tax which is contributing from 17 to 18 crores, Railways, Salt and Opium—all these substantial and at the same time highly elastic sources of revenue are assigned to the centre, which we have already seen has limited and stationary needs.

If we look now to the income and expenditure side of the provincial budgets, we will realise the absurdity of the situation. The chief items of provincial expenditure are Education, Medical relief and Public Health, Land Revenue and General administration, Law and order and Civil work. It will be recognised from a perusal of the list that the chief nation-building departments are in charge of the provinces and it is hardly open to question that expenditure on functions falling within its sphere could very well be increased, without extravagance and to the great economic advantage of India. It is beyond question that a healthy and educated man is a much better agent of production than an unhealthy idiot and any expenditure by the state for improving the health and education of the people is profitably expended, even if we look at the question from the strictly economic standpoint. Moreover no civilised government can afford to have a

large multitude of illiterate citizens and possibly look with equanimity on hundreds and thousands of its citizens dying from preventible diseases. These elementary obligations of a civilized government, the provincial governments cannot be expected to shirk on the plea of cost. Whatever the cost ignorance must be banished and the Government must wage a relentless war against malaria and such other preventible diseases.

If we now look to the question of ways and means we will realise how seriously handicapped were the ministers, who were in charge of those nation-building departments. Indeed it was pitiable to behold the popular ministers being pilloried on the floor of the legislature by the people's representatives tragically complaining that not merely they had no resources, but no means of increasing in any way, under the existing system. And indeed if we look to the chief sources of provincial revenue we will recognise the justice of their complaint. The sheet anchor of provincial finance is Land Revenue, Alcoholic Excise and Stamp. Excepting stamp, the future of the other two is highly problematic. In permanently settled tracts, the share of the state in the land revenue of the country is rigidly fixed and even in temporary settled tracts the present tendency is towards increasing the period of assessment, and lowering the proportion of the net produce that the state should absorb. In any case therefore land revenue is an inelastic source of revenue. As regards excise public opinion is definitely against the Government trading in people's vice and increasing its income. Stamp no doubt is somewhat elastic—but even then it cannot be expected to give the necessary elasticity to the provincial finance.

The second defect of the Meston Settlement lies in the fact that it has treated provinces unequally by giving some of them a much greater proportionate increase of revenue than others.

The figures given on page 233 of the second volume of the Simon Report is greatly instructive. It brings into bold relief the injustice done to some provinces as compared with others,

as also the accumulated inequalities of years of financial experimentations.

Total provincial expenditure per capita varied from Rs. 1·8 in Behar and Orissa and Rs. 2·5 in Bengal to Rs 8·2 in Bombay.

Expenditure on General administration and Land Revenue per head varied from Rs. 3 in Behar and Orissa and Rs. 4 in Bengal to Rs. 1·52 in Bombay.

Educational expenditure ranges from Rs. ·262 in Behar and Orissa and Rs. 285 in Bengal to Rs. 1·057 in Bombay. Sanitation and medical service ranges from Rs. ·153 in Behar and Orissa and Rs. ·210 in Bengal to Rs. ·472 in Bombay. Bengal with its notoriously unhealthy condition cannot then afford to spend more than ·210, *i.e.*, less than half of what Bombay spends under the same head.

It is no doubt difficult, as Mr. Layton truly observes in his report, to set up even in theory an objective standard of fairness. It costs more to run a province with scattered population than one which is densely populated; more teachers and policemen must be maintained per head of population. The cost of road and medical and stationary services must be higher per head. Cost of living also is another factor. Physical facts also may determine the need for health or sanitary services, while it is obvious that a province with a substantial urban population or a capital city may require a large police force per head, than a mere rural province. We cannot therefore expect to find anything like equality in the various provincial expenditures. But the disparity is indeed so great that it is impossible to believe that it can be entirely accounted for by the aforesaid considerations.

The inequality of treatment above disclosed is no doubt mainly a product of history: it represents accumulated inequalities of years of financial experimentations. But the point that is essential for us to emphasise is that the Meston Settlement not only did nothing to correct but rather tended to accentuate those inequalities. Land Revenue for instance, became a source of

provincial revenue. But the yield from this head varied from province to province due to the fact that in some provinces, lands are permanently settled and in others land revenues are periodically assessed. Thus different yield of particular kinds of revenue in different parts of India, their unequal growth in recent years and the abolition of provincial contribution (which attempted to a certain extent to set off the existing inequalities)—all these combined to accentuate the inequalities under the Reforms. A comparison of the comparative increase in expenditure of the two nation-building services in 1929-30 as compared with 1922-23 in the respective provinces will speak for itself :—

Percentage increase between 1922-23 and 1929-30.

	Education.	Medical Relief and Public Health.
Madras	82	115
Punjab	78	94
United Provinces... ...	47	67
Bombay	23	43
Bengal	21	24

The third defect of the Meston Settlement is that it has given practically no power to the provinces to tax industrial activities, and has therefore seriously handicapped the industrial provinces as contrasted with agricultural ones. Thus under the Meston Settlement, the income of such a leading industrial province as Bengal is less than Madras, Punjab, and United Provinces. Comment is superfluous.

(*To be continued*)

PRAKASH CHANDRA MALLIK

THE STIRRUP-CUP

Ho! bring me a stirrup-cup, fair maid,
Ere I ride upon my way—
The long, long way of the open road,
There is no one to say me nay.
My only mate is my good, true sword,
We are free as the wind in the sky—
We laugh at death and the world defy—
My stallion, my sword and I!

I blow the foam from my stirrup-cup,
And laugh in the Sun's bright face;
He's starting out with his horses twain,
And daring me to a race!
Give me a kiss from thy lips I pray,
Sweet stirrup-maid, ere I take the road,
You've a wealth of hair and can afford
One tress to my good, broad sword!

Ho! the wine is sweet, my bonny maid,—
But thy lips are sweeter far;
I only kiss as I ride away,
For no maid my life shall mar.
The road is holding its arms out wide
We are free as the wind in the sky,
We laugh at death and the world defy,
My stallion, my sword and I!

The Sun drinks his stirrup-cup of dew,
And kisses the lips of Dawn.
We laugh, ho! ho! for the joy of life
Is poured forth anew each morn.
Ready for all things, for peace or strife,
We are ready to do or to die;
We laugh at Fate and the world defy,
My stallion, my sword and I!

TERESA STRICKLAND

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Madras

In Madras the high price fixed on repeated representations from the Board of Revenue was accompanied with decreased consumption, though the revenue had, on the whole, slightly increased. Nevertheless the price was still further raised in 1844 to Rs. 180 per garce. In that year the transit and inland customs duties of the province had been abolished. Hence the enhancement of the salt tax to recoup a part of the financial loss.

The Local Government had remonstrated against it and emphasised the inexpediency of a price higher than Rs. 127 and a half. But the Supreme Government totally disregarded the view and its determination to increase the sale price "appears to have been formed rather with reference to the much larger comparative amount realised in Bengal from that source of revenue than from any considerations arising out of the particular circumstances of the Presidency of Madras."[1] The Court of Directors immediately intervened. They had from their own independent analysis of statistical data reached the same conclusion as the Madras Government that any large advance in the existing price was highly improper. The price was accordingly brought down to Rs. 120 per garce or Re. 1 per maund.

At the same time the Regulation of 1818 concerning import of salt from foreign lands was rescinded. The legal bar to importation by land was for the first time removed. But the policy of exclusion was not relaxed in the least. The import duty on all salt, whether imported by land or by sea, was fixed at the prohibitive rate of Rs. 360 per garce or Rs. 3 per maund.[2] It

[1] Despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, No. 9, dated the 3rd July, 1844.

[2] Act VI of 1844.

was in 1849 that the duty on salt brought by land from Goa into Canara was reduced from Rs. 3 to As. 12 per maund (supposed average net profit of the monopoly) in order to give relief to the place. Exception was also made in the case of salt imported from Arabia into Malabar and Canara where the duty was similarly reduced to Rs. 90 per garce.[3] It may also be noticed in this connection that a protective tariff on salt imported into the province had no significance except in regard to the Malabar coast. For, so far as the Coromandal coast was concerned, any import of foreign salt was out of the question.

In 1847 the Court of Directors reiterated the view they previously expressed that the tax on salt was too high for the province. They desired the Board of Revenue to supply a general report bearing on salt tax. Agreeably to this, the Board of Revenue began the enquiry and addressed the Collectors on the subject. The sentiments of the Collectors were generally expressed in favour of price reduction. The report was finally submitted towards the middle of 1850.

The Board discerned a nexus of causality between high price and small sales throughout the whole history of salt tax in the province. In more recent years (1847-48) the sales had no doubt increased in spite of enhanced price. But it was the consequence of improved means of communication and more efficient management. Secondly, it was observed that the increase of monopoly price had not as a general rule affected the retail prices to the full extent so that the incidence of the increased tax had been partly upon the traders. In the third place the Board found that the *per capita* consumption of salt in the province fell short of what it considered to be a fair average (*viz.*, 18 lbs). And the expenditure on salt for culinary purposes, on the basis of the above average and at the Government price, represented a month's earnings of a normal family. So the price, with costs of transport and traders' profits added to it,

[3] *Vide* First Report of the Select Committee, 1852-53, Appendix No. I, No. 6.

became too high for many households living away from the coast. The Board generally concluded that any reduction of price was unnecessary in the interest of revenue and that it was yet premature to give any decisive opinion as to whether such action was called for on account of hardship to consumers or prevalence of smuggling.

The Government, though divided in opinion, found themselves, on the whole, in substantial agreement with the views expressed in the report. The Court of Directors concurred in them. The monopoly price was not therefore reduced.

The commercial policy of India being regulated in sympathy with that of the United Kingdom, India's customs regulations were recast on the principle of free trade after the triumph of the doctrine in England during the forties of the 19th century.[4] So far as the salt trade went. Bombay and Bengal were already free trade but in Madras the principle was yet to be applied. In 1851 the Court of Directors addressed a despatch and desired the free trade principle to be extended to trade in salt at Madras so that it might be placed, " as far as possible on the same footing as in the other Presidencies."

Agreeably to the above, the Madras Government recommended an import duty of 12 annas per maund (which was supposed to represent the average net profit accruing on monopoly sales) in order to admit foreign salt on terms of equality. But the privilege was proposed to be limited to the case of European salt throughout the Presidency and to salt from Goa and Arabia in the districts of Malabar and Canara. The avowed object of the suggested limitation was to exclude Bombay and Ceylon salt from the Madras market. In the case of the former the reason assigned was the inferiority of the imported article and in the case of the second increased chances of smuggling. It also became a moot point at the time if it were not more desirable to replace the monopoly of Canara by a suitable system of excise,

[4] See N. J. Shah's History of Indian Tariffs, Chapter III, p. 82.

observing that the measure might be rendered necessary to prevent the supersession of the home manufactures. But the proposal did not take any definite shape.

The Government of India regarded discrimination as inconsonant with the principle enunciated in the despatch and the argument urged by the Madras Government as unconvincing. The proposal of the Local Government was therefore referred back for further consideration. A general import duty of 12 annas per maund on all foreign salt was then agreed upon. The necessary measure was accordingly passed in 1853. Thus it was only towards the close of the Company's rule that foreign salt was admitted to equal competition with the home produced article in the Madras Presidency. The above change had an important consequence. The increased importation of cheaper foreign salt appreciably lightened the burden of salt tax upon people on the Malabar coast.

Shortly after the Madras Government changed its front and proposed the levy of an additional differential duty on all Goa salt imported by sea. The object was to equalise the price (and not the tax) on the two kinds of salt, imported and domestic, with a view to safeguarding the Government's own sales in Canara. The proposal was negatived by the Indian Gorernment as contradictory to the strict free trade principle already adopted.

PARIMAL RAY

MR. ATUL BOSE'S ART

One of the few things, inexplicably powerful and intriguing our emotional life, is Art. It is so palpable, yet so elusive, that to arrive at its sumtotal from a systematised knowledge of its principles is well-nigh impossible. In fact the data, on which the principles are assumed to be built, are themselves arbitrary. It is, therefore, impossible to apply the usual method of investigation regarding its mysterious character. That, in fact, differentiates it from science. Its classification, generalisation and verification are possible only on the broadest lines and even then they are, of course, erroneous since the motive remains unexplained and the impression on the observer is but proportional to his power of realisation. Then it is almost wholly altruistic in its denotation and its success depends upon its power to produce happiness and provoke thought. Thus it transcends the limit of mere matter and protrudes into the realm of mental activity by whichever name might the latter be expressed. The net result is that based although it is on a material product, its significance lies in the conception of its beauty and idea in the mind of the observer. The mind of the artist is purposely left in the background of this study as also his technique, since as a creator he is completely expressed by, and definitely limited to, his product. Yet a speculation on the artist's mind is permissible with a view to co-ordinate, if possible, his personality with his products. In these conditions, the observer is free to draw his own conclusions, according to his capacity.

The situation is indeed quite involved and the observer himself is often in the position of an examinee, which, naturally, he mentally resents. In effect he takes shelter behind a rigmarole of unintelligible phrases supposed to express his theory of the motive and principles regarding the object of art, its class, technique, etc. Any amount of nonsense, therefore, is capable

of being talked about art and even artists, and the literature on the subject is indeed voluminous.

The question is, then why talk about it at all? The writer at once admits of the pertinence of the question but the excuse is that, at the present moment, a spotlight has been focussed on an artist, and incidentally on his productions, owing to an unexpected appreciation of talent. Besides, in the general condition of the mentality of Bengal, realisation of the value of anything good and abiding only succeeds appreciation from the people of the outside world. Rabindranath Tagore was almost ignored before he received the Nobel Prize and when they proceeded to Bolpur in a special train to "garland" him in the usual manner, they only heard the truth to their chagrin. They had not even credited the very existence of Jagadis Chandra Bose till the scientifically minded geographical units outside the boundaries of India recognised the uniformity of response to stimulus in all matter living.

To resume, Mr. Atul Bose, an artist, with keen grey-black eyes, a high forehead, brushed-back hair and a determined chin has been commissioned by the Government of India to proceed to England to paint a couple of Royal portraits from the originals in the Buckingham Palace, for the new Viceregal House at Delhi. This is the result of an India-wide competition, a matter of pride for Bengal and specially for the Calcutta University, a fact, which, probably would have been totally forgotten but for these lines.

Mr. Bose was a brilliant student of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, and was enabled to study in the Royal Academy in London on the strength of the Guruprasanna Ghose scholarship awarded to him by the University of Calcutta, for the first time to an Art student. Mr. Bose has proved his worth and worthy of the confidence of the University.

A fit subject for a cartoonist to depict an unfathomable lunatic, or a knight of the brush to portray one of Mr. H. G. Wells' supermen with a physique on the late Mr. Sandow's

pattern, this man of paradoxical physiognomy is as much an enigma about himself as about his productions. A hermetically sealed steel caisson and an open-mouthed gas bag at one and the same time, he defies comprehension on any recognised canon of logic, being a coveted specimen of investigation only by a psychologist of behaviourism. Yet he is brimful of the delicate sweetness of life and suggestively fleeting human pathos. And the reflections of such complexities are indeed the qualities of his productions.

It is hard to describe the qualities of Mr. Bose's pictures in a few words and an attempt of such a description may at least be open to the charge of being indefinite. But the qualities are so very compelling that it is worthwhile making the attempt. Eloquent lines, definite masses and fugitive colour and tone values are deftly blended in graceful expression in his works. While the medium and technique are dyed deep in the occidental hue, the treatment, expression and suggestive values are peculiarly fragrant of oriental mysticism and evanescence. Of decorativeness and idealisation there are subtle revelations but they are based on the realities of fact. There is almost the touch of the uncanny, so characteristic of the unknown stone-age artist of 40 or 50 thousand years ago, who left his masterpiece in the shape of a bison on the roof of his cave dwelling at Altami ra or that of the ethereal beauty of the mother and child from the quivering brush of the creator who left his impress upon the walls of Ajanta, or even that of the forceful virility of the canvases of a Rembrandt. A very peculiar combination it is, but such a combination is the peculiarity of Mr. Bose's work.

But is all this true ? Perhaps opinions may differ-opinions expressed as a shelter to the mental resentment against the very complexity of the perception. All the same, the perception is there and the impression on the observer is as described above. That is the altruistic value of Mr. Bose's works. They appeal as realities of beauty and provoke thought towards things unknown.

We hear now-a-days of the antagonism of the two so-called schools of art, European and Indian. The wonder is that division has not yet been carried further to classify art under communal or class denominations, central, provincial or local. Of all the rubbish that can be talked about Art with a long-drawn face, this attempt to circumscribe a thing so inherently universal is, perhaps, the climax. Technique, method of delineation and expression may differ, as they must, but they do not mean any fundamental difference of conception, ideation and altruism. Mr. Bose's works are as much Indian as those of the artists of the so-called Indian school. Those who cry for the realisation of the Indian artist's genius in a particular groove or mode of expression, know not what they cry about. They merely submit to the fashion for the time being and fashion changes while truth is everlasting.

It is impossible to convey an idea of an artist's works in mere language. Those that are interested would undoubtedly spend an enjoyable hour at Mr. Bose's studio in Ballygunge.

D. MUKERJI

A FRIENDLY TREE

A Friendly Tree at the side of the road
With sheltering arms outspread
Is a lure to the traveller with heavy load
And a tired and aching head.

There's a heaven of rest 'neath a friendly tree
That some fine dwellings lack,
A welcome unspoken, yet felt by me
As I lay down my pack.

This friendly tree hath other guests
That come to its welcomed lair
A Wren, a Thrush are given nests
And a little brown Lark rooms there.

On a Sabbath morn they ope their throats
In merry lively songs,
And at Vesper-tide sweet melodies float
Soft as Cathedral gongs!

Night comes there and wraps her cloak
Of warm, quiet joy o'er me—
And all the little birdling folk
Who sleep in that dusk-cover'd tree.

And on a morrow after my rest
A lonesomeness comes to me
For I grieve to leave these happy guests
And my host, the Friendly Tree.

CHERRY JALASS.

HENRIK IBSEN

TOWARDS MODERN DRAMA.

I

Ibsen's appeal to ourselves and to the future generations will in the main be through the batch of plays beginning with '*Pillars of Society*,' '*A Doll's House*' and '*Ghosts*' and terminating with '*When We Dead Awaken*'—the plays, in fact, which brought about the revolution in the stage and inaugurated and established what has since been christened 'Modern Drama.' Consequently, these are the plays that should now be placed in the crucible of our imagination, their inward essences analysed, the better that we might set the new elements which have entered into Drama against those that had long been an indissoluble part of it but which, thanks to Ibsen, have been, let us hope, once for all expelled. Before such an inquiry is started, however, it is desirable, it may even be necessary, to follow up Ibsen's experiments at Saga Drama and at Poetic Drama—to trace the kaleidoscopic transformations, the perpetually baffling sentiments, the tantalisingly brilliant themes—if only with a view to a better understanding of the preparations that were a prelude to the construction of those colossal edifices of Modern Drama. We will touch upon only the most typical and there too our interest will be merely to discover, if possible, the seeds of the indescribable entity of Ibsen's art, and indeed to indicate the subtle and perhaps the undecipherable course of their germination, growth and final fruition. The present article will be devoted to a discussion of some of his early plays in an order convenient enough to demonstrate the development of his mind and the gradual deviation of his dramatic genius, after a multiplicity of perturbations, towards its natural bent.

II

'*Lady Inger of Ostraat*' written when Ibsen was twenty-six might as well have come from the pen of any talented playwright. It is of course brilliant; but sheer brilliance is not all that a dramatist should endow his play with. He should see too that the ring of reality is unmistakably present in the situations, the characters, the play itself. '*Lady Inger*' on the other hand, brilliant and clever as it is to suffocation, makes after all the inerasable impression that it is at best only a modern thriller moulded into drama. Though no chronicle play like Shakespeare's "*Henry V*," it is to a large extent coloured by Norwegian history. It has an intricate plot, too intricate perhaps, but the unravelling of the plot has not the usual interest of suspense for the reader, for the very simple reason he is made to know the truth much earlier. The revelation is therefore to the characters themselves, not to the reader or to the spectator. This is strange. Indeed such a method of unravelling a complex piece of plot was most suited to the classical drama of Aeschylus and Sophocles; but certainly not, one ventures to think, the Saga Drama of Ibsen. Yet the play is good, very good for a maiden attempt. The sentiment of the play is apparently 'patriotism': but the selfishness of individual characters is wound to such a high pitch that the greater sentiment of patriotism is blurred ever more and more till it is annihilated altogether. It ends as a tragedy: but it produces no mental depression worth mention. The heroine Lady Inger had lived long and achieved nothing: the hungry sheep had looked up to her for guidance, for fodder and they had received neither the one nor the other: even her own daughters had been sacrificed on the altar of selfishness—an understandable clumsiness of devotion to a son which obscures completely every other streak of light in her character. And Lykke--whether or not she is the heroine (or the very opposite?) of the piece;—is indisputably its villain-hero. What with his placid complacence,

his cowardice and his intermittent chuckles, he is undoubtedly of the family of Iago. There, we have the two protagonists of the drama.

The play would seem to deal with that period, and one of the darkest period too, in the history of Norway when she was under Danish subjection. The politics of three nations, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, interpenetrate the play through and through. Nils Lykke, a Danish Knight, pays a visit to Lady Inger, one of the most influential personalities of Norway. Their encounter is the central action of the play. We are prepared for it in Act I and in the next three acts they are constantly before us intriguing eternally against each other. In the last act he disappears for a time and then we get a glimpse of him again in all the malignity and impotence of his villainy before the curtain finally falls. Two other persons, Olaf Skavtavl, a defunct Norwegian noble, and Nils Stensson, the supposed son of a Swedish Count, also find asylum in Ostraat on the same night. Nils brings with him certain documents one of which shows that he is the son of Lady Inger herself: his errand is obviously to hand over the documents to a stranger who will go to Ostraat that very night. Olaf is the intended stranger and in fact arrives at Ostraat in order to get the documents. The unpremeditated arrival of Lykke at once complicates the whole affair. Olaf mistakes Lykke to be the deliverer of the documents and in vain interrogates him: Lykke, on the other hand, assumes that Olaf is no other than Count Sture's son, the rebel leader of Sweden, and inwardly plots to ambush him. To complete the complication Nils Stensson arrives and meets as ill-luck would have it, Lykke. The latter is taken to be the 'stranger' and Nils hands over the documents to him. Once Lykke understands the bigness of the information contained in the documents, his fertile brain spins a web of conspiracy to enmesh Lady Inger irrevocably. He plans to take Nils to Denmark and keep him as hostage for the future good conduct of Lady Inger in Norway. Meanwhile the wily lady smells a

rat and has Lykke summarily imprisoned in her palace. Nils however passes for Count Sture's son and is made the leader of a small army of pleasant soldiers and asked to march towards Sweden. This gesture of support on Lady Inger's part is to move Peter, the Chancellor of Sweden, to give back her own son who has been so long kept as hostage. The pseudo-Count Sture is waylaid and driven back. He returns to the palace of Inger. In the meantime Lykke has succeeded in moving Aline, Lady Inger's daughter to a frenzy of love and devotion and finds no difficulty in escaping from the palace, thanks to Aline's amenable amicability. Lady Inger is now placed on the horns of a dilemma: either she should sacrifice Nils, the supposed Count Sture, or give up all hopes of re-union with her son—the one consideration to have swayed her to action during all these years. She does not know, poor thing, that Count Sture's son is no more and that her own son has been the one to pass for the rebel leader. Of course, she decides to kill Nils and Olaf does the deed. Aline in the meanwhile comes to know that Lykke and the cursed seducer of her dead sister are one and the same person. The old dread and contempt accumulated during years of intense brooding, leap to the surface of her agonised emotion and she follows her sister to the grave. With Act V the *dénouement* is reached. Too late, Lady Inger realises the futility of her deed; the ring round Stensson's neck is proof irrefutable. Aline is dead: her own son, fruit of her romantic though illicit connection with Count Sture, is dead too and theoretically by her own hand. Life has no more charms for her: the force that impelled her to action and may be the villainy has been eliminated. She does not notice Lykke standing perplexed and so close to her. The servant asks: 'My lady—what can I do for you?' She answers in a weak voice: 'What can you do for me? Get me a coffin too—a grave beside my son—.' She sinks upon the coffin of her son. God Almighty has brought the union at last! And, Nils Lykke, witnessing the end of his schemes, goes hurriedly out.

In bare outline this is the plot of '*Lady Inger.*' It makes extremely interesting reading. To watch in the course of the play, the Eagle and the Fox, one playing on the other and both proving slippery, is no small diversion. In the sustained duel of diplomacy, lies the mainspring of interest in the story. Lady Inger and Nils Lykke prove throughout worthy of each other's steel. It was only the blind fury of chance that brought about Lady Inger's downfall by placing at the service of her enemy the deadly venom of the secret. After all Lady Inger's life too, with all its lies and betrayals, required its termination. And Lykke was God's chosen instrument perhaps! Perhaps,—who knows?

III

The next play for our consideration is '*Love's Comedy.*' It is a violently disturbing play. In it Ibsen stands revealed not merely as a skilful playwright but as an extravagant satirist as well. The fact he chooses the perennial theme of love as the butt of his uncompromising attacks gives the play unique significance. The logic of Falk, the hero, who is in some respects the reflection of Ibsen, is not always easy to follow. The paradox at times grows too grotesque for comprehension. Nevertheless the power of the play is unquestionable. The music of the verses, the cleverness of the dialogues, the audacity of the reasoning, all contribute to the ultimate effect of the play. In reading it or in seeing it acted it is impossible not to take the view that it deals a severe blow to the Norwegian clerical society which was in Ibsen's days considered to be like Caesar's wife above suspicion. Rev. Straamand is a damning piece of vexatious caricature and that such a gross thin should be executed at all was the chagrin and the unconsolable rage of the official hierarchy of Norway. Surely, it was no business of Ibsen's, they thought! And for a time the country thought so too. The gentler sex, in their turn were puzzled by the

philosophy of love and marriage as sought to be inculcated by the play. Many could not help taking the view that Ibsen was an indecent coxcomb bent upon scattering filth and unwholsome dust on the sweet-scented theatre of Norway. And they had, it seemed, ample justification for their view. There were not wanting, however, the intelligent handful who understood the real purport of the play and who accordingly hailed Ibsen's achievement as the first triumph of an uncommon pioneer.

It would be seen in the discussion of Ibsen's later plays that the dominant note in them all is the cry of the futility of our conventions and ideals which have gained such rigid control over our lives that we have no elbow-room to have unembarrassing freedom of movement. The expulsion of out-of-date ideals, the relegation of certain other ideals to a strictly subordinate plane of importance, and the total abolition of those mischievous ideals that arrogantly claim the infallibility of divine laws—on these Ibsen is insistent in almost all his plays. If Ibsen fought for anything, he fought for individual freedom: if he fought against anything, it was against the cramping restrictions of convention, usage and ideology. The twin nature of the challenge which Ibsen was to sound in later years, indeed with increasing pertinacity and obstination, has its germination in '*Love's Comedy*,' though as yet, the issue is wrapped in a tissue of strange logic. But the central point which Ibsen wishes to drive home—the languishing nature of love—is clear enough. Falk, the young author, has his female counterpart in Miss Svanhild. What they talk is pitched in a high tone. 'The aim of individuality should be to be self-sufficient, to take one's stand on the ground of truth and freedom,' says Falk. To him as to her, our ideals, whether of marriage or of respectability or of society, have clipped the wings of our souls and crippled us in a thousand ways. It pains him to contemplate that love in being reduced to a science and being indissolubly connected with marriage has lost its basic virtue, the sky-soaring passion of souls singing in unison. The

corpse-like flavour permeating the movements of married folk stinks into his nostrils. The sight of the parson, with a lie in his heart and plenty of talk about truth in his mouth, is a standing abomination. Falk is determined after his own fashion. 'I mean to fight with all my might and main,' he says: 'fight against the lies that have taken so deep a root—lies that have been allowed to parade about so insolently that they almost look like truth.' Is it Falk addressing Svanhild or Ibsen addressing his brethren? Probably it is both.

For a moment it seems as though Falk and Svanhild, moving as they do in parallel planes of individualistic philosophy, will unite their lives for the better discharge of their mission. But the comparatively all earthy Guldstad in an argumentative encounter with Falk almost out-Falks Falk with the originality of his views. He distinguishes between love and marriage in an ingenious manner. Love for him is by nature undefinable, some aerial, evanescent, intangible thing But marriage, he opines, is something practical and is only another formal engagement. The recipient of one's love may never be and indeed ought never to be the proper one for one's nuptial bed for life-long wedlock. 'Love chooses the woman, not the wife,' adds Guldstad emphatically. The consummation of love is the signal for the stoppage of all relations between the lovers. The memory of the love is hereafter to offer nourishment to the lovers' souls. Queer and paradoxical of course: but Falk and Svanhild understand: 'We have gloried in the sweet intoxication of love: for us there must be no drowsing on the pillow of indifference'; with this resolution on "the very day our young love had its baptism of promises," the lovers throw away their very rings and bid eternal farewell to each other. What Falk says is symbolic: "Just as the grave is the gate of everlasting life, so love can only be consecrated to an immortal birth when it is freed from all feverish longings and desires, and wings its

way to its spiritual home of fond memory." They have lost one another for life—but have they not won immortal love for all eternity?

IV

'*Brand*' was published in 1866 after Ibsen had been a voluntary exile on the continent a few years. In many respects Ibsen struck a new path in this play; for the first time he gave more or less coherent expression to the war between life and ideals, a theme which he was to thrash out in all its bearings in his subsequent plays. But more important than its anti-idealistic bias is the semi-autobiographical touch imparted to the chief character, Brand. Another reason for its intrinsic greatness lies in the poetic beauties of the original which have been unavoidably obscured in the translations. There are passages too that betray on Ibsen's part a strong political animus, as though he were violently complaining against his countrymen who did not take up arms on behalf of their kinsmen during the Danish-Prussian War.

The two central characters in the play are Brand and Agnes. Brand is technically a very good man. He is a priest taking his work very seriously with no further sanction than that of his own fanatic brain. He constructs his formula of 'all or nothing.' Before this all are to quiver unmurmuringly. Agnes, his wife, says:

> ' And yet—your love is hard, they say
> And when you would caress, you smite...
> ....many a soul has fallen away
> Before your watchword, All or Nought.'

The husband is nowhere more ludicrously fanatic than when he says in reply:

> ' Of what the paltering world calls love
> I will not know, I cannot speak;
> I know but His who reigns above,
> And this is neither mild nor weak.'

The play can rudely be said to be a budget of his blunders committed as a necessary consequence of the inexorability of this law. Humanity, of course, every moment creeps in. But she is ruthlessly shut out. According to him humanity but 'serves the weakling to conceal the abdication of his will.' He tells the doctor with menacing disapproval,

> ' You puny souls will make of man
> A mere humanitarian ! '

He, Brand, was made of sterner stuff. He would not flinch. His mother's dying entreaties are thrust aside and she dies unreconciled to her Maker. His own son pines and pines for better climate but is lost in the end for he could not get it without tinkering with Brand's idealistic code of conduct. Agnes receives a greater blow than the death of her darling child. She is passionately clutching close to her heart a relic of her child, as a solace, as a loving memory, and this she is ordered by her husband to give away to a gipsy whose living child is in need of that identical thing. She hesitates. But she is too obedient a wife to disobey. Yet the emotion is staggering. She drops and dies. In all this the dramatist's desire is to emphasise on one point and on one point only : how ideals, however laudable to all appearances, lead invariably to misery, once they are divorced from humanity and pushed to and beyond their logical conclusion. It is not in the least suggested that Brand has no heart : such a preposterous view would be untenable as there are in the play many unmistakable outbursts of love which breathe the poignancy and flaming reality of a very human person. It is his idealism that undoes him and functions as the cause of the wreck of many other lives. It is ever at war with his life, his own humanity : but such is his devotion to his ideal, such his obstinacy, that always his ideal gains the upper hand in every new contest. Yet his sincerity and personal holiness are beyond question. In fact *he* suffers more than anybody else. Only he

is blind to realities and is content to take his paradise for granted. The mysterious power which enslaves the reader is due in large measure to the universality of its motive. Is not the struggle between man and his ideals as old as time? When was the strife between the divine and human elements in man suspended for one second ? The state of man has been from times immemorial in a condition of perpetual insurrection. All that one finds in "*Brand*" is only an artistic, a poetic, one might add, an intensified exposition of this never-ending antithesis between man and his ideals. And the moral of the play is—so far as it can be expressed in language—that when man wins he wins only at the expense of his ideals, and when he fails, he fails because of the clogging, dragging, retrogressive nature of the cramping ideals of his own making.

It is needless to give a full catalogue of Brand's ineffectual experiments with truth. He talks nobly and it is nothing short of a headlong drop to turn from the sublimity of his sentiments to the streams of dull and insipid epithets that indecorously flow from the Sheriff and the Dean. For a time indeed Brand smells success; he is acknowledged a saint and the people have so much faith in him that they are prepared to follow him to the summit of the mountains, which Brand has assured them, is to be their promised land. But such wild enthusiasm is too wild to last. They are tired, they question, they prevaricate. The Sheriff announces—it is a lie of course—that a shoal of fish has come to the fiord and that all will be correspondingly richer and happier. Brand could hold out no such hopes. They doubt and turn away. Some go further and pelt him with stones: Brand is rid like a mad man among the mountains; following his way over the fells, he is bruised all over the body and bleeds profusely. Now he doubts himself: he is perplexed. In the meantime a descending avalanche buries him. And so he dies a saint and a martyr.

Much has been made of the symbolism and the satire of the play. That they are both in the play must be conceded; but it

should also be made clear that they are relegated to a subordinate plane of interest and that their inclusion has an artistic rather than a philosophic motive behind. The character of Gerd and her story of the hawk which she hits only during the last moments of the play, are soaked in loose symbolism though it is not worth the while to look deep into the exact meaning of it. Ibsen himself would have resented any such impertinent curiosity. As for the satire, it has been variously interpreted. It should only be expected that Ibsen, so late an exile from his country, which had been none too kind to him, would satirise Scandinavian life, however lightly, and give glimpses of that cowardice which shamefully led to Norway's self-stultifying neutrality during the Danish-Prussian War. Be that as it may. the greatness of the play has nothing to do either with symbolism or with satire. It is as a poetic drama of challenging power and universal appeal that it will finally take its place among the classics. And Agnes and Brand are unforgettable; it will be for us an eternal exchange of pulses with these two superb creations.

V

The play which followed close upon '*Brand*' was '*Peer Gynt.*' Very similar in construction, it yet differs from the former in that it is drenched in gaiety. There are a few biographical touches here and there. Ibsen himself wrote to Hansen, his friend, three years after the publication: "This poem contains much that is reminiscent of my own youth: for Aase, my mother—with necessary exaggerations—served as model." It is impossible too not to discover in Aase's outburst—

Where
Are the well-filled money-bags
Left by good old Rasmus Gynt?
'Twas your father emptied them,
Pouring money out like sand—

an allusion to the extravagance of Ibsen's own father which had brought the untimely crash in his business. In a letter to the famous critic George Brandes, who was one of Ibsen's life-long friends and admirers, he wrote : "In writing '*Peer Gynt*' I had the circumstances and memories of my own childhood before me when I described the life in the house of 'the rich John Gynt.'"

But '*Peer Gynt*' is by no means a mere autobiographical work. It is first and foremost a fantasia. The duration of the play is almost the whole of Peer Gynt's life-time. With such a wide expanse of time and the shifts of scenes in wild disorder from Norway to Egypt and from roaring seas to inaccessible deserts, and above all with the ready resources of the highest lyrical poetry and the rich heritage of Norwegian folk-lore, Henrik Ibsen has been able to give us in '*Peer Gynt*' a work in which the distilled radiances of Drama and Poetry on the one hand, and fantasy and satire on the other, attract and repel, impinge and rebound and yet preserve a harmony to the finish. It is an achievement ; a *tour-de-force* among literary creations. The mind falters when it approaches '*Peer Gynt*' with a view to analysis.

In the first act we are introduced to Peer Gynt, a very young man filled with prodigious illusions about himself. He has early formed his ideal by reading old Norse Tales and this ideal has taken the form of the ability to "ride the rein-deer through the air." A self-engrossed egotist to the core and deeply sensuous, he is a born liar also ; he deceives everyone, not excluding his mother, a very jewel of a woman and innocent to a fault. He is never tired of giving a catalogue of his imaginary exploits:

> "Pooh! I can ride through the clouds on horse-back,
> There are lots of fine things I can do, I tell you!"

People take him, on the face of no further proof of these vainglorious declarations, for the booby, the braggart, the born rapscallion. At last he gives proof of his courage. He carries away

Ingrid on the very day of her marriage to the adjoining mountains and then deserts her. He is presently met by three girls who cheerfully take him to their hut to spend a night with them. And he readily consents. Next morning Peer is wild and distraught with remorse and exclaims :—

"Cleanse my foulness
In a bath of the keenest wind!"

But the inherent egotism soon returns: he contends himself with bragging—

"Great, Peer, were thy beginnings,
And in great things thou shalt end."

Then comes the extraordinary interlude in the Troll kingdom. This part is characteristically brilliant: it is a capricious piece of fantastic folk-lore. The late Sir Edmund Gosse wrote that "the wild impertinence of fancy" displayed in this interlude exceeds in recklessness anything else written since the second part of '*Faust*.'" The life and customs of the Trolls are described with a minutiae, thus making the second act sparkle with a peculiarly vivid life. The conversation between Peer and the Troll king, in which they discuss terms for the marriage of Peer with the Troll Princess, is full of the fun of another and a stranger world. In spite of Peer's willingness to attach a tail to his body, to take an oath and other sundry concessions, the conference fails. Peer's courage is in a way shown in what follows. The timely ringing of the church bells saves him from an untimely death at the hands of the Boyg. Though saved from the Boyg, Peer has yet to answer for the rape of Ingrid. He is caught and outlawed for life. The rest of this act (the third) breathes in every line the lofty fervour of high lyrical poetry. Here the poetic and lyrical beauties of the play reach their supreme distillation. The two women characters, Aase, the mother and Solveig, the sweetheart, permeate this act with their refreshing radiance. The sacrifice of Solveig on

the altar of love is pathetic with an unqualified sublimity, an unapproachable divinity. But Peer makes up his mind to desert her and to run away to America that he might escape from the hallucinations of the Troll world : his farewell speech which conceals his lie, is worth reproducing :—

Solveig: But dear
Don't be long.
Peer Gynt: Be patient Child
Whether the time is long or short,
You must just wait.
Solveig: Yes, I will wait.

And she waits a whole life-time. But Peer runs away to his mother and finds her dying. After her death he sails for America where business luck makes a multi-millionaire out of Peer. He is now in a position to frame his philosophy. He describes with exultation the "Gyntian self" as—

" an army
Of wishes, appetites, desires."

and as

" A sea of fancies, claims and aspírations."

He has some faith in God, or rather in his being under the direct patronage of God. Unfortunately, certa in of his friends desert him in an inaccessible land and steer away with Peer's own yacht. But in a few minutes the yacht is blown up and this brings back to Peer his confidence in himself and his queer faith in God. He exclaims :

" He takes a most fatherly interest in me—
But He's not what you'd call economical over it:"

A new round of adventures is now in store for this hero of selfish vanity. He has a tussle with apes but is quick to find his consolation—

" We men are but nothing, after all,
And must bow to the force of circumstances."

God does not forsake him, of course. He finds a white horse, and Peer greedily jumps upon it and gallops away across the desert. On the way he is hailed as Messiah by an Arab tribe and he is for a time thoroughly satisfied.

> "If a man salutes you, it's for *yourself*,
> And not because of your pounds and shillings."

Yet the state of affairs could not last long. An intrigue with a dancing girl reduces him again to a helpless condition. He is left alone in the desert. He wanders aimlessly and reaches and accosts a statue of the great Sphinx. A ludicrous concatenation of absurdities crowns him "the Emperor of Exegesis." Meanwhile his sweetheart, Solveig, is waiting without one poor word of complaint.

> "God guard you dear, where'er you be!
> If in Heaven, God have you in His care!
> I shall wait till you come back to me;
> If you're waiting above, I shall meet you there!"

As a girl, as a middle-aged woman, as an old lady, Solveig has been earnest in her longing, ever hoping, ever loving. At last, Peer also, a broken old man, returns to the haunts of his early days. After some further excruciating experiences wisdom dawns upon his mind, the clouds are chased away, the mists cleared. He finds to his utter disillusionment that if there had heen anything heroic about himself, it was neither in his ideals he had desperately pursued, neither in the feats of valour which had been cowardly even when not positively sinful, nor even in his sufferings for he had only too well deserved them—no, it was rather in the sweet and heroic vision of Peer nurtured in the loving imagination of his sweetheart. Their re-union is the close of the play. And the last note in the song of Solveig:

> "I will rock you to sleep and guard you!
> Sleep and dream, my dearest boy!"

She is mother and wife in one: and thus aptly Ibsen leaves Peer Gynt and Solveig.

As pointed out already '*Peer Gynt*' is a poem. It has indeed been staged and has been a success. Nevertheless it is impossible to get rid of the conviction that it is a beautiful poem and that only, for, "as such Ibsen wrote it." No doubt there is the twin-satire in the poem—that directed against Norwegian society and that against the dogged pursuit after man-made ideals which make everything else subservient to them. Whatever view one may take of its satire, the fact, that '*Brand*' and '*Peer Gynt*' form a class by themselves in the whole range of world's literature, stands out prominent. Between them too, similar as they appear to be on the surface, there is every divergence in sentiment and characterisation: but this only wields the pair the more harmoniously as a unique whole.

VI

At Berechtsgaden, in the Salsburg Akps, was begun Ibsen's five-act comedy, '*The League of Youth*' and was published in March 1869. This, chronologically ill-fitting in the list of his plays, coming as it does between '*Peer Gynt*' and '*Emperor and Galilean,*' so dissimilar in spirit and construction to it, is yet important for more reasons than one. First, it may fairly be claimed that '*The League of Youth*' is the first realistic prose-play to be published in Norway and consequently it holds a historical significance in the literature of Norway which it is not easy to underrate. Second, the skilful manipulation of the intrigues in the play gives ample proof of the influence of the French Dramatist, Scribe, on Ibsen during the early stages of his dramatic career. Third, in this play, Ibsen demonstrates how the prose-play is best suited for depicting realism as well as for purposes of propaganda, satire and human appeal. And last, it easily consents to be labelled a political satire.

As a matter of fact, the play is full of politics. Only, the dramatist came to caricature the 'people's party' and if he did not totally forget his original intention, at least shifted it to the back-ground in his zeal to make the caricature of Stensgaard strikingly prominent. Stensgaard is a lawyer-politician, inflated with all the vices and none of the very few virtues of the two professions, which he is assiduously to follow. There is no scruple which he will not swallow, no statement of political opinion which he will not withdraw, no particle of honour with which he will not readily compromise, if only he could be convinced that it would lead to his worldly advancement. And the play is about the fluctuations and alternations in his opinions (political opinions) and the consequent changes in his fortunes. There is not one conceivable political party with which he is not willing to associate nor one marriageable woman, virgin or widow, old or young, whose hand he will not, quite conscientiously, hold in the bond of marriage. His mind is ever open: his emotions no less so. Of course in the end he meets with the only fate he deserves. He is rejected by every party, unceremoniously let down by every woman—not excluding the plumpy old Madam Rundholmen.

It would be seen from the foregoing remarks that Stensgaard, whose character is developed with great fun, is the dominating factor in the play. And so it is. But there is something more in Stensgaard than the fact of his being the chief character. It is commonly acknowledged that Stensgaard is more or less a caricature of Ibsen's great countryman, Bjornstjerne Bjornson, whose intimate association at the time with the discredited "Young Party" seems to have filled Ibsen with profound distrust and suspicion. The publication of the play made the gulf between the whilom friends only the wider. Bjornson was enraged and perhaps justly so: and not until the expiration of a long period of estrangement did the two great sons of Norway effect a reconciliation which luckily continued for the rest of their lives.

When all is said, '*The League of Youth*' will not stand high in the list of Ibsen's plays. It is sparklingly written: it is a complicated story of intrigue and is told with the compelling dramatic technique of Ibsen. Yet it is neither a poetic drama like '*Brand*' nor a social satire like '*Pillars of Society*' and the rest that followed it. However, there are one or two incidents in the course of the play which may be justly said to herald the New Ibsen of the social satires. In the character of Selma we have a forecast of the later Nora of '*A Doll's House.*' When Selma finds that she had never been asked "to make the least sacrifice" by the husband or the father-in-law but merely to be a parasite battening on men, she glows with indignation and tells her husband with characteristic force of language which reminds one of Portia (in '*Julius Caesar*,' Act III) and Nora. "You don't know," she says, "how I have longed to be allowed to share your troubles! . . You dressed me up like a doll; you played with me as if I were a child. I would have been glad to share any sorrow;...Now you think I am good enough—now Erik has nothing else. But I am not going to be a last resort like that. I won't have anything to do with your troubles now. I shall leave you! I would rather sing and play in the streets—! Let me be, let me be!" (Rushes out at the back.)

There is here the same ring of majesty, though subdued, which characterises Portia's speech when she demands "by right and virtue" of her place to be taken into Brutus' confidence. These are too the intimations of the spirit of womanhood rising in rebellion against the cheap patronage and detestable caress of the husband, which are the impulses irresistible that impel Nora to action. Unlike Nora, however, Selma returns to her husband. But Selma is only an early, and perhaps a crude edition of Nora. The logical conclusion is to be made manifest in Ibsen's masterpiece only.

VII

Ibsen's next play, '*Emperor and Galilean*' is one of the wonders of modern literature. Henrik Jaegar, his Norwegian biographer, has called it his most extensive play. It is not compact: its two component parts are ill-knit together. But even when taken by themselves, the two parts, '*Caesar's Apostasy*' and '*Emperor Julian*' easily stand comparison with the most voluminous of Ibsen's single plays, '*Brand*' '*Peer Gynt*' and '*Pretenders*.' It is apparent that when Ibsen set about writing this colossal play, he had some magnificent idea in his mind which he wanted to translate in the medium of drama. Some grand moral principle, some fundamental mental conflict, some significant code of conduct, should have first given the impetus to the construction of this play. But the more one reads it, the more one consults the critics for illumination, the more one finds it impossible to make out the central idea behind all the impenetrable texture of mythology, religion and philosophy which strangely shroud the characters and in fact the entire action of the play.

Mr. George Bernard Shaw in his brilliant '*The Quintessence of Ibsenism*' puts the play under consideration to a rigorous analysis and says—he says many things. He seems to think that the play ought to have been called "The Mistake of Maximus the Mystic" as it would have given a better description of the contents. It is true. Maximus and not Julian is the guiding force in the play. His mysticism is the electricity which sets the conducting Julian in intrepid motion. Once in motion however no power on earth could bring it to a standstill, not even the force of the origin. The mysticism of Maximus is high-soaring all right: only, it chose the wrong spot for its fertilisation: the soil, while it thankfully received the implanted seed, so distorted the growing figure that it engulfed and destroyed both the giver and the product. The choice of Maximus the Mystic was mistaken. Mistaken indeed is too

mild a word for eventually the recipient of the message dies tragically.

For anything approaching to a proper understanding of the grim issues contending for absolute mastery throughout the intense action of this amazing play, it should be clearly remembered that when it was written Europe was in the very seed-time of modern progress and still not yet on the high road to the royal destination. On the one hand the works of Darwin were giving a new significance to the order of the world and on the other, people were more and more losing faith in revealed religion and its concomitant implications. The theories of Evolution, Heredity and Natural Selection were all in the air. Thomas Henry Huxley was carrying forward the work of Darwin in his Scientific and Philosophical discourses. " By concentrating his attack upon dogma and the belief in verbal inspiration, which he stigmatised as Bibliolatry, he helped very materially in freeing the vital core of religion from such superstructures, and in showing how unessential to true religion is most theology " (Julian Huxley, "Essays in Popular Science," p. 140). While the work of agnostics, atheists and super-scientists in this manner demolished the validity of revealed religion, Science had not yet, for the benefit of man, formulated a religion acceptable to humanity. Lord Morley indeed said : " The next great task of Science is to create a religion for humanity." But it had not been done then : it has not been done even now. Be that as it may, Ibsen when he wrote about Cæsar's apostasy was swimming between the repulsive 'dogma' of one shore and the desperate, arid waste extending beyond the other. And his play deals with the rush, roar and tumult of what lies midway between the two extremes.

The conflict between the higher and lower urges in Cæsar which lead to the final act of ascending the throne, is rather hard to follow, wrapped as it is with an incongruous mixture of casuistry and egotism. The tough Caesar is made to envisage and choose between the sensuous paganism of old, the

idealistic simplicity of Christ and the imperishable supremacy of the "empire of Man asserting the eternal validity of his own will." (Shaw, "*The Quintessence of Ibsenism,*" p. 63). With a curiously obnoxious self-conceit and introspection Caesar views the whole question and finally decides that as he is in Man's will, and as he is himself the most distinguished of men, himself no less than "the pilot of the Galilean Lake" is God. And so the old Caesar gives place to the new Emperor.

But Emperor Julian has no peace of mind. Himself no less than the Galilean is God? The duality proves most discomforting. The rival should be eliminated, if this anomaly should be removed: thus he concludes. But the simple martyr on the cross eludes the cumbrous grasp of the Emperor. Julian doubts. He consults Maximus: "How is He begotten?" Maximus answers: He is self-begotten in the man who wills." The truth is too profound for clarified comprehension. The force that made him can no more undo the mischief. The avalanche must move and come to its own natural termination, terrific, explosive; its impulsion could be counteracted never: it must exhaust itself and die at the moment of total disintegration.

As a result of a battle Julian is fatally wounded. Wisdom in a way comes to him at last: he acknowledges defeat at the hands of the Galilean, then dies with a clean conscience. Maximus knows that the third empire where man's Will will rule one and unobstructed, is not yet and hurriedly leaves the scene. His religious idealism, not dissimilar to Brand's, projected on the receptive vision of Caesar, not far differentfrom that of Peer Gynt, constituted the two ingredients which interacted with so much persistence that they inevitably led to the final explosion. Maximus gathers the broken fragments and these are the hopes he still cherishes of the Third Empire of the future.[1]

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

(*To be continued*)

[1] The quotations from Ibsen's Plays are from the English translations in the Everyman's Library and are here reproduced by kind permission of the Publishers, Messrs J. M. Dent & Sons.

AGRICULTURE IN OLD BENGAL

Bengal, by the nature of its alluvial soil, is an extremely fertile country and it is natural that her teeming millions have adopted agriculture as their main occupation. In the olden times, the agriculturists of Bengal, attained a high stage of perfection, judging by the standard of the age. The people even dared to assail the Sanskrit canons, which gave the first place to trade and commerce and only second place to agriculture amongst the four recognised methods for earning livelihood. The Bengali peasants boldly declared the priniciple that agriculturè should always occupy the first place.[1] Thus :—

" Although it is said, trade begets wealth still there can be no denying the fact that trade has its drawbacks ; the reason being that people require much capital for trade and take recourse to fraud without which they cannot always succeed. Into service, one should not enter, if one has an iota of self-respect in him. Beggary brings no fortune. Evidently it is then agriculture which is the most suitable occupation for a self-respecting individual.''[2]

There was a day when even a Brahmin did not consider it beneath his dignity to do the work of cultivation himself (see Mukundaram's Chandikāvya, p. 22, C. U. edition). In the Sanskrit work Parāsara-Saṃhita, a high place is accorded to agriculture. In this work advice has been given to the Brahmans to carry on agriculture with zeal. " With the paddy cultivated by himself or acquired from a field cultivated on his behalf, he should offer the five sacrifices (enjoined in the works on Smriti) and should likewise be engaged in celebrating the sacrificial rites such as the Vedas prescribe (the five sacrifices are mentioned by Manu, in Ch. 3, St. 70).'' (See Institutes of

[1] See Chās-pālā by Rāmeswar, C. U. MS. No. 2455, Fol. 3; see also F. 1 and 2.

[2] Chās-pālā by Rāmeswar, C. U. MS. No. 2455, Fol. 3.

Parāsara, Translated into English by K. K. Bhattacharyya, second chapter, Bibliotheca Indica.)

The old Bengali literature is full of vivid descriptions of the condition of agriculture as it existed in the past, specially in the pre-Mahomedan period. The same method is followed even to the present day. Conservative as the peasantry are, they still use the same implements and follow the same maxims as they did in the dim past.

Many adages, specially the sayings of Khanā, are current in Bengal proving the agricultural wisdom of the people. Thus, "cultivation should be done personally by the owner of the field. He should himself plough the land being aided by his son only. For want of a son, his brother should help him. No other person should be trusted in the matter of cultivation" (Khanā). Again, "in agriculture he who works personally is sure to get the full profit, while he who simply does the work of supervision of his own field, gets only half the profit. But the man, who idly passes his time in his own home without going to his fields and enquires about the state of his crops from there like a person unconcerned, is sure to undergo loss and suffer from want of foodstuff." This adage shows that the Bengal peasantry was not in favour of the trusts or organised labours, which in these days are so highly productive of success. Dhenki or the rice-husking pedal was once considered as an indispensable implement in every household. A house not containing a "dhenki" was stigmatised as forsaken by the goddess of luck (see an adage by Dāk).

Agriculture in the alluvial soil of Bengal has its troubles. Besides reclaiming waste lands and bogs the actual work of cultivation has its disappointments and drawbacks which are not to be ignored. Thus :—

"It is with great trouble that harvest can be gathered. If there is drought then it is all over with the peasant. If there is good harvest forthcoming in any one year, the king is cruel enough to put it to sale for his own benefit at the expense of the

poor cultivators. Inspite of the good harvest it is not the cultivators who really get the profit—but the king. The peasants till the soil amidst immense sufferings in the muddy and boggy soil and manage to drag on their miserable existence not so much by mixing with the good men as by coaxing very bad people who are self-seeking to the extreme and are the real masters of the land." (Chāsa-pālā by Rāmeswar, C. U. MS. No. 2455, F. 3).

Like drought flood is another great detriment to the prospects of the peasantry. In the story of Maluā (Mymensingh Ballads) Chand Benode's sad plight is described as follows:—

" When the month of Aswin came, the flood remained to such an extent that all the crops went down the water, and became totally destroyed. This made Chand Benode quite penniless. In this way Aswin passed by and Kartik came with no better prospect......The miseries of Chand Benode were beyond description. There was not enough paddy in the granary even for the purpose of worshipping the harvest goddess (Lakshmi)." (Maluā, Mymensingh Ball., Bengali version, p. 43.)

The following humorous and incidental description given in the Sivāyana poem by Rāmeswar furnishes a true picture of some agricultural difficulties in this country. Thus:—

" When the paddy had grown in the fields a thorough weeding became necessary. The goddess Durgā became aware of the intention of the god Siva in this respect and sent the leeches to annoy the great god. The leeches of the smaller type moved on the grass and the bigger ones remained in water with the hope of sucking blood from the unhappy victims who would come within their reach. Siva's assistant Brikodara came to the fields in the morning for clearing the weeds while the Lord himself sat on the grassy ridge near by. Both were attacked by these leeches...Siva, however, applied lime and salt all over the affected parts as a result of which, all the leeches discharged blood and were at last killed." (Sivāyana by Rāmeswara.)

In another place of this work we find " the God Siva (described as a farmer) instructing his assistant in the method of cultivation. The first step was to root out the weeds with great zeal. Both the master and his servant worked hard and in a very short time planted the seedlings of paddy, raised the ridges and cleared the field of many kinds of wild grass. Both of them laboured in the fields from morn till noon daily." [1]

The peasantry of Bengal have known from very early times the method of measuring the crops, vegetables and the fruit trees as well as curing them when necessary with indigenous methods which are neither costly nor complex in nature. They were well aware of the fact that certain things which are *injurious to men are beneficial to plants*. The following lines from " *Khanār Vachana* " will illustrate our point :—

(*a*) If some water in which a fish has been washed, is poured at the root of a gourd plant, then the plant will surely be benefited from it.

(*b*) The smut of corn (paddy) should be thrown into the bamboo-grove. If this is done, the result will be a very rapid increase of the grove. Earth should also be thrown into a bamboo-grove to serve the purpose of manure.

(*c*) Betelnut plants require liquid manure for their growth, etc., etc.

The following pithy sayings from Khanā's Manual show considerable agricultural wisdom and deserve our passing notice :—

(*a*) It is the rains which make the soil fit for cultivation—popularly known as Kāḍān. When the soil is not thus not made fertile in Āsāḍh, *i.e.*, June-July, the paddy will not grow adequately. If the soil is made fertile in Srāvan (*i.e.*, July-

1 The custom of working only half-a-day had once the backing of the Sastras. They specially recommended this time-limit when one worked with the bull. In the Parāsara-Samhita, we find " An able-bodied bull free from disease, well-fed, hearty, and not impotent should be made to work for half the day, then should one give the bull a wash."—Parāsara-Samhita. This was, of course, due to kindness shown to the animal.

August), the paddy will grow in profusion. In Bhādra (*i.e.*, August-September) the late rains will be injurious to the growth of paddy. In Aswin (*i.e.*, September-October) the land, inspite of its fertility due to the rains, will bear no crops.

(*b*) The year in which there will be enough mangoes growing, paddy will also be growing in abundance. Similarly, the year in which the tamarind will be growing in plenty, there will be excessive flood occurring in the land (during the rains).

(*c*) If the cocoanut fruits are plucked every now and then, fruits may be had in larger numbers. Quite opposite is the principle with the bamboo-grove. The less the bamboos are cut down the better will be the growth of the grove.

(*d*) The brinjals (*Solanum Melongena*) may be sown throughout the year save and except the Bengali months of Baisākh and Jaistha (April-May and May-June), etc., etc.

The Bengali peasants are experts in weather-forecasts, as they have opportunities for a close observation of nature. Their wisdom in this respect is exemplified in the sayings of Khanā (Khanār Vachan) which they have remembered from generations past.

The following specimens of Khanā's sayings will serve to illustrate how accurately the peasants of Bengal could forecast atmospheric conditions :—

(*a*) The appearance of a rainbow in the eastern sky during the rainy season is a sign that there will be too much rain and consequent overflooding of the land.

(*b*) The rainbow in the western sky will bring drought but the rainbow in the eastern sky is a sure indication of coming rains.

(*c*) If it rains in the month of Agrahāyan (November-December) the land suffers by so terrible a famine (due to the destruction of crops by locusts) that even the king goes out a-begging.

(*d*) When in one year there will be mist in the month of Chaitra (March-April) and flood in the month of Bhādra (August-

September) the death rate of the people will appreciably increase, etc., etc.

The cultivators of Bengal always guided their agricultural operations with the help of astrological observations. There is no historical data as to how or when knowledge in Astrology came into their possession, but so far as could be ascertained tradition points to a foreign origin. Besides the Bengali treatises, we have evidence of astrological association in agricultural operations even in Sanskrit works such as the 'Krisi-Parāsara.' The Bengal peasants must have found inseparable connection between Astrology and Agriculture as many pithy sayings current among them show their knowledge of astrology. A few saying from Khanār Vachan are quoted below by way of illustration :—

(*a*) When according to astrological calculations, in any particular year, Saturn occupies the highest position and Mars is next to him, then agriculture will not flourish that year.

(*b*) If the planet Mercury be ascendant, and Venus be next to him, then no doubt the fields will yield rich harvest.

(*c*) Bananas may be taken throughout the year with the exception of the Bengali months of Bhādra (August-September) and Chaitra (March-April),[1] etc., etc.

The customs and superstitions have important bearings upon agriculture, as we find from a perusal of 'Khanā,' and from the practice of the peasantry current in Bengal. These may not be altogether meaningless. Close observation of centuries may have contributed to the wisdom of such sayings, as, sowing paddy seeds within the first five days of the month of Āsāḍh (May-June) will yield much crops or 'Tila' (sesamum) is to be sown either within the last eight days of Falgun (February-March) or within the first eight days of Chaitra (March-April).

1 The Bengali texts, as usual, are given in the technical phraseology of astrology. The Bengali months are expressed here through the names of the figures of the Zodiac. This style has interesting similarity with the astrological expressions of the agricultural people of the Malabar side in the Southern India. See "Economic Life in a Malabar Village," pp. 162-163 by J. Subbrama Aiyar.

As regards the superstition which prohibits one to plough in the days of the full moon and also of the new moon it may be said that these days are generally attended not only by inclemencies of weather, but also by corresponding bad effects on animal system (as believed by all Bengalis). These aphorisms are therefore not without some significance :—" He who cultivates the soil in the days of the full moon and the new moon is sure to suffer misery. His cows will suffer from rheumatism, and scarcity will prevail in his house. He who tills land in these two prohibited days is ruined "—says Khanā. But the truth in the above, if there be any, is much exaggerated and verges on the ludicrous in the following lines :—" Even the mighty king Rāvana was killed with all his family by planting bananas in the month of Bhādra (August-September)," and "All prosperity will smile on the peasants if they begin tilling from the eastern side of the field."

From the materials, discussed above, some idea of the agricultural condition of Bengal in the past may be easily formed. As the outlook of the Bengal peasant has undergone little change, they are also useful in understanding the present state of our country to a certain extent.

TAMONASH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA. M.A.

AUTUMN SONG

It is a lonely autumn night·
I sing a song in my lonely heart.
Round the eave the dripping waters sound ;
In the garden the scattering leaves sound.
The whispering winds reply on the door.
It is a lonely autumn night,
I sing a lullaby in my lonely heart,
Like a tender mother by her cradle.
How often comes autumn and goes away,
To invite an orphan to sleep!

JINKICHI MATSUDA

THE MAKARA IN INDIAN ART

The Makara motif is extremely complicated as to its origin and composition. The word Makara evidently summons up the image of a mythical sea-monster. Considerable speculation has raged round the question of the origin of this particular decorative form. " One writer, an Indian, calls it a purely mythical one, not found in nature. Another writer goes further to suggest that it was evolved out of two animals—' the Rhinoceros and the Tapir;' "[1] while others would prefer to call it a sea-elephant. The complete silence about the actual form of the Makara in the ancient texts, has led to varieties of fanciful forms being reproduced by artists at their own initiative. The unlicensed freedom has also resulted in the prevalent haziness about the elementary nature of the conception.

" The form is undoubtedly conventional," says Akshaykumar Maitra. " It occurs not only as the Vāhana of Gaṅgā, but it is also associated with Varuṇa as a Dikpāla ; Kāmadeva, the God of love, and Pushpadanta, the ninth Tirthankara of the Jainas. It is older in Indian art than any image of Gaṅgā. It occurs in decorative designs in temples, gateways, thrones, and ear-ornaments, as well as in the form of gargoyles, to carry off ceremonial water from temples. It has been the favourite decorative design from the earliest times. The wide range of its usefulness can hardly be accounted for by a purely imaginary origin. It occurs as one of the signs of the Zodiac which in no other case reveals an altogether imaginary form."[2] Mr. Maitra, by reference to old Indian literature, has been able to dispel the notion about the wholly fabulous nature of the Makara. " Suśruta clearly calls it a sea-fish " and the Bhagavadgitā, in Krishna's address to Arjuna, says, " Among the

[1] M. Ganguly, Orissa and Her Remains, p. 208 ; and H. Cousens, The Makara in Hindu Ornament, Arch. Surv. of India, An. Rep., 1903-04, p. 220.

[2] A. K. Maitra, The River Goddess Ganga ; Rupam, April, 1921, p. 8.

purifiers I am the wind ; I am Rāma among armed men ; I am Makara among fish, I am Jāhnavi among the rivers."[1] These unequivocal statements establish the aquatic character of the animal.

Now let us consider the survivals of the Makara forms and its stylistic evolution throughout the course of Indian art. We have strong reasons to believe that it was the crocodile and specially, the Gharial or Gavial, usually frequenting the waters of the Indus, the Brahmaputra and the Ganges system and Orissa and Arakan, which furnished the model for this conventional creature. It should also be remembered that the Gharial is confined only to Northern India. Mr. Dikshit has recovered numerous seals from Mahenjo-daro, depicted with abundant representations of this particular species, which was considered sacred, even in those far off days.[2] The next oldest phase of the Makara, is provided by the heavy uncouth quadruped, with closed jaws, the upper lip being slightly curled, and a crocodile tail with an indented upper edge, at the spring of the arch of the Lomaṣ Ṛṣi cave façade (Fig. 1).[3] Dr. Vogel has pointed out in his excellent article on "The Makara in Pre-Indian Sculpture"[4] that "as the corners of these niches came to be changed (being replaced by spiral motives on Toraṇa cross beams), these crocodiles came to be provided with coiled up fish-tails." In the biped Makaras of the Bharhūt gateway, we can easily recognise the elongated and distended jaw, lined with serrated teeth of a Gharial, the loose flapping ears of an aquatic animal and a curling fish tail ending in a gigantic fin. (Fig. 2.) The knob of the crocodile snout is gradually curved outwardly and upwardly. In some of the early specimens from Bharhūt and Sānchī (Fig. 3), however, the elephant affinities

[1] Chapter 10, Sloka 31.

[2] Marshall, Mahenjo-daro, A.S.I., A.R., 1924-25, Pl. XXII, C.

[3] Burgess, The Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India, London, 1897, Vol. I, Pl. 4.

[4] Nederlandsch, Indië Oud en Nieuw, 1924, pp. 263-276.

are sometimes betrayed in the heavy and massive heads and fore-paws ; but the predominant component elements of these fantastic creatures are those of a crocodile. The rail fragments from Kankāli Tilā, of the pre-Kushana Mathurā sculpture, offer a gallery of different types of the Makara (Figs. 4 and 5). Some of them are uncouth quadrupeds, having a crocodile body combined with a long twisted tail like that of a fish.

M. Stutterheim has recently discovered the influence of the Hellenistic zodiacal Capricorn or "Goat-fish" in the Makara motif. He is of opinion "that the change which turned the crocodile into a fish crocodile, and which is mainly identified with the school of Mathurā, is perhaps due to grafting, if we may so call it, on to the Indian crocodile of a fish tail, which found its way into Indian ornamental art *viâ* the strongly Hellenistic Kingdom of Kusana. In this line of argument the South Indian pachydermic quadruped could but be the result of a new grafting of the abovementioned makara-fish on to some creature which existed in South India, and which had a similar, or at any rate, closely related, symbolical meaning,"[1] which he tries to unravel with the help of abstruse astronomical data. How far the above conjectures are true, we leave to authorities, better and more competent, to answer. But we may only venture to suggest that fish-tailed Makara does not appear for the first time in the Kushāna regime, but had its previous existence not only in pre-Kushāna Mathurā, but also on the Bharhūt rails and on the Besnagar column, which are universally ascribed to the Śuṅga period.

The next stage in the evolution of this monster design is afforded by the Amarāvatī marbles. A novel departure is perceived for the first time in the sinuous movement of the inwardly curving scaly tail and in the introduction of short graceful horns, also bending inwards. (Fig. 6.) The dramatic rhythm

[1] W. F. Stutterheim, The Meaning of the Kāla-Makara Ornament, Indian Arts and Letters, First Issue for 1929, pp. 33-34.

and aggressive vitality of the contorted and intensely supple body, aptly illustrates the spirit of late Āndhra sculptures.[1] The peculiar flourish of the tail and the awful grin of the massive jaws, is perhaps already crudely suggested in the biped Makara bracket of the curry-stone, recovered by Sir John Marshall, from the Scytho-Parthian city of Sircap, Taxila.[2] With the dawn of the Gupta era, the hybrid amphibian undergoes further decorative stylization. The significant change introduced, concerns radical transformation of the different parts composing the fantastic creature (Fig. 7). The swelling head, emphasised by round and flowing curves, terminate in short, tapering and undulating lower jaw, and in an extended and downwardly curving proboscis of the upper one, with pronounced elephantine characteristics. The fish tail, again, is foliated into convoluted Gupta scrolls of intricate delicacy. This novel variation, however, must not be confused with the true sea-elephants, composed of the foreparts of the elephant and the winding fish tail, which figure quite independently and side by side with the Makara, on the Bodh Gayā rail coping and the springing of the ornamental arches of the Rānī Gumphā at Udayagiri, Orissa. "From the first to the sixth century of the Christian era," observes Mr. Maitra, "the Makara specimen disclose numerous transitory efforts to arrive at a decorative adjustment. They were struggles with hardly any permanent achievement—struggles which chiefly aimed at a gradual distension of the jaws, to suit decorative lavishness, which was then making a gradual advance."[3]

In the succeeding ages, when the admirable Gupta reticence was forgotten, so many decorative details were added to the pattern, to augment the purely picturesque effect that the original can hardly be traced sometimes. The stylization was

[1] Burgess, The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta; London 1887, Pl. XXVI, 4.

[2] Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, 1928; Leyden, 1930 ; Fig. 3.

[3] Maitra, *ibid*, p. 9.

completed, as we have already seen, with the addition of a pair of spiralic horns. The early Pallava and early Chalukyan monuments, at Mahāvalipuram and Aihole respectively, are noted for the introduction of peculiar architectonic features in the form of the Makara-toraṇa where the shrine portals are often adorned with this fantastic creature, perched upon the pilaster mouldings, with long florid tails dangling beneath. This particular element continued to be persistently reproduced, in the form of arching canopies, topped by a grotesque Kīrttimukha mask, in Chola art, beginning from the eleventh century A.D.[1] But the most remarkable development of the Makara-toraṇa, "So frequently seen thrown across overhead, from pillar to pillar, in rolls and cusps of airy gracefulness, or, in a smaller scale, engirdling the tops of image niches and panels upon the temple walls"—is visible in later Chalukyan architecture The biped Makara of the Gupta and post-Gupta art, is again changed into a pachydermic quadruped, extremely conventional and highly ornate, where the original aquatic character entirely vanishes (Fig. 8). "The mediaeval form shows us a heavy-bodied, short-legged quadruped, with huge jaws and a short curling trunk or elongated proboscis. But the glory of the beast is in its tail. This, starting in its natural place, and not from the navel, as we find n the case with the florid tails of some of the Gandharvas in the ceilings at Abu, curls and spreads up around and over his back and haunches, and in a magnificent multiplicity of elaborate flourishes and whorls, forming a fan-like display of intricate and interlacing arabesques. In some cases the body is dwarfed into insignificance beside it." [2]

In mediæval Simhalese art, Coomaraswamy points out, the Makara face is never used by itself; but profile representations are usually associated with the ornamental arch. It is described in Rūpāvaliya in the following way. "The Makara has the trunk

[1] A. S. R. Ayyar. A Few Makara-Toraṇas from South Travancore, Rupam, April, 1926, p. 40ff.

[2] Cousensi, bid, p. 227.

of an elephant, the feet of a lion, the ears of a pig, the body of a fish living in water, the teeth turned outwards, eyes like Hanumān and a splendid tail."[1] The ancient monuments of Burma from the 9th to the 13th century A.D. have their imposing portals and beautiful windows decorated with Makara-toraṇas. The flamboyant wings of the oft-recurring foliated arches, echo the Makara forms and in a few, *e.g.* Thabbinnyu, Shwe-Kugyi and Dammayangi at Pagan, these fabulous hybrids are actually represented in low relief. In all the cases, only the debasely rendered heavy and massive heads are depicted, prominent for their undulating upturned trunks, which were apparently translated into familiar flame ornaments as the piece-de-accents of Burmese architecture. The employment of the Makara-toraṇa by the artists of Champā, has already been pointed by Mr. O. C. Ganguly, specially with regard to the pedestal from Mison.[2] The Makara head-pieces are also characteristic of Cham structures and less formally represented. The terminal Makara spouts of the Primitif period, are imitations of the elephant head in every minutest detail, including the eyes, the tusks and the large fan-like ear. The soft and fleshy modelling vividly recalls the round features of the great mammal.[3] The only extraneous element is the row of sharp teeth, lining the upper jaw and the association with several human beings. The example from Chiem-son, Quang-nam, belonging apparently to a later period, illustrates the advent of lavish elaboration in the grafting of scrolls and spirals, till the naturalistic elephant head becomes obscure in superficial relief. The degeneration is, however, completed in the Derivative Art of the twelfth century A.D., when the stylization is effected by the formal array of bristling fangs, horns and flamboyant ornamental appendages. The schematic treatment consists in precise and dry composition,

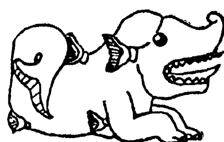
1 Coomaraswamy, Mediaeval Simhalese Art,. Broad Campden, p. 84.
2 Ganguly, The Art of Champā; Rupam, July and December, 1923, p. 45.
3 Parmentier, Les Sculptures Chames, Ars Asiatica, Vol. IV, Paris., 1922, Pt. X.
4 *Ibid*, Pl. XI. No. 315.



1 Lomaș Rishi Cave. Barābar; 3rd century B. C.



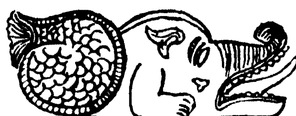
2. Bharhūt, 2nd century B. C.



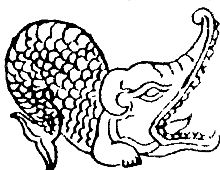
3. Sānchī, 1st Century, B. C. (Cousens)



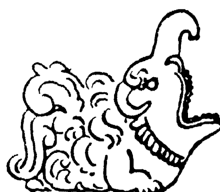
4. Mathurā, 1st Century B. C. (Cousens)



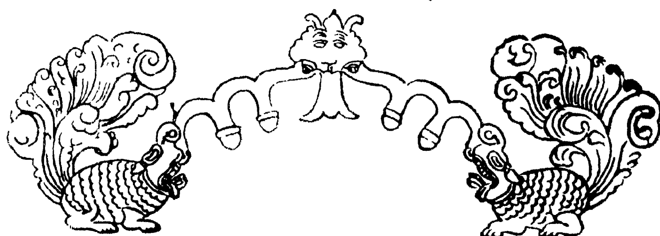
5. Mathurā, 1st Century B. C. (Cousens)



6. Amaravati, 2nd Century A. D.



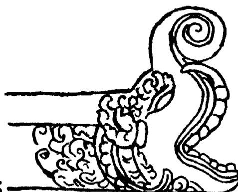
7. Ajantā, Cave XVIII, C. 500 A. D.



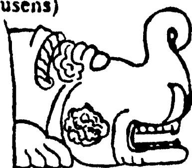
8. Chalukyan Architecture, 10th Century A. D. (Cousens)



9. Vaital Deul, Bhuvanes'war; 8th Century A. D.



10. Prambanan, Central Java; before 900 A. D.



11. Muktes'wara, Bhuvenes'wara 10th Century A. D.



12. Lingarāj, Bhuvaneswara; C. 1000 A. D.



13. Kanārak, 13th Century A. D.

sharp angular lines and extremely low relief.[4] The elaborately carved temples of pre-Khmer architecture, are noted for the quadruped Makaras, with elephant heads, trunks flung up high and floriated tails, decorating the door lintels,[1] *e.g.*, at Sambor-Prei Kuk. They are obviously derived from the South Indian models but contrary to our expectations, they do not form the starting points of the principal arch over the doorway, nor are they joined together by ornamental clasps, as is wont to be seen on early Pallava and early Chalukyan edifices. The foliated arches crowning the bas-reliefs of Dvārapālas and Apsarās at Bako and Lolei (Rulouh), invariably end in a short and heavy Makara head facing outwards in typical Orissan and Bengali style.[2] In later periods it was transformed into a flamboyant leaf, like the Burmese example, and ultimately into a multiple-headed Nāga. Classic Khmer art discarded the Makara-toraṇa and lintel and the resurgent indigenous note is vividly struck in the replacement of the traditional Indian formula by the many-hooded snake, at the ends of an infinite number of ornamental arches of Bayon and Ankor. But, for the most prolific employment of the Makara motif, we must go to Java, where it is almost invariably combined with the Kīrttimukha, on the doorways, stairways and as gargoyles, in innumerable variations. Following the Indian precedent, sometimes, little lions or other animals, are seen to emerge from their mouths. In later phases these subsidiary figures, which are often human, become the predominant element, observes Krom, at the cost of the Makara heads. But nowhere else, not even in India, have the heads from central Java been surpassed in the exquisite modelling of the component parts, in the aesthetic balance of the marvellous arabesque ornamentation over the eyes, ears and corner curves, in the wonderful rhythm of the gliding curve of the yawning mouth and the coiling trunk[3] (Fig. 10). But the inevitable

[1] Permentier. L'Art Khmer Primitif, Paris, 1927, Pl. XVI.

[2] P. Stern, Le Bayon D' Angkor, Paris, 1927, Pl. 21, A and Pl. 22, A.

[3] Krom, L' Art Javanais, Ars Asiatica, Vol. VIII, Paris, 1926, Pt. XII.

decline sets in the motifs executed during the Majapahit Kingdom.[1] Modelling is scarcely noticeable. The classical feeling for restrained ornamentation and the graceful sweep of the contours, is sadly lacking. The general outline is lost in a misunderstood application of spiral foliage over the whole piece, savouring of decadent art.

But did the Makara, in its interesting and amazing career, ever cross the northern boundary of India to explore fresh avenues of development? The presence of the omnipotent and all-pervading dragon, its powerful Chinese counterpart, rendered such adventurous prospects extremely hazardous. But in the wake of the Indian Kīrttimukha, which we have been able to trace definitely on the Chinese soil,[2] it is quite possible, that we may also discover significant footprints of its constant companion too, however faint they may be. For, beginning from the Gupta period, the foliated ornamental arch, derived from the original Buddhist Chaitya-window, which is almost invariably crowned by a Kīrttimukha mask and ended in a Makara, at each springing, is almost a regular feature of Indian art and architecture, and gradually assumes the character of an auspicious convention. The similarity of the dragon heads, on some of the early Chinese bronzes, to the Indian motif is remarkably striking,[3] while two fish dragons carved in low relief on a mirror of the T'ang style, is more so, for their surprising likeness to the Makara.[4] Further evidence of the influence of the mythical Indian device is supplied by the Buddhist stetæ of the Northern Wei and T'ang dynasties, in the crowning foliated arch formed by magnificent coiling dragons, reminiscent of Chalukyan Toraṇas, and in the dragon pairs seated in juxtaposition, around the riches on the top, which are seemingly Chinese translations

1 Krom, *ibid*, Pl. XXIX.

2 The interesting history of the Kīrttimukha or "lion mask," is going to be dealt with in a separate article by the writer, shortly.

3 Koop, Early Chinese Bronzes, London, 1911, Pl. 83, 6.

4 *Ibid*, Pl. 91, *a*.

of the Indian Makara designs in their characteristic and favourite combination.[1] Last of all, the awful and enormous gaping heads with prehensile proboscis, which is probably not a dragon characteristic, serving as terminals of the ornamental arch, with a Kīrttimukha finial, on the Lung Hu ta Pagoda at Shen T'ungssu (Yuan Dynasty), leaves perhaps little room for doubt as to the intrusion of the Makara motif in such a virile and original art as that of China.[2]

In Orissa, the Makara does not play a dominant part as it does in Chalukyan architecture of the Kanarese districts. Neither is it so abundantly reproduced and in such variant phases as the Kīrttimukha. Why the Orissan sculptor fought shy of this typical mediaeval ornament, is difficult to discover. The South Indian pachydermic types are also foreign to this particular locality, as in most other parts of Āryāvarta. The earliest temples do not contain the Makara. A few crude and archaic designs only, consisting of a short and heavy gaping head associated with elaborate arabesque tail, in low relief, are recognized on the upper horizontal moulding of the "Barandi" of the Paraśurāmeśwara temple (Bhuvaneśwara, *c.* 8th century A.D.). But the sore disappointment caused by the ineffective and inadequate rendering of the fantastic creature, on the previous temple, gives place to a sense of wondering admiration, when we are confronted with the beautiful specimens of Vaitāl Deul and Iśāneśwara (Bhuvaneśwara, late 8th century). The Makara heads, projecting outwards, at the wings of several outstanding decorative Chaitya-window "Bhos's," topped by the usual grotesque mask facing each cardinal direction, or the "Rekha" of the Deul, and emitting human figures in the traditional way, are the best ever attempted by the ancient Oriya artist. (Fig. 9.) In the sensitive modelling of the soft, smooth and undulating surface of the fabulous elephant face, set off

[1] Siren, Chinese Sculpture, London, 1925, Pl. 109, 233.

by the gorgeous intricacy of the resplendent tail—which is sure to satisfy even the most fastidious critic ; in the impulsive throw of the upturned head and the stirring vitality of the swaying form, in the wonderful rhythm of the round and tapering lines, emphasised by the coiling elongated trunk, slender lip, inwardly curving fantastic horn, tiny curling legs, and the magnificent sweep of the neck and the body terminating in flowing arabesque scrolls, they are only matched by the splendid Makara heads from classical Java, with which there is something more than an accidental resemblance. If the Javanese "Kāla-Makara" ornament had anything to do with Indian models, the inspiration was obviously supplied by the elaborate ornamental arches of the eighth century Orissan temples, crowned by a broad and stretching Kīrttimukha mask and flanked by outwardly facing virile Makara heads. (*Cp.* Figs. 9 and 10.) The lace like tracery flowing out of the back of similar but miniature Makaras, often envelope the vertical panels of the "Bāḍa" niches, in convoluted whorls of intriguing delicacy and richness.

With the commencement of the classical era in Orissan art the fantastic motif is again relegated to comparative obscurity. The temple of Mukteśwara (Bhuvaneśwara, *c.* 10th century) is specially noted for the free-standing large Makara-toraṇa in the front, adorned at the springing of the massive semi-circular arch, by a pair of boldly projecting, huge and heavy, goggle-eyed Makara heads, with distended jaws, fringed with teeth and short curling erect proboscis, a pair of ornamental tusks—but devoid of any florid appendage at the back (Fig. 11). Bands of foliage, starting from diminutive heads are also applied on the horizontal mouldings of the fanciful "Rekha" representations at the base of the supporting pillars and elsewhere below the "Bho."[1] Subsequently on the great Liṅgarāj (Bhuvaneśwara, *c.* 1,000 A.D.) the terminal heads themselves were curiously transformed into fantastic scrolls retaining but a faint echo of the original animal

[1] Cohn. Indische Plastik; Berlin, 1923; Pl. 54.

form (Fig. 12). A special feature of the later temples, is the so-called "Vana-Jiva-Ghatita-Latākāma," embellishing the panels and pilasters, which often enclose within its rambling loops, little Makara heads. Pairs of these devices, are also employed at the springing of the principal "Bho" on the northern face of the Liṅgarāj tower, instead of at the wings, as in the older structures. They seem to descend further downwards, on the Ananta Vāsudev (Bhuvaneśwara, c. 12th century) and, for the first time, project in the air, from both sides of the board panel, supporting the said ornamental arch of the Śikhara. The heads are characterised by great heaviness ond compactness and have stiff and very short coiling trunks. The innumerable miniature Chaitya-windows adorning the pedestal of the Sūrya-Deul, Konārak (13th century A.D.), are each provided with the usual pair of Makara heads at the base, discriminatingly fashioned; while the trefoil arches, surmounting the images, *e.g.*, the swinging Krishna figure, attended by Gopīnīs, end in similar typical heads.[1] But the gargoyle of Māyā-devi's temple, Konārak, is peculiarly attractive inspite of the bulky uncouth features and highly conventional treatment (Fig. 13).

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

SONG UNSUNG

I

To Violin.

O Mother sweet of fairy forms
To move this heart to smile and tear,
But when embrace for rest I seek
In formless joy they disappear.
Ah! when in life I seek for Love
Then all is lov'd that was unlov'd
When washed by Love's sweet, silent dip.
My yearning heart then cries for Love
And Love unseen is heart's joy-slip.
O Love, Thou life's mystery
Be Thou life's one history!

II

Child in Arms.

Thy cry came first, my sweetest joy,
And now thy lough I hear,
I learn to rede life's riddle hard
That laugh is child of tear;
To aches and pains of life succeeds
The peace serene that all exceeds.

III.

Finale.

My eye is blind, my ear is deaf
The song unsung but lives in heart
Life's many are but echoes sweet
The song unsung their end and start.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

ROBERT BRIDGES

A little consideration ought to be given to the poems included in *October and Other Poems* (1920) before the *New Verse* is taken up. We first dispose of the "six poems or sonnets of various dates" in this small volume.

"Poor Child" has some strange rhymes—"discover" rhyming with "thy lover," "whereunder" with "of wonder" and, in the last stanza, the word "thee" rhyming with itself. But "lonely" and "only" "wild-wood" and "childhood," are nice bits. Flat prose pursues Bridges somewhat relentlessly in the last two lines of a piece of only twenty—

> "Saddest is, poor child,
> That I cannot love thee,"—

where prose pretends to save its face by resorting to the Puck-like trick of a mere "*inversion*," which, alas, cannot claim even what led Keats to give up his Hyperion in utter despair—the honour of being Miltonic!

In 1904, our poet bewailed that "Folk alien to the Muse have hemm'd us round,"[1] yet we have to swallow from *him* too a good deal of things so alien to poetry!

The next piece (To Harry Ellis Woolridge) too in the same tune complains that

> "Love and the Muse have left their home, now bare
> Of memorable beauty, all is gone,
> The dedicated charm of Yattendon,[2]
> Which thou wert apt, dear Hal, to build and share."

[1] To Percy Buck l. 1. (October and Other Poems, page 58, 1920 ed.) It is in this piece that Bridges refers to his own love of "the purer style" and it illustrates his devotion to music.

[2] In Berkshire where Bridges lived for nearly 20 years and composed most of his best lyrics.

The ten consecutive monosyllabic words of the last line, here quoted, bear witness to the poet's workmanship and we do not fail to appreciate the rhythm of

> " who while-ere
> Haunted the ivy'd walls, where time ran on
> In sanctities of joy by reverence won."

The Virgilian "*Fortunatus Nimium*" is in the lighter vein of 17th century lyrists.

The sonnet "*Democritus*" (composed 1919) is in a different key and has a richer music in its sestet and challenges comparison with some of Wordsworth's sonnets. We quote for their rhythm three lines and a half—

> " Thy spirit, Democritus, orb'd in the eterne [3]
> Illimitable galaxy of night
> Shineth undimm'd where greater splendours born
> Of sage and poet; " * *

Then we turn to the 1913 poems in the volume, four of which illustrate his *experiments* in new prosody and his new rhythms, as his Notes explain. He explores "possibilities in long six-foot line" (*i.e.* twelve-syllable verse), tries to get rid of the Miltonic anomaly of excluding " extra-metrical syllables from all places but the last " adopted by Milton so as to resolve by "elision" all verse into his disyllabic scheme.

" The West Front "—the fourth of these experiments—uses skilfully harsh place names but has no poetry. Not so " The Flowering Tree ", with its fine rhythmic lines—

> " All with wild blossom gay
> As is the cherry in May
> When her fresh flaunt of leaf
> Gives crowns of golden green",

which admits rhyme " as an ornament at will " of all kinds, *viz.*, end rhyme, alliteration and assonance.

[3] We postpone remarks on archaisms.

"Christmas Eve," [4] 1913, ends in a beautiful stanza of twelve lines, the last six of which are rich in melody :—

" The old words came to me
by the riches of time
Mellow'd and transfigured
as I stood on the hill
Heark'ning in the aspect
of th' eternal silence."

The poem "*Abroad*" [5] contains four fine rhythmic lines in

" So faint and yet so far
so far and yet so faint—
Return beloved to me
but thou must onward strain"

We highly appreciate in *October*,[6] the 2nd stanza—

" Each moment some new birth
hasten'd to deck the earth
in the gay sunbeams.
Between their kisses dreams :
And dream and kiss were rife
with laughter of mortal life."

So also, the concluding lines—

" Footsteps of eternal Mind
on the path of the dead."

The sturdy optimism of *The Philosopher and his Mistress*; the absolute surrender of *Narcissus* in the lines—

" All that we love is thine—Almighty !—
Heartfelt music and lyric song
Language the eager grasp of knowledge
All that we think is thine,"

preparing us for *The Testament of Beauty*; the philosophical

4 . " The metre or scansion of this was," we are told in the Notes, " publicly discussed and wrongly analysed." In " measure " it is similar to 3 other poems, all the four being experiments in new rhythm and neo-Miltonic prosody.

5 " In Der Fremde."

6 The opening piece.

attitude in *Our Lady* (which, however, is rather harsh in diction and is far too *intellectual*) befitting a Roman Catholic Mary-worshipper; the localised romance of *The Curfew Tower* and its unrhymed stanza form (reminiscent of such poems as Collins' *Ode to Evening*, Lamb's *Old Familiar Faces*, and Tennyson's "*Tears, idle tears*") ; *Flycatchers*, with its fling at the poet's schoolmaster,—"an authoritative old wise-acre," who fed him and his school-fellows ranked in a row on a school-form, who were "with intelligences agape and eyes aglow," "not less eager and hungry" than the pretty fledgelings of flycatchers, with "*dead flies*—such as litter the library south-window "; and, finally, the parable-like *Hell and Hate*[7] with its Rossetti-wise imagery in

> "As the moon's rim appeareth
> Scann'd through an optic glass," [8]

and

> "Whereon the stars were splashes of light
> Dazed in the gulfing beds of space,"

and its significantly characteristic note embodied in

> "Then knew I the Angel Faith,
> Who was guarding human Love,"

which anticipates the *Testament of Beauty* so far back as 1913;——all these are to our mind a set-off to the *nineteen*[9] war poems, beginning with "*Wake Up England!*"[10] (composed, August, 1914) and ending with "*Der Tag: Nelson and*

7 Written December 16, 1913, being "the description of a little picture hanging in my bedroom" (Notes, page 63). It appeared in the Literary Supplement of *The Times* for September 24, 1914, when the war broke out.

8 Milton over again with just a Coleridgian Fouch in the imagery.

9 *Vide* Calcutta Review for June, 1930, p. 391, item "1914." *October and other Poems*, etc. Italics mine.

10 Written August, 1914. "The verses appeared in *The Times* on August 8, 1914" (Some Notes, page 64). Some alterations have since been made in it. "The motto," we are told, "is the King's well known call to the country in 1901 at the Guildhall."

Beatty—A Broad Sheet," which form the bulk of this slender volume.[11]

As regards the *hungry* mouths of eager, intelligent and enthusiastic fledgelings of school children being fed by a wise-acre with dead flies, this satire is an ancient nemesis from which even less wise schoolmasters have not often succeeded in escaping unhurt. Bridges is no exception, all his gentlemanly nobility notwithstanding, to the general rule of Western school-boys in their accustomed "reaction" to the notorious spoon-feeding that even to-day prevails in the educational methods of progressive countries. The Public School system which used to be extolled, rather immoderately in England, down to our own time has quite recently come in for its share, deserved or otherwise, of condemnation and Lord Eustace Percy, former Minister of Education, is credited with the *modernist* slogan of decrying the public school *fetish* responsible, we are informed, " for increasing misfits in life." He is reported to have urged at the meeting of the British Association, at London on September 4, 1930, " the development of part-time education in technical schools," as the latest panacea for twentieth century politico-social evils, left to the world as the richest post-war legacy of ultra-modern industrial civilisation in the West. The Hindu mind, so pitiably immobile according to the late Poet Laureate's considered verdict, simply stands aghast and perplexed at the disconcerting quick pace of Westerners in changing their front.

Bridges' wise-acres are, on the face of it, the modern edition of "such as, for their bellies' sake, creep and intrude, and climb into the fold ! "

Ergo,

" The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed ;"

11 " October and Other Poems " is a volume of only 62 pages of which 36 are taken up by the war poems (18 of which were added later on to the last of the other pieces which was, however, itself a war poem). I reserve for the present my comments on Bridges' war poetry which will be taken up later on with his " The Spirit of Man " (anthology of 1916, mentioned at page 391 of the June Number of the Calcutta Review).

nay, Bridges' improvement on old Milton is, *they are fed* but with "dead flies," being sheep in the flycatchers' clothing!

This sarcastic piece, *Flycatchers*, was written in 1913. Will it be too fanciful if we suggest that the poet's attitude here to schoolmasters may have, *to some extent*, been determined by their obstinate and somewhat offensive opposition to his spelling reform, which cost a vast amount of careful thought and assiduous practical efforts on the poet's part to secure appropriate printer's types and founts to suit his well-selected script so that his proposed phonetic spelling might be both easily legible and *aesthetic*? Let us quote from his essay on "*English Pronunciation*" (written originally, no doubt, by 1910 but not published with his revisions, notes, etc., before 1913):—

"The great assistance which I looked to come from the reform of Latin pronunciation in our public schools has been sadly lessened by the attitude of the masters, who have in many cases (at least so I am told) taken up the matter so half-heartedly, if not unwillingly, as to render the reform almost nugatory. I wish that I may convert some of them to a different view. If they could be brought to see what they themselves lost by wrong education, they would, I am sure, *shrink from the responsibility of inflicting the same distasteful damage on the succeeding troops of youngsters who come to them for the best instruction.**** But the old habit is so fixed in the teachers that it is difficult to move them. Even those who have gone willingly to work have not wholly understood the matter."[12]

Here it is not difficult to detect that a baffled zealous reformer is administering with all the warmth of a staunch advocate of a defeated good cause a sharp, if not slightly angry, rebuke to an organised body of men in authority who appear to the reformer as no better than obscurantists. The recollection of the poet's experience as a schoolboy is thus fortified by

12 Pages 35-36 of "English Pronunciation." Italics mine.

a later experience (this time of a vanquished reformer) not less bitter. And what otherwise might have been nothing stronger than "emotion recollected in tranquillity" has, to our mind, been unhappily transformed into a *feeling* more intense than feelings usually are with a poet like Bridges, often accused by a host of not unappreciative readers as generally wanting in that quality of feeling-intensity. We offer this surmise by way of an explanation of the parable in *Flycatchers*, for what it is worth, hoping however, that it is not altogether fantastic. The poet's advocate may urge that it is nothing more or less than at worst an instance of Bridges' humour, however crude. It is true Bridges is unlike Wordsworth in the matter of humour of which we have many examples in his last production—*The Testament of Beauty*. We propose to take that topic up in connection with our estimate of his genius as unfolded in that last testament to his readers and admirers and therefore refrain from a discussion of that point here.

We have to say a word about the Miltonic disyllabic scheme into which the "elision" device attempted, according to Bridges, to forcibly reduce feet with more syllables or hypermetric lines. We should remember in this connection all that Bridges has to say in his essay on *Milton's Prosody*. It is enough for our purpose if we rest, for the present, content with a reference to Professor Saintsbury's elaborate treatment[13] of the subject in his classical "*History of English Prosody*" in 3 vols.

In Appendix A to his "*English Pronunciation*," Bridges expresses his anxiety to save[14] "some of the decaying sounds" of English Speech which may be one of the reasons of his preference for such archaisms as the Chaucerian "Goddes Grace," or "birdis note" (in *The Flowering Tree*, last line but two). His Appendix B elaborates his theory of the danger to long or open vowel

13 *Vide* pages 207-272 of Vol. II, Book VI, Chap. I (specially pp. 207-8, 238-56 on Apostrophation and Syncopation, 257-8 on attempts to systematize Milton's anomaly, 253-9 on Mr. Bridges' views, 266 *et seq.* on the true prosodic position of Milton and the Conclusion.

14 Page 88 of "English Pronunciation" (1930).

sounds from the Cockney's inveterate habit of "crushing polysyllables," as, for instance, is done by "the guards on the Metropolitan Tube Railway," who reduce Westbourne Grove to *Sbongro,*[15] and Tottenham Court Road to *Torrmorro.*[15] He was further informed that a porter at Wolvercote pronounced the name as a monosyllable.[16] A classical instance of this craze for monosyllabification (to borrow Prof. Saintsbury's manner) is "q́m.l.t" as the pronunciation of *accumulate,* where all unstressed or unaccented vowel sounds are summarily given a short shrift.[17] We may refer our readers for brevity's sake to "*English Pronunciation,*" Appendix E, page 65, for Bridges' opinion on his omission of the final *e* in all spellings where it is both useless and misleading. His *New Verse* (1925) gives us some taste of this *innovation* introduced by him in the[18] lines—

' you needn't be bash'd nor mortified,
nor fancy you're laid on the shelf:
things ain't as they used to be inside;
I don't go in much myself,'

or in such[19] lines as "Take no thought o' the morrow," "To have your turn wi' sorrow," "And not too much o't 'other" (for which Burns was, perhaps, his model).

On the contrary, an emphatic "Sir," he adds, addressed with ever increasing force to one moving further and further away might be represented by *Sirr* or appropriately even by *Sirrrr !*

15 Page 33 of "English Pronunciation" (1930).

16 *Ibid*, p. 41.

17 Bridges gives us "delicat" (T. B. IV. 297), "pleasur" (*ibid*, 367 and 371) side by side with "pleasure" (*ibid*, 369 and 370), "nativ" (365) but "native" in I. 316, 'pictur" (I. 260), "cultur" (I. 731), "restiv" (II. 36), "liv" (II. 213), "hav" (II. 309) but "have" (at many places) "wer" (II. 328) for were in order to indicate right sound value and also "passionat" "determin," "motiv" (II. 359-363).

18 *New Verse*, Part III, XVII "A Dream" (page 72, C.P.S., 1925).

19 *Ibid*, III. XXII (page 80). In XXVI (translated from Sappho we have not only "an' out o' the golden archways" but even ' Saph', an' avenge thee"—perhaps, an extreme instance of "crushing" even of monosyllables which beats hollow the Metropolitan Tube Railway guard's practice !

Illustrations of this principle, we find, are not wanting in his *Testament* where we come across "high-spredd" (I. 284), "globe-spredd" (I. 724), "Thatt" (I. 642) and the like.

Now, this bold innovator of innovators observes in his essay on *English Pronunciation*—"indeed of all the vowels which are held to have a long and a short form there is none in which I detect less qualitative tone-change than in this indeterminate vowel indicated by the topsy-turvy *e*" (page 42). And he made, he says, "sufficient distinction by differentiating the extremes" and advises teachers not to encourage slovenly habits in their pupils but to educate the lips and tongue, so that children might from the first be taught to differentiate the unaccented vowels correctly, as is done in French Schools, with the result that their adults pronounce well (page 43). Evidently Bridges, the spelling-reform advocate in prose essays, carries his protest against "the actual dangerous condition of our slipshod speech" just a little bit too far, to our mind, in the new spellings introduced into his *Testament*, though one can easily defend his differentiations between, say, "hav" the auxiliary and "have" the principal verb or "that" the conjunction and "thatt" the demonstrative adjective. We may even reconcile ourselves to "spredd" for the sake of the desired stress, which helps us to properly *read* poetry. He himself approves of the distinctions made by Mr. Daniel Jones in his *Phonetic Transcriptions of English Prose* (Oxford University Press) of three forms of pronunciation —*viz.*, (*a*) that used in reciting or reading in public, (*b*) that used in careful conversation or reading aloud in private, and (*c*) that used in rapid conversation. He also recognises the two main standards of pronunciation, the literary and the conversational, but protests against the conversational becoming established as 'correct' by the phoneticians. But he favours shortening into a monosyllable ('sh'n') the *old* three-syllable suffix '-ation' (say of Milton), only if the sound of *i* in the commonly accepted 'shn,' which he deprecates, *is heard* (*vide* pages 47-48 and 28). His chaste classical taste makes him,

as we feel, a bit too nervous over invasions by vulgarisms, such as that of the "palatizing degradation." Possibly this reason led him to give preference to such forms as *Vijayano'ggar* and *Kalikata* which are infinitely superior to the vulgar Vizianagram and Calcutta and *Gunga*[20] to the intolerable Ganges (the *Testament* IV, 339 and 343).

Personally, we highly appreciate these innovations as decided improvements but *ethick* or *mathematick* is rather pedantic and "difformity" (IV. 1191) interferes too officiously with the established order to pass unchallenged. The invasion of pedantry is hardly more acceptable than the invasion of vulgarism, though the latter does, no doubt, stink. His remark at page 55 of his *English Pronunciation*, however, seems to me an anticipation of the welcome changes in Indian place-names just noticed; for, he says there—"Thus the beautiful name *Bel-amy* is degraded by us to *Bellermy*, and we discard the lovely *Himă-lă-ya* to say *Himmerleyer*!" This is as it should be and we are happy that it is so. It should serve as a much-needed and very valuable warning to those Indians who waste half their all too short lives in aping the "*crushing*" of beautiful open long vowel sounds of Indian names by Cockney mispronunciation of these, or worse still, in vainly trying to reproduce the "Oxford accent," so dear to the cultured Englishman.

We have, we plead, to take the side of his "critic who said that he had *er* on the brain," as is evidenced by "Defendër" of the Faith in the *Testament of Beauty*, Book IV, line 350.

We must not appear, however, to make too much of minute details, but the topic is neither irrelevant nor unimportant and does require a further discussion in connection with my observations on this poet's diction as distinct from the question of poetic diction in general.

[20] *Vide* page 407 of Calcutta Review for September, 1930.

His choice of words.

Prose choice *vs.* poetic choice.

Mr. Robert Lynd is thoroughly correct when he lays emphasis on the sound value of words for which poets prefer them more than for their meaning—"words selected not for their sense but for their appeal to our senses." "Who that has ever been young," he appropriately and convincingly adds, "has not admired these words"—meaning the poet's use of catching names of precious stones like 'chrysoprase' or 'chalcedony'—"though they conveyed nothing except a blur of beauty to his intelligence?"[21]

In Bridges' "*Poems in Classical Prosody,*" Epistle II (To a Socialist in London), ll. 230-34, we read—

> "Mágical also
> Ev'ry recondite jewel of Earth, with their seraphim-names,
> Ruby, Jacynth, Emerald, Amethyst, Sapphire; amaranthine
> Stārry essences, elect emblems of purity, heirlooms
> Of deathless glories, most like to divine imanences."

We may refer in this connection to stanza 2 of Masefield's "*Cargoes*" in his *Salt Water Poems and Ballads.* It is superfluous to dwell at length on the characteristic trait of Swinburne's choice of words—his repeated rejections of words and phrases merely because of their *sound*-unsuitableness for his purpose. Miss Katharine M. Wilson in her highly suggestive "*Sound and Meaning in English Poetry*" (especially in Book II, Chapters III and IV) makes illuminating remarks on even the *letter-sounds* of words (as distinguished from sound values of words taken as units), illustrating how poets write to a somewhat *sub-conscious* melody.[22]

Miss Amy Lowell in her "*Dolphins in Blue Water*" gets fine results from the same source in the lines describing the after-effects of the "Crackerjack's" jump, plunge in and out of the water—

> "With smooth over-swirlings of blue water,
> Oil-smooth cobalt,

21 Page 20, *The Green Man*, III, "In Praise of Mistakes."
22 *Vide* page 421, Calcutta Review, September, 1930.

Slipping, liquid lapis lazuli,
Emerald shadings,
Tinting of pinks and ochre.
Prismatic slidings
Underneath a windy sky."

Leaving aside the effect *upon the eye* of the line-*lengths* in this free verse, we note how *meaning* is here helped by sound-value of rightly-chosen words in their poetic (*versus* prose) order, calculated to *poetically* record the rich result of realistic apprehension, by a poet, of carefully and minutely observed phenomena. Here is a new kind of composition with the poet's eye firmly fixed on the subject immediately concerned. The *image* is made by poetic technique to vividly and attractively appeal to the reader through his eye, acting in harmony with the watchful eye of the observing poet, whose imagination actively assists her to present a *picture* in appropriately chosen words possessing sound values combined with *colour* suggestiveness. We may, in passing, just point out in this connection how in these lines imagery has its poetic value enhanced by even a very conventional *pattern* of line length and line arrangement which in a way helps the rhythm pattern.

For colour *suggestion* alone we may place here by the side of these lines (quoted in illustration of the poet's use of names of stones with suggestive sound-values all their own) the last 4 lines of the opening stanza of Bridges' remarkable lyric.[23]—"Whither, O splendid ship, thy white sails crowding," reminiscent of Clough's "Where lies the land to which the ship would go?"

"Ah! soon, when Winter has all our vales opprest,
When skies are cold and misty, and hail is hurling,
Wilt thou glide on the blue Pacific, or rest
In a summer haven asleep, thy white sails furling."

By a strange coincidence, we have here too the *blue* water (set over against the white sail). The sound effect of these four lines

23 "A Passer-by," *Shorter Poems*, Book II, No. 2, page 244. Oxf. Ed. *Vide* page 414, top, of Calcutta Review for September, 1930, where the poem is alluded to.

owes much to alliteration and assonance, which, as distinguished from onomatopaea, aims more at melodiousness than imitation. This *music*, again, of well-chosen poetic diction, is a substitute, as it were, of *meaning* in good lyrics and, though dependent on rhythm, does not like rhythm mostly mark *time* but bring out the *aesthetic* value of word sounds.[42] Besides, rhythm, which is in evidence everywhere in the universe of law and order or harmony, is more an instinctive element of human speech, whereas verse music is a later development achieved by the poet-artist's deliberate craftsmanship. Is it fanciful to suggest in the light of these few observations that Bridges' resolve to replace *syllabic* versification by the *accentual*, may have been determined, however unconsciously or subconsciously, by the well-known principle that quantitative and even the later syllabic sound-values, with their native and innate rhythm, become gradually replaced in the evolution of the race by the more consciously and deliberately adopted *accentual* measure of which the sound significance is determined by the writer's own individual meaning? Accent is a decided *musical* device as much as a means of stressing meaning. The more meaning or significance gains supremacy the greater is the importance attached to this meaning-side of accent, as distinguished from its music-side, and the dominance of *intellectualism* in Bridges' poetry on which we have been harping, we surmise, may have *subconsciously* led the poet to prefer the accentual to the syllabic versification. We do not forget that his *quantitative* experiments weaken the force of our surmise or that he was largely influenced in his *conscious* choice by the Miltonic syllabics to which we have alluded elsewhere. Accent with its *music* element, however, has, perhaps, saved human speech from being reduced to prose, may be, good

42 While expressing such a view I am fully aware of Miss Katharine M. Wilson's cogent contention so vigorously urged in her penetrating study of "The Real Rhythm in English Poetry," which I value as a really original piece of research and which has considerably unsettled some of my settled convictions.

harmonious prose, at that stage of human progress when *quantitative* values began to decay in course of time or owing to the prevalence of languages or dialects less rich in quantity. We cannot pursue this fascinating subject further, lest it degenerate into too theoretical a discussion or be deemed too much of a digression which will carry us far astray from our main topic.

Mr. J. L. Lowes quotes from Joubert's *Pensées* the admirable observation that " each word reverberates like the note of a well-tuned lyre, and always leaves behind it a multitude of vibrations " ; and then makes the comment :—" For over that which we call the meaning of the words a poet uses, there goes on an incessant play of suggestion [25] caught from *each user's own adventures* among words—flashes that come and vanish, stirrings of memories, unfoldings of vistas—and the poet builds up [26] his fabric out of both the basic meanings and the overtones." [27]

I must note, however, that if Mr. Lowes' view recorded at pages 120-21 of his " Convention and Revolt in Poetry " be completely accepted, Bridges' diction will be open to the charge of faultiness in so far as it contains a large number of words which might not be employed in ordinary speech.[28]

One may pertinently enquire here—Besides, are his words " always penetrated with imaginative quality "? We fervently wish we could unhesitatingly say " yes " in answer to this query. Our deliberate and well-considered opinion is that in this respect Bridges' poetry holds an intermediate position between the impassioned lyric (as that of Sappho, Burns, Shelley or Swinburne) and the keen yet cold satire (say of Juvenal, Voltaire, Swift or Pope). These are two extremes,

25 *Vide* my remarks on the different functions of prose and poetry in Calcutta Review for October, 1925, page 162, essay on *Contemporary English Poetry.*

26 This is practically an application of Aristotle's *architechtonic* to a new aspect of poetry.

27 *Vide* " Convention and Revolt in Poetry, " Ch. V (1930 ed., page 118).

28 Some of these I have quoted already. *Vide* page 394, Calcutta Review, June, 1930, and pages 121-22 of the July Number.

no doubt. Satire in verse, even when lyricized, is too intellectual. So is the poetry of Bridges—with rare exceptions most of which we have carefully noticed already. At any rate, as in Wordsworth, Arnold, Meredith, and even Hardy, reflection is predominant. If a poet with such a dominance in him is yet, like Bridges, a real artist, a *fashioner* of the first rank, a genuine technician, his diction is saved, no doubt, from degenerating into prose. Yet it may, according to the *maker's* merit, become "subtle with intellectual quality." That, to my mind, is the case with Bridges.

We propose to make quotations or give references to the *New Verse*, as indicated in the September issue of the Calcutta Review, last paragraph (page 436), after having offered a few remarks on Bridges' neologisms, archaisms and scientific terms as well as choice of epithets.

(*To be continued.*)

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum, by H. Hargreaves, Revised Edition, 1930, 111 pages with 10 plates.

Dr. Spooner wrote his Handbook to the sculptures in the Peshawar Museum in 1909. The want of a revised edition of this useful book was already felt in 1918 as the first edition was already exhausted and as the number of sculptures in the Peshawar Museum had doubled in number. The work of revision was entrusted to Mr. Hargreaves and he has done it with much competence. He has not only added a full description of the new acquisitions to the Museum but also appended a valuable chapter on the "History and Art of Gandhara." It is well known that the school of art, to which these sculptures belong, is the Gandhara School which arose under Hellenistic inspiration some time about the Christian Era and flourished in the North-Western districts of India till the time of the Hun invasion. "The highest artistic development seems to have been reached in the 2nd century A.D. and this was followed by a long period of prosperity" (p. 12). Prof. Foucher in his monumental work "*L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*" was the first to deal with the history of this school and its productions in great detail and his work still remains unsurpassed. But we have still need of handbooks written by careful and sober scholars—handbooks which will initiate the layman to the study of Indian art of different schools and help him in recognising its remains preserved in different Museums without difficulty. The present book really satisfies that need about the Peshawar Museum. The introductory chapter on the history of Gandhara and the Gandhara School of art will be of real help to a serious visitor to the Museum as well as to the reader who wants to know some essential facts about the history of that school. The revised edition of the book is therefore a welcome addition to the literature of Handbooks on Indian Art which is still very scanty.

P. C. B.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir, No. 40, Pallava Architecture, Part III (The Later or Rājasiṁha period) by A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, 1930; 27 pages with 13 plates.

Unlike the preceding book the present Memoir is more than a handbook. Its scheme is chronological and it is divided into two chapters, the first of which deals with the architecture of the period beginning about 674 A.D. and ending about 800 A.D. This period has been styled the Rājasiṁha period as he seems to have proved in the first part of his work that a change occurred in the Pallava architecture about the time of Rājasiṁha (Narasiṁhavarman II, *circa* 700 A.D.) when the "Pallavas gave up excavating their religious monuments out of the natural rock and started to build them of stone-brick and plaster." The first chapter describes the ruins of the temples at Mamallapuram, and Kanchipuram. The famous Śiva temple commonly known as the temple of Seven Pagodas on the sea-shore at Mamallapuram, the ancient sea-port of the Pallavas, was built in the 7th century A.D. The two most important temples at Kanchi, modern Conjeeveram,—the Kailāśanātha temple and the Vaikuṇṭha temple were built respectively by Rājasiṁha and his son Parameśvaravarman II (*circa* 715 A.D.). The author gives a detailed description of these two temples in the first chapter of the Memoir. In the second chapter he deals with the period which he calls "the last or Nandivarman period" (*circa* 800-900 A.D.)—a period which was characterised, as the author thinks, by the absence of any definite style. "In the earlier Pallava monuments, an early, intermediate, and a later style, are clearly discernible.........and even when the monuments possessed no inscriptions to guide us, their approximate age could always be determined with some degree of accuracy on architectural grounds. But in this last phase of Pallava architecture, no definite style prevailed to mark the period, and without the aid of inscriptions, their proper classification becomes difficult" (p. 18). It is in other words the period of decline. A number of small Śiva temples belonging to this period has been described. This useful Memoir is on the whole a descriptive catalogue of the important monuments of the Pallava architecture and does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of its different aspects.

P. C. B.

Ourselves

Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts for 1930.

Prof. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.L., D.Litt., D.D., has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer in Arts for the year 1930, to deliver a course of lectures on the "Idea of Progress in Eastern and Western Thought."

* * *

The Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship for 1930.

The Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship of the annual value of Rs. 2,000 tenable for three years has been awarded to Mr. Probodhchandra Dasgupta, B.Sc., on the usual conditions.

* * *

Dates for M.B. Examinations.

The 25th of November, 1930, has been fixed as the date of commencement of the next M.B. Examinations.

* * *

Result of the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, August, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the D.P.H. Examination, Part I, held in August, 1930 was 4 of whom 3 passed and 1 failed.

* * *

Result of the Preliminary Examination in Law, July, 1930.

The number of candidates registered for the Preliminary Examination in Law, July, 1930, was 952 of whom 927 were absent (none appeared at the Calcutta Centre). The number

of candidates who actually sat for the Examination was 25 of whom 15 passed and 10 failed. Of the successful candidates none was placed in Class I, and 15 placed in Class II. The percentage of passes was 60.

Inter-University Board Circular issued by the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands.

The Sixteenth International Course in Theory and Practice of the Montessori Method will be held in Rome from the end of January to the end of June, 1931.

Dr. Maria Montessori will direct it in person.

The Course will include the theoretical explanation and practical demonstration of the Method as applied in Infant Schools (Case de Bambani), and also up to Elementary or Preparatory School age.

It will also give the principles for the application of the Method to Religious Education, to small children in the Home, and to pupils in the Secondary School.

The course will consist of theoretical lectures on the Method, held three times a weak ; of practical lessons on the use of didactic material; of sessions of observation, and of individual work.

The lectures will be given in Italian and translated into other languages.

The course is open to all interested in pedagogical problems :—to teachers who wish to apply the Method in their own Schools, to parents who wish to apply them in the home, and also to those who represent educational institutions.

The lectures will be held at 6 P.M. This will allow local teachers to follow the Course after their usual work.

The observation classes will be organised in the Montessori Schools of Rome.

A "*Diploma for teaching children according to the Montessori Method*" will be conferred on those who have attended regularly the complete Course and who passed the required examination.

The Tuition fee for the entire course is £36 (Thirty-six pounds sterling) for foreigners; and 1,000 Lire for Italians and for members of Religious Orders of whatever nationality.

Half the fee must be paid at the time of enrolment, and the other half at the beginning of the Course.

(The management of the course will arrange to find pensions for those who so desire.)

FORM OF ENROLMENT.

(To be sent together with two photographs and visiting card.)

I hereby request that I may be enrolled as a student of the "Sixteenth International Training Course" which will be held in Rome from January to June, 1931.

Full name...

Permanent address..

Date of Birth ....

Nationality...

Courses of studies already taken..............................

....

Teaching experience (if any) ....

....

....

....

Date..

Signature.......................................

Address :

Headquarters of the

"INTERNATIONAL MONTESSORI TRAINING COURSE"

Via Monte Zobio, 35—Rome (Italy).

PRESS COMMUNIQUE, DATED THE 4TH JULY, 1930, RECEIVED FROM THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, ARMY DEPARTMENT.

Army and Royal Indian Marine Entrance Examinations, November, 1930.

The next examination for entry to the King's commissioned ranks of the Army and the Royal Indian Marine will be held in Delhi on the 18th November, 1930 and succeeding days. The Examinations will last for about ten days.

1. The examinations will be conducted on the lines detailed in Army Department letter No. 24923-1 (M.T.3), dated the 1st June, 1928 and Marine Department letter No. 258 M., dated the 23rd March, 1929.

2. The following vacancies will be offered to successful Indian and Anglo-Indian candidates who attain the necessary qualifying marks—

Army—

Sandhurst (for Infantry and Cavalry) ...	10
Woolwich (for Engineers, Artillery and Signals)	To be announced later.

R. I. M.—

Executive Branch	3
Engineer Branch	4

3. Army candidates must have attained the age of 18 and must not have attained the age of 20 on the 1st January, 1931. Candidates for the Royal Indian Marine must have attained the age of 17½ and must not have attained the age of 19½ on the 1st November, 1930.

4. Copies of the form of application for permission to appear at the examinations should be obtained by prospective

Army candidates direct from the Secretary to the Government of India, Army Department, Simla. Prospective candidates for the Royal Indian Marine should use the copies of the form of application contained in the "Regulations respecting the recruitment, training, rates of pay, etc., etc., of commissioned officers of the Royal Indian Marine" referred to in paragraph 7 below.

5. If an individual is a candidate for the Royal Indian Marine and is also a candidate for admission to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich or the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, he should specify his order of preference on each application form.

6. The closing date for the receipt of applications will be *the 15th August, 1930.* Under no circumstances whatsoever will any application received after the date receive consideration.

Candidates who sat for the June 1930 Army entrance examination and who, in the event of failure to pass, wish to appear at the November 1930 examination, must, provided they are still within the age limit, submit their applications before the closing date mentioned above. Should they be declared successful at the former examination, their applications to sit at the November 1930 examination will be cancelled.

7. The subjects of the examinations and further detailed information are contained in the pamphlets entitled "Provisional regulations respecting the admission of Indian gentlemen to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and the Royal Air Force College, Cranwell, 1928" and "Regulations respecting the recruitment, training, rates of pay, etc., etc., of commissioned officers of the Royal Indian Marine," respectively, which, together with the amendments thereto, should be obtained on payment direct from the Manager, Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta.

Aonach Tailteann (the Tailteann Games) to take place in Dublin, in August, 1931.

We have been requested to give publicity to the following notice and to inform intending candidates that the competitions are open to all persons of Irish birth or descent, no matter where resident, and that Entry Forms may be obtained from the Secretary, Aonach Tailteann, 1, Lower Ormond Quay, Dublin (Ireland).

Literary Awards and Competitions, 1931.

A

National Literary Awards.

The Board of adjudication of the Literary Section of Aonach Tailteann will make four awards at the Aonach of 1931 in the following classes :—

(1) Imaginative Prose.
(2) Poetry.
(3) Scholarship—History and Criticism.
(4) ,, —Science and Philosophy.

These awards, which are not subject to competition, will be made from amongst the works of authors, eligible under Rule 2, which have been printed and published since April 1st, 1928.

B

The Literary Competitions.

The competitions open, in Irish[1] or any other language, for the third Aonach Tailteann to be held in August, 1931, are :—

(1) Poetry. (2) Drama.
(3) Novel. (4) Short Story.

[1] For entries in Irish apply for separate Entry Form.

(5) Other Prose Literature. (6) Special Medal: A work on the Patrician Period.

The Tailteann Medal is offered for the best entry in each of the foregoing classes. A second or third medal may be awarded in any class at the discretion of the Board of Adjudication.

All persons qualified under Rule 2 (quoted below) of the General Conditions of Aonach Tailteann are eligible to compete.

The results of the Literary Competitions will be announced at Aonach Tailteann. Successful competitors may be obliged to satisfy the Committee that they are eligible under Rule 2 for the competition.

All entries must reach the Literary Committee on or before April 1st, 1931, and no entry will be accepted after that date.

Entries may be made in all the classes, but only one entry can be made in any one class. Competitors must supply one printed copy of published work. In all other cases typescript must be submitted.

In the case of published work, including plays, no work printed and published prior to April 1st, 1928, is eligible, but unpublished work of any date, which has not hitherto received a Tailteann award, is eligible. In section 2 (Drama) plays written or produced at any time but not printed prior to April 1st, 1928, are eligible if they have not hitherto received a Tailteann award.

The name and address of the competitor must be written on the work submitted and on the accompanying *Entry Form.* Care will be taken to return all MSS., but the Literary Committee cannot be held responsible for their safety, and *competitors should retain a copy.*

Entry Form.

To the Literary Committee,
Aonach Tailteann,
Dublin.

I enter............ .... in typescript / published work form for the Literary Competition B.........[2] of Aonach Tailteann, 1931, and agree to accept the decision of the adjudicators.

Name...................... ...... · ....

Full Address..

....

I declare I am eligible under Rule 2 of the General Conditions of Aonach Tailteann, which is as follows: "The International Sections shall be open to all persons of Irish descent."

Signed..

* * *

THE NATIONAL UNION OF INDIAN STUDENTS (ABROAD).

The National Union of Indian Students, in collaboration with the International Students' Service, the National Union of French Students, and the World's Students' Christian Federation, have now completed part of the arrangements for the reception of new arrivals from India.

The present arrangements cover the main seaport of Marseilles and the important centres of London, Paris, New York, and Berlin. Within a short time it is expected that similar arrangements will be completed at Venice and Genoa. At Marseilles the National Union of Indian Students has deputed one of its Secretaries, Mr. P. D. Runganadhan, for

2 Insert number of class in which you compete, thus, 1, 2 or 3, etc.

a period of three months, ending October, which is the most important part of the year from the point of view of Indian student arrivals. The new arrivals will be met at the boat by representatives of the National Union of French Students, acting on our behalf, who will take charge of them and arrange for their temporary accommodation at Cannebiere, Marseilles, during their stay in port. They will also arrange for letters of introduction in suitable cases, and for travel through France. The Club House is a commodious place, well furnished and equipped, providing food and accommodation at not much more than nominal cost.

Mr. Runganadhan will advise the new arrivals about the arrangements in the centres to which they are bound. In the case of those going direct to London, Berlin, Paris, or New York, it is requested that the Secretary of N. U. I. S. in London should be informed. In every case it is important to give as long notice as possible, as well as relevent particulars.

The Secretaries will be glad to furnish any information and be of any further help to the best of their ability.

All communications to be addressed to Mr. P. D. Runganadhan, National Union of Indian Students, 115, La Cannebiere, Marseilles, France.

* * *

RABINDRANATH TAGORE IN MUNICH.

We have received the following brief account and are happy to be able to insert it.

The Deutsche Akademie of Munich has the pleasure of announcing to the Indian public that the famous Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore had been in Munich and was given a wonderful ovation by almost all the representative bodies of the capital of Bavaria. The poet is now making a tour in Germany in response to the numerous invitations from every part of the country. Previous to his visit to Munich, the poet had been

in Berlin and Dresden, where his lectures and pictures (presented at an exhibition) were highly appreciated.

This is the poet's second visit to Munich. The profound feeling of respect and admiration which stirred the whole population of Munich nine years ago, when he first set foot in Munich, is still fresh in every one's memory. Times have changed; the post-war agony of Germany in 1921 has now given way to the grim joy of rebuilding in the face of thousand difficulties, but Rabindranath's place in the heart of the German public remains unchanged, as was amply proved by the events of the last month.

Following the invitation of the International Students' Association, Rabindranath reached Munich on the 19th July, early in the morning, and was received at the station by Geheimrat Prof. Arnold Sommerfeld of the India Institute of the "Deutsche Akademie" and representatives of the Deutsche Akademische Auslandsstelle and the Hindusthan Club of Munich. A member of the last-mentioned body, Dr. Kalipada Basu, garlanded the poet at the station in right oriental fashion.

The same day in the afternoon the poet motored to Oberammergau through Ettal, where he visited the famous monastery, situated in the midst of idyllic natural surroundings. The whole of the next day was spent in Oberammergau, where the poet attended the world famous Passion Play. True to their oath, the bearded and untutored peasants of this unassuming village in South Bavaria, have staged the life of Christ at the regular interval of ten years during the last three hundred years as a mark of gratitude to God who saved them from a devastating pestilence in the year 1633, and such is the success of their spontaneous flow of piety and devotion that even Rabindranath, one of the greatest creative minds of the world in the field of art patiently watched the performance from 8 in the morning till 6 in the evening when it came to an end and bore testimony to the fact that the Oberammergau Passion Play is really enchanting.

The same evening the poet returned to Munich.

On Monday, 21st of July, the poet received some of the distinguished personalities of Munich including several renowned professors of the Munich University, those representative men of our country, who in all cases voice forth the true sentiment of Germany. Notable among those present were Geheimrat Professor Foerster, Geheimrat Prof. Schermann and others.

In the afternoon Rabindranath paid a visit to the International Students' Home, where in course of a short speech he drew a parallel between the Students' Organisations in India and in Germany and compared the emphatic creeds which now obtain among the Indian students to the generous idealism of the German Youth Movement. It came not as a surprise ; for, the Indian students are not generally known in Germany to be devoid of the sentiments of Idealism, nor are the German students in any sense free from the mire of political strife.

In the evening the poet delivered a lecture on the principles of art in the Auditorium Maximum of the Munich University. In spite of the exorbitant price of the tickets the big hall was full, and even though the poet spoke in English he was perfectly understood by the audience, and every stroke of humour in his speech was accompanied by signs of appreciation.

Rabindranath spoke for about one hour and a half. The guiding principle in art, he said, should never be anything subjective. Every individual is unique, but at the same time a unit of the Universe, an inseparable part of the whole. To place the individual unit in this universal perspective is, according to Rabindranath, the function of the true artist. The speech, needless to say, made a deep impression and was highly spoken of in all the Munich papers.

On the next day too the poet had to go through a busy programme. In the morning he was invited by his Excellency Oskar von Miller, the founder of the Deutsches Museum in Munich. The poet reached the museum towards midday and his Excellency showed him personally for three hours some of

the most interesting collections in his Museum. The exhausting tour through the museum was followed by a sumptuous meal in the beautifully decorated dining-saloon, at which many distinguished professors, and some Indian students of Munich were present. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, of the Calcutta University, who is also a member of the Technische Hocschule, Munich, was also present. The convivial gathering broke up towards 4 in the afternoon. At 7 in the evening Rabindranath was officially received by the Mayor of Munich inthe town-hall where the poet entered his name in the town-register.

From the town-hall the poet came directly to the Studentenhaus where the Deutsche Akademie had organised a feast in his honour. The main feature of the evening was the staging of Tagore's very popular drama "Post Office" by the German students. After Geheimrat Friedrich von Muller, President of the Deutsche Academie, had introduced the poet to the audience, Rabindranath in his short reply expressed his appreciation of the honour thus paid to him and in a few words tried to explain the underlying idea of his "Post Office." The play was successful beyond all expectations. Many among the audience were visibly moved and all were enraptured. After the play it was some time before the poet could be freed from the army of autograph-hunters.

On the following day (23rd July) Rabindranath sprung a surprise on the Munich public. The news that the poet Tagore was exhibiting some of his pictures in the Gallery Gaspary came really as a pleasant surprise to all. Punctually at half past eleven the elite of the society of Munich were gathered in Gallery Gaspary to hear the opening speech of the poet. In his short but beautiful speech Rabindranath said that his poems cannot be translated into a foreign language in their true form, for all good poetry loses in the process its subtle suggestion and lyrical atmosphere. But pictures require no translation—their appeal is direct. "My poetry is for my countrymen," said he, "my paintings are my gift to the West." The most

remarkable feature of these pictures was their technique. It is quite European. The poet remarked that he is proud of this fact, for this shows that he has been successful at least to some extent, in bringing about in himself a union of the spirit of the East and the West.

This was the last public function of the poet in Munich. Next day early in the morning he left for Franckfurt. The newspaper comments on Rabindranath were throughout sympathetic and favourable but here and there a dissenting voice was heard. Some papers commented that the poet aims too much at a scenic effect, but all had to admit, that, if at all, the fault in this respect lies not with the poet himself, but rather with those, whose business it is only to make a fuss of him.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1930



BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

It is often asserted by many British scholars as well as those of other lands who wish to please British authorities for some special interests of their own, that Great Britain secured control over India accidentally, and the sole purpose of the British Government's insistence to rule India is to serve the people and the cause of humanity and civilization. It is needless to say that no honest Englishman and certainly no Indian—moderate, constitutionalist, nationalist or revolutionist—believes in Britain's mission of philanthropy in India. The following candid statement of a member of the British Cabinet throws considerable light on the motive underlying British solicitude for India :—

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said at missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. *That is cant.* We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by sword, and by the sword we should hold it. (Shame.) Call shame if you like. I am stating facts. I am interested in missionary work in India and have done much work of that kind, but I am not such a hypocrite as to say we hold

India for Indians. We hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for Lancashire cotton goods in particular."[1]

British domination of India is the best example of modern imperialism. In 1600 when the East India Company, with the royal support, started its adventures in the Orient, particularly in India, it was purely a commercial enterprise, making large profits was its motive. At that time it was not trying to establish political supremacy of the British in India or any other part of the Orient. With the growth of the East India Company in India, British influence spread in various parts of the Orient. It was Dupleix, the Governor of the French trading posts and possessions in India, who originated the bold and systematic plan of employing Indian man-power and money to build up a vast colonial empire for France. He intrigued to further civil wars then raging among the Indian Princes in order to take advantage of the situation.[2] Needless to say that the British were also parties to such intrigues.

The British and French fought in India as a part of the Anglo-French Wars of the eighteenth century in Europe, America and the Orient for world supremacy. The French were defeated about 1757. Since the defeat of the army of the Nawab of Bengal by Clive at the Battle of Plassey in 1757, the British have become progressively masters of India and through India of practically the entire region from Egypt to China.[3]

As a matter of fact, the economic conquest of India by the East India Company preceded the political conquest. The

[1] An extract from the speech of Sir W. Jonyson-Hicks, the ex-Home Secretary of the British Cabinet (Baldwin Government), quoted in the Indian Social Reformer of November 28th, 1925.

[2] Col. Malleson : Dupleix and the Struggle for India by European Nations. Oxford University Press.

[3] (a) Seely, Sir J. R. : Expansion of England. Boston. Little Brown & Co., 1922. (b) Das, Taraknath : India in World Politics. New York. 1923. B. W. Heubsch & Co., 1923. (c) Basu, Maj. B. D. : Rise of Christian Power in India, Vols. 1-5, Calcutta, R. Chatterjee, 1924. (d) Roberts, P. E. : History of British India, Oxford University Press.

characteristic feature of the political conquest was that the East India Company did not undertake it until it had secured an economic grip upon the country. As alien as Alexander's army, it did not impose political authority until it acquired economic authority. It insinuated itself into Indian life before it seized the Indian Government. Its first concern was nothing more than to secure free trade, a peaceable residence and high esteem of the Indian rulers. From that everything else followed.[1] The officials of the East India Company did not hesitate to adopt all kinds of questionable methods—forgery, bribing, treachery, plundering, intrigue and fomenting civil wars among Indian Princes, etc.—to gain their end of acquiring political power.[2]

When the East India Company assumed the ruling power, it developed its own tariff system. Protection in favour of Great Britain and tariff against India was the underlying principle. By this policy "a great impulse was communicated to British commerce and industry and the objects of British national policy was accomplished, but their effects on Indian trade were disastrous."[3] The fiscal policy towards India during the rule of the East India Company is characterised in the following account:—

"In 1787, cotton manufactures from India were subject to a duty of 50 per cent. except dimity and calicoes which paid 16½ per cent. Additions to the rates were subsequently made, and in 1799 some classes of cotton goods paid duty at the rate of 122 per cent. In 1819 the duty on many descriptions of Indian goods was as high as 271½ per cent. But injustice did not end with high duties. The importation into Great Britain of many classes of goods from India, such as embroidered shawls,

[1] MacDonald, J. Ramsay: The Government of India. New York. B. W. Heubsch & Co., 1920, p. 30.

[2] (a) Burke, Edmund: Impeachment of Warren Hastings. (b) Maitra, A. K.: Clive, the Forger (a Bengalee work of great value), Calcutta. (c) Basu: Rise of Christian Power in India.

[3] Banerjea, Prof. Pramathanath: Fiscal Policy in India. Macmillan & Co., London, p. 16.

handkerchiefs, coloured muslins, velvets, silk, crepe, chintz and calico towels with colored borders was absolutely prohibited."[1] On the other hand, British manufacturers employed the arm of political injustice "to keep down and strangle a competitor with whom they could not have contended on equal terms." The late eminent British historian, H. H. Wilson wrote :—"Had India been independent she would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods and would have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. The act of self-defense was not permitted her ; she was at the mercy of the stranger."[2]

After the so-called Sepoy Munity of 1857, which was really a national uprising for Indian Independence[3] which was put down with the most ruthless massacre of innocent civil population of India, by the British Army, the rule of the East India Company was abolished and the Government of India was transferred to the British crown. A British student of the history of the Sepoy Mutiny—Mr. Edward Thompson—has in his recent work, given some account of British barbarism. The following passages will give some idea of British atrocities in India. The late Lord Roberts, who was then a subaltern and took an active part in the suppression of the Mutiny, wrote in his diary : "*When a prisoner was brought in, I am the first one to call out to have him hanged.*"

"The executions of Natives were indiscriminate to the last degree... In two days forty-two men were hanged on the roadside and a batch of twelve men were executed because their faces were turned the wrong way, when they were met on the march. *All the villages in his front were burnt when he halted.* These severities would not have been justified by the Cawnpore massacre, because they took place before the diabolical act..."

1 (*a*) *Ibid*, pages 19-20. (*b*) Accounts and Papers relative to East India Trade. House of Commons, 1818.

2 Wilson's History of India, Vol. I, p. 385.

3 The Indian War of Independence of 1857. By An Indian Nationalist.

"Martial Law had been proclaimed ; these terrible Acts passed by the Legislative Council in May and June were in full operation ; *soldiers and civilians alike were holding Bloody Assizes, or slaying Natives without any assize at all, regardless of sex or age. Afterwards the thirst for blood grew stronger still. It is on the record of* our British Parliament, in papers sent home by the Governor-General in Council, *that the aged women and children are sacrificed as well as those guilty of rebellion. They were not deliberately hanged, but burnt to death in their villages*—perhaps now and then accidentally shot. *Englishmen did not hesitate to boast or to record their boastings in writing, that they had spared no one*" and that "*peppering away at niggers*" *was very pleasant past-time* "*enjoyed amazingly.*"[1]

The following passage from the report of the "Governor-General in Council," 24th December, 1857, on the state of affairs in the previous July throws considerable light on the treatment of the people throughout the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab :—

"The indiscriminate hanging, not only of persons of all shades of guilt, but of those whose guilt was at the least very doubtful, and *the general burning and plunder of villages, whereby innocent as well as the guilty, without regard to age or sex, were indiscriminately punished, and in some cases, sacrificed,* had deeply exasperated large communities not otherwise hostile to the Government ; that the cessation of agriculture, and the consequent famine were impending ; that there were sepoys passing through the country some on leave, others who had gone to their homes after the breaking up of regiments, having taken no part in the mutiny, but having done their utmost to prevent it ; others who had risked their lives in saving their European officers from the sanguinary fury of their

[1] (*a*) Thompson, Edward : The Other Side of The Medal. New York. Harcourt Brace & Co. (*b*) Kaye's "History of the Sepoy War." (Italics are mine.)

comrades ; and that all of these men, in the temper that at that time generally prevailed among English officers and residents throughout the country, and still unhappily prevails in some quarters, were liable to common penalty ; and lastly, that the proceedings of the officers of the Government had given color to the rumor that the Government meditated a general bloody persecution of Mohammedans and Hindus."

The history of India from the Battle of Plassey (1757) to the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-58 shows that the East India Company followed the policy of ruthless conquest by wars, in which Indian soldiers were used to fight against the Indians for the promotion of British interests. The outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny convinced British statesmen that, if they were to continue British supremacy in India, it would be imperative that they should adopt a new policy. (1) The abolition of the East India Company and introduction of direct control of India by the British Government, (2) preservation of "the Native States of India," (3) encouragement to the work of christianising India, (4) re-organisation of the Indian army, (5) denial of self-government and political authority to the people of India, (6) disarming the nation, so that it will not be able to make an armed resistance against the alien oppressors, (7) striking terror by various means, including enforcement of lawless laws which authorised imprisonment of Indian patriots for an indefinite period without any trial, (8) utilisation of Indian resources to strengthen British economic and industrial power and at an economic loss of India, and (9) the application of the general policy of "divide and rule" were the principal methods adopted by British statesmen to consolidate British power in India. These points can be verified from careful study of Indian history. [1]

In 1877 Queen Victoria assumed the title of "Empress of India." During the same year Sir John Strachey, as the

[1] Basu, Major B. D.: Consolidation of Christian Power in India. Published by R. Chatterjee, 91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.

Finance Minister of the Government of India, gave a very clear exposition of British colonial fiscal policy. He said :—

"We are often told that it is the duty of the Government of India to think of Indian interests alone, and that if interests of Manchester suffer, it is no affair of ours. For my part, I utterly repudiate such doctrine. I have not ceased to be an Englishman because I have passed the greater part of my life in India and have become a member of the Indian Government. The interests of Manchester at which some people sneer are the interests not only of the great intelligent population engaged directly in the cotton trade, but of millions of Englishmen. I am not ashamed to say that while I hope I feel as strongly as any man, my duties I owe India, there is no higher duty in my mind than that which I owe to my own country, Great Britain." [1]

Subordination of the interests of the people of India to those of the British people remains to-day as a cardinal policy of British imperialism.[2] Thus inspite of all professions of reforms, the people of India are denied full control over the finances of the country. Nature has been kind enough to endow India with raw materials, possibly the richest in the world. An English missionary who has considerable experience in India writes :—"India's immense export of grain are sufficient indication that at any rate she raises enough agricultural produce to satisfy the demands of her total population. She is amply supplied with coal and iron, more than sufficient for her own needs. Probably no country in the world possesses such enormous reserves of water-power. She has virtual monopoly of world's jute and could herself meet more than world's entire demand for tea and rubber. She is rich in

[1] Speech in the Governor-General's Legislative Council on Financial Statement, 1877.

[2] (a) Wadia, P. A. and Joshi, G. N.: The Wealth of India. New York. Macmillan Company. (b) Rai, Lajpat: England's Debt to India. New York. (c) Shah, Prof. K. T.: Sixty Years of Indian Finance. London, P. S. King & Sons, 1921.

copra and oil seeds, she conducts a very large export trade in hides, and she contains one of the world's largest oil-fields. There are very few of India's needs that cannot be met from her own resources, were her industries properly developed." The same author rightly asserts that "*till now India's economic expansion has been severely limited by the consideration for British interests. Agriculture and industry have been so developed as to secure that India will supply Britain with the maximum of food and raw materials, and receive in turn the maximum of British manufactured products.*"[1] Prof. A. Demangeon of the Sorbonne University summarises the economic significance of British Imperialism as follows :—

"India is the typical colony for exploitation. Immensely rich and thickly populated, she represents for her masters at once fortune and defense. It is through India that British empire assures her destiny. India is the halting place of British commerce to the Far East. India gives the fleet places of support for the sea routes. India recruits for the Army legions of high-spirited soldiers ; native contingents fight for great Britain in China and South Africa. During the Great War, India supplied more than a million men, of whom more than 100,000 were killed. India is for Great Britain an enormous market ; two-thirds of her importations come from English sources ; she furnishes 51 per cent. of the wheat production of the Empire ; 58 per cent. of the tea, 73 per cent. of the coffee, and almost all the cotton. An immense British capital has been invested in Indian mines, factories, plantations, railways, and irrigation works. India pays interest on probably 350 million pounds sterling. India keeps busy an army of British officials whose salaries she pays and whose savings every year go to Great Britain. She pours into British coffers the interests of her public debt, the pensions of old officials, the governmental expenses of her administration. More than 30 million pounds

[1] Holland, W. E. S. : The Indian Outlook. London, 1926.

sterling a year is the estimate of the sums that India pays in the United Kingdom to her creditors, her stockholders and officials. At that we do not know how much she brings to the merchants who trade with her and the shippers who transport her goods. Never was the term exploitation better applied."[1] The same author asserts that British control of India enabled Great Britain to secure industrial supremacy. He writes :—

"The flood of wealth that has flowed into Great Britain since she has been exploiting the tropical world has proceeded to a large extent from India, and it was there in particular, that the fortune of the merchants of London was made...To her (India) the East India Company owed that unheard of prosperity of which Macaulay said that history knows nothing equal to it...By tributes imposed upon the Indian princes, by taxes levied on the peoples, by personal profits of the Company's agents, and by export of gold, precious stones, and the fine textiles, there were built up enormous "Indian fortunes" which came to England at the very time when the country was heading for the Industrial Revolution and had most need of capital. With this wealth the coal mines, blast furnaces, the iron works, and the cotton and woolen mills of Great Britain were enabled to set up their new machinery and assume industrial supremacy in the markets of the world."[2]

The opinion of this French savant regarding exploitation of India has been confirmed by no less an authority than the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, who wrote :—"When all is said and done and the balance is struck, I think there can be no doubt that India suffers greatly because so much of the created wealth is spent and fructifies outside itself...*The sums paid out of India in this way are increasing. The grand total of charges upon Indian Revenues paid in England was*

[1] Demangeon, A. : America and the Race for World Domination. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921, pp. 209-210.

[2] Demangeon, A : The British Empire. New York, 1925, pp. 288-289.

2

£20,000,000 per annum at the outbreak of the war; in 1835 they were 3,000,000, in 1850 they were 3,500,000...The drain from private business is unknown, but the whole transaction lumped with all other balances in exchange is seen in the figures of Indian export and import, which show in money values an adverse balance from £20,000,000 to £30,000,000."[1]

Direct result of British exploitation of India include the destruction of Indian industries. The masses of India have thereby become victims of abject poverty and recurring famines.[2] About 85 per cent. of the Indian people depend upon agriculture for their livelihood, and they are worst victims of imperialism. Sir Charles Elliot, the late member of the Viceroy's Council and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal said : "I do not hesitate to say that half of our agricultural population never knows from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied."[3] It is a fact that the peasants of Central Asia under the Tsar's regime were less exposed to exploitation through heavy taxation than are the Indian peasants. "According to various authorities, Russia's demands upon land owners in Central Asian possessions are not so exacting as ours in India, for *the British Government insists on a fifth of the produce, making no allowance for good or bad years, while Russia is said to ask only a tenth, and to allow for variations of production.*"[4] *In some cases British Government takes away more than sixty per cent. of the net product of an Indian farmer in the shape of land revenue alone.*"[5]

Lord Sydenham and other British imperialists cunningly suggest that the Indian people under the British rule pay the

[1] MacDonald : Government of India, pp. 149-151. (Italics are mine.)

[2] (a) Sunderland, Rev. Dr. J. T. : India in Bondage and Her Right to Freedom. New York, Louis Copeland, 1929. (This is possibly the best book on the subject.) (b) Digby, Sir William : Prosperous British India, 1900. (c) Dutt, R. C. : Economic History of India in Victorian Era., London.

[3] Russell, Charles Edward : Uplifting of the Many. New York.

[4] Colquhoun Sir Archibald R. : Russia against India. New York (1901). Harpers, p. 106.

[5] (a) Hardie, Kier : India. (b) O'Donnell ; Failure of Lord Curzon.

lowest rate of taxation.[1] But they conveniently forget the fact that the *per capital income of the people of India is possibly the lowest in the world.* Sir Viswesvarya in an address before the Indian Economic Conference has observed that the annual average per capita income in the United Kingdom is $240, whereas in India it is less than $18; the death rate per thousand is below 14 in Great Britain and over 30 in India; the average expectation of life is 45 in England and 24 years in India.[2] In India, because of the poverty of the masses, as the present Prime Minister of Britain has pointed out, the people have not the capacity to pay the normal rate of taxation. "*The official apologists keep reminding us of the low rate of taxation in India,*" *he states,* "*but it has nothing to do with the matter. The question is what is the taxable capacity of the people, and as regards the great mass the answer must be, 'practically nil.'* Englishman can be taxed, on the average, £10 a head, and *Indians only a shilling, and the impost will be heavier than the English.*"[3]

Since the days of the East India Company, Great Britain has had enriched herself by India's wealth by billions of pounds sterling, while the Indian masses are reduced to most pitiable condition by this continuous process of exploitation. The following remark of an American, expert on Far Eastern situation, portrays the condition as it exists in India to-day: "You see at least 90 per cent. of the 317,000,000 people of India in abysmal depths of benightedness out of which no sincere attempt ever seems to have been made to lift them. You see perhaps 70 per cent. of them wallowing in abject poverty and such conditions of life as probably exist nowhere else on earth."[4]

1 Lord Sydenham, in the Current History Magazine of New York Times, October, 1924.

2 The Modern Review (Calcutta), December, 1924, p. 780 and also *vide* MacDonald's Government of India, p. 139.

3 MacDonald, J. Ramsay : Government of India, p. 149.

4 Millard, Thomas F : Conflict of Policies in Asia. New York. Century Company, p. 132.

Considering the awful poverty of the masses, British militarism in India is a serious drain on the economic resources of the people. The expected revenue of India for the year 1923-24 was estimated by Sir Basil Blackett to be about $661,800,000. The amount estimated for the military expenditure for the same period was $207,000,000. This amount is larger than the military and naval expenditure of Japan for the same period. The strength of the army in India before the World War was 77,500 regular British troops and 159,000 native soldiers. Even after the World War it has not been materially reduced.

The primary function of the British army is to keep India under subjection, and to preserve and extend the British Empire. Defence of India from foreign aggression is also one of its functions. But Great Britain has systematically disarmed the people of India and studiously refused to allow the Indians military education and opportunity to become commissioned officers. Under the present scheme of Indian Army organisation, Indians are barred from serving in the artillery, and Indian officers—they are less than hundred in number—are deprived of all real power and opportunity for achieving distinction and proper military training of high character. Although India spends hundreds of millions of dollars annually for military expenditure and have spent several billions of dollars during the last half a century, there is not a military or naval college in India, where Indians can get education for national defence.

Although there is some talk of "Indianisation of the Indian Army," the policy of discrimination against Indians is being carried out with great determination. The British Government in India apparently does not want to carry out the recommendations of the Skeen Commission,[1] which has made modest suggestions of establishing a National Military College and selection of larger number of Indian students without any discrimi-

[1] (a) Skeen Commission Report, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London. (b) The Times (London), August 23, 1927, p. 9.

nation of caste, creed or colour, but through competitive examinations, for their training in England to become officers in the Indian Army. Indians are not eligible to join Indian Air Forces in the capacity of pilots or officers.

According to the latest British report " the cost of the Army in India is borne by the Indian tax-payer, and paid out of the central revenues. It is of necessity a very large figure—at present not less than 55 crores of rupees, equal to about £41 millions per annum."[1] Although India is the training ground for British Generals and Field Marshals and Australian and Canadian officers are being trained in India for Imperial purposes yet the Indian people are not trusted with that type of military education which will make them fully able to take charge of Indian National Defence. After depriving the Indian people of responsibility of national defence, the British Government alleges that it is saving Indians from foreign invasion. By bearing the expense of training and maintaining some 80,000 British soldiers and officers who are stationed primarily for the preservation of British imperial interests, India is made to pay the military cost of her own exploitation. Britain does not pay a penny of Indian military expenditure, although it has been repeatedly pointed out by Indian as well as British statesmen that " Britain must share the cost of defending India, *for on the security of her dominions (India) depends the stability of the British world-empire.*"[2]

From a purely economic point of view, British military policy in India is an unjust imposition on the poor people of India to further the ends of British Imperialism. The Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald says: " A large part of the army in India certainly one half, is the Imperial army which we require for other than purely Indian purposes, and its costs, therefore, should be met from Imperial and not from Indian funds. When

1 Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (popularly known as the Simon Commission Report), Vol II or British Command Paper No. 3569, published in May, 1930, page 170.
Colquhoun : Russia against India, p. 149.

we stationed troops in other parts of the Empire, we did not charge them upon the colonies but in India we have the influence of the dead hand......*The present plan, by which India pays for the Imperial Army stationed there without in any way determining policy, is as bad as it can be. If the existing of military defence is to last, the whole cost of the British Army in India should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer.*[1] Over and over again the people of India had to bear the expenses of British imperialist aggressive wars in China, Afghanistan, Africa and other parts of the world. The Indian nationalists oppose the idea of India's man-power, economic resources and strategic position being used to subjugate other nations. They demand that India must control the military affairs of the nation and thus be able to reduce military expenditure and take a definite stand against militarism and imperialism [2] It is interesting to note that the much-lauded Simon Commission Report advises the British Parliament that the people of India or the Indian Legislature should not be given any control of the military affairs of the country. Among other things it recommends, "If the responsibility for the Army in India is to rest with the Imperial Government [not the government of Indian people], that Government would continue to be represented in India by the Governor-General; and the day-by day administration of the Army would be, as now in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief. The latter would, however, cease to be a member of the Indian Legislature, and while he remained a colleague of the Governor-General, he would cease to be the holder of a portfolio in the Government of India. *The Central Legislature, as now, would not vote supply for the Army : appropriation of revenue for this purpose, in accordance with the arrangement we have assumed, would be authorised by the certificate of the Governor-General...*"[3]

1 MacDonald, J. Ramsay : Government of India, pp. 153-155. (Italics are mine.)

2 Report of the All-Parties Conference (popularly known as Nehru Report) published by the All-India National Congress, Allahabad, India. 1928.

3 Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol II, page 176. (Italics are mine.)

Thus it is evident that the British policy of to-day is to keep military control over India and not to allow the people of India any responsible share in the administration of national defence and finance.

It is the contention of many students of British Imperialism in India that under its influence, India has been demoralised. Mahatma Gandhi, during his trial made a written statement in which he said: "Little do they realise that the Government established by law in British India is carried on for this exploitation of the masses. No sophistry, no juggling in figures can explain away the evidence that the skeletons in many villages present to the naked eye...*I hold it to be a virtue to be disaffected towards a Government which in its totality has done more harm to India than any previous system. India is less manly under the British rule than she was ever before. Holding such a belief, I consider it to be a sin to have affection for the system.*"[1]

One of the things that remains as an eternal disgrace to British rule in India is its opium policy. The British East India Company, not only forced opium upon China and fought the Opium Wars, but it also made the people of India victims of the opium evil merely for profit. The opium policy of the East India Company has been summed up in the following lines: "It sacrificed (Indian) national interests in order to make profits. It ordered the ploughing up of fields of poppies when its stocks of opium was sufficient and did not want to depress prices; at another time, *and for the same business reason, it decreed planting of poppy crops instead of grain.*"[2]

The present-day opium policy of the British Indian Government is the same as it was during the days of Warren Hastings, with a very slight modification. It has been summed up in the report of the Indian Retrenchment Commission of 1923 by Lord Inchcape, who recommended that *since opium is an important*

1 Gandhi, M. K. : Young India. New York. Heubech & Co. 1923. pp. 1052-54.
MacDonald : Government of India, p. 125.

source of revenue, Indian cultivators should be encouraged by the Government to continue growing poppy. [1] The opium trade in India is the British Indian Government's monopoly. The people of India in general and all Indian nationalists in particular, are opposed to British Indian Government's opium policy, and want the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium strictly limited to scientific and medicinal purposes.[2]

The British Indian Government derives annually more than £20,000,000 from opium revenue. Profit or revenue being the first consideration, the British Government and some of the native states refuse to restrict the production of opium. In the recent International Opium Conference held at Geneva, Mr. Campbell, the British Indian representative, repeatedly opposed the American plan of restriction of production of opium for medicinal and scientific purposes only. [3] The sinister attitude of the British Indian Government on the opium question can be fully realised when we see that although 5,000 British medical men and women have declared opium to be poison, the British Indian Government regards opium as a "household remedy" for all kinds of sickness of the masses of India. The Government allows practically unrestricted sale of opium from licensed stalls on the ground that India has not enough of medical men and hospitals and masses should use opium as medicine. The people of India has no control over the finances of the country, so they cannot abolish the curse of opium as Japan has done for her people, although they are anxious to do so. Indian leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and others are seeking world co-operation to suppress the opium evil.[4] Through the pressure of International

1 La Motte, Ellen N. : The Ethics of Opium. New York. Century Co. 1924.

2 "Opium in India" by National Christian Council in India, Burma and Ceylon. Calcutta, 1924.

3 Gavit, John Palmer : "Opium," New York, Brentano, 1927.

4 Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U. S. House of Representatives on "Limitation of Habit forming Drugs and Raw Materials from which they are made." Washington, D. C. 1923.

public opinion the British Government has been forced to reduce its opium export from India, *but opium consumption in India in recent years has increased.*

One of the justifications of British rule in India, offered by many, is that Great Britain is civilising the people of India, and affording splendid facilities for education. Perhaps it is well to record the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras, during the early nineteenth century under the East India Company, about the existing condition of the people of India. He wrote "if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, a capacity to produce whatever can contribute to their convenience or luxury, *schools established in every village for teaching, reading, writing and arithmetic,* the general practice of hospitality and charity among each other, and above all a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilised people—then the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilization is to become an article of trade between England and India, I am convinced that England will gain by the import of cargo."[1]

In the period just preceding the British occupation of India and during the earlier decades of the East India Company's rule, India was not an illiterate country. The highest type of "*modern scientific education,*" of course, was not available. But so far as literary knowledge of three R's go, India was then more advanced than now. On the strength of British official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, Prof. Max Müller has left it on record that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. According to the *India Year Book* for 1924, edited by Sir Stanley Reed there were in 1921-1922 in Bengal 33 Arts colleges, 887 high schools and 35,621 primary schools, total 36,541.

[1] The Modern Review, Calcutta, December, 1924, p. 728.

So that the number of educational institutions has become less than half of what it was in Bengal prior to British occupation. At present there is one educational institution in Bengal for every 1,278 of population, as against one of every 400 prior to the British occupation......Since Bengal possesses more educational institutions than any other large province of India and its literacy is also higher, we need not dwell on the progress made elsewhere." [1]

It is enough to say that 2·5 per cent. of the population of British India is enrolled in primary schools and less than 3 per cent. is undergoing elementary education of any kind. Rev. Fred B. Fisher, the Methodist Bishop of Calcutta, in comparing the educational condition of India and that of the Philippines says :—" In the sixteen years of our (United States) Commission Government in the Philippines, from 1900 to the passage of the Jones Bill in 1916, 50 per cent. of the children in the Philippines had been put in schools. In India to-day after an administration of over a century, only 20 per cent. of Indian children are in school. There is but one school for every seven towns and villages." [2]

It will be of interest to note that the British Indian Government spends less for education in all India than Columbia University spends for its works.[3] The general educational condition of the people of some of the States ruled by the Indian Princes, especially the states of Mysore, Travancore and Baroda, is far superior to that of the people of the British Indian provinces.[4] According to the census report of 1921, the percentages of male and female literates in Travancore State are 38 (literates per 100 males of 5 and over) and 17·3

1 *Ibid*, pages 727-728.

2 (a) Fisher, Fred B. : India's Silent Revolution, Macmillan & Co. 1920, p. 156. (b) Williams, Gertrude : Understanding India, New York, 1929.

3 The Modern Review, Calcutta, Sept., 1924, p. 849.

4 Singh, Saint Nahal : Recent Educational Progress in India (Contemporary Review, London, January, 1918).

(literates per 100 females of 5 and over). In Cochin 31·7 and 11·5 respectively and in Baroda State 24 and 4·7 ; but in British India the percentage is 14·4 and 2·0 respectively.[1]

The greatest defect of the educational system of British India is not only the neglect of education of the masses, but also absolute inadequacy of scientific, medical, technical and agricultural education to meet the needs of the nation,[2] inspite of the fact that the examination of the proportion of college-going population to the total population of a single track like Bengal indicates that with the population approximately that of the United Kingdom, proportion of educated classes who are taking full-time University courses is ten times as great as in England.[3] But it must not be forgotten that according to the last census report the literate population of British India was 59 per thousand or less than 6 per cent. and the standard of education in Indian schools are far inferior to that of Germany, Great Britain, France, Japan or the United States.[4]

Inspite of very limited education facilities and lack of encouragement of education by the Government of India, India can be justly proud of men like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Dr. Jagadischandra Bose, Dr. P. C. Ray, Dr. Raman, Dr. Shah and many others in the field of educational achievements. The people of India in the past contributed a great deal to the progress of civilization and culture of the world.[5] By the present policy of fostering ignorance and neglecting education among the people of India, the British Government has done

1 Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I (1930), p. 382.

2 Oak, V. V. : England's Educational Policy in India, Madras, B. G. Paul, 1925.

3 Statement on Moral and Material Condition of India, 1920 (British Government Publication), p. 27.

4 (a) India Year Book, 1922, p. 449, (b) Williams, Gertrude : Understanding India. New York. 1929.

5 (a) Seal, Dr. Brajendranath : Positive Sciences of Ancient Hindus. Longmans Green & Company. (b) Ray, Sir P. C. : History of Hindu Chemistry. (c) Dutt R. C. : History of Civilization in Ancient India. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London.

great harm not only to the people of India but to the world at large.

It is generally asserted that the British Government in India is training the people in the art of self-government. But long before the British possessed anything like democratic representative self-government, the people of India enjoyed the blessings of their own self-governing political institutions.[1] Since the days of the East India Company, it has been the cardinal policy of the British Government to exclude the people of India from assuming the responsibility of governing themselves, so that in time they would be rendered incapable of self-government by the lack of experience. Writing to Lord Canning in 1820, Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor of Madras, remarked :—"Our present system of government, by excluding all natives from trust and emoluments, is much more efficacious in depressing them than all our laws and school books can do in elevating their character. We are acting against our own designs, *and we can expect to make no progress while we work with a feeble instrument to improve and a powerful one to deteriorate.*"[2]

In 1930, inspite of all professions and commissions, after more than 175 years of British rule, there has not been any fundamental change in the above policy. The spirit of British Imperialism in India is to keep the people in subjection and exploit them for the benefit of the British people in general and British imperialists in particular. Further more the British Imperialists have designs of utilising Indian man-power stategic position, raw materials and economic resources to further the British imperialist system. The present nationalist movement

[1] (a) Banerjea, P. : Public Administration in Ancient India, Macmillan, New York. (b) Aiyanger, S. K. : Ancient India, Luzac, London, 1911. (c) Mazumdar, R. C. : Corporate Life in Ancient India, Calcutta University Press, Calcutta, 1918. (d) Sarkar, B. K. : The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus, Leipzig, Markett and Peters, 1922.

[2] Millard, Thomas, E. : Conflict of Policies in Asia, p. 27.

in India is an endeavour to change the existing system. An American observer on the present situation in India writes :—"It was Warren Hastings who first acted upon the assumption that Indians could not be entrusted with authority to handle revenues and to administer justice. This assumption has been the prevailing influence in England's conduct of the affairs of India ever since, and it is in protest against this assumption that the people of India have risen to a point of practically open rebellion against British domination." [1] The people of India are working to recover their birth-right of freedom; while the British Imperialists are determined that the people of India should not even be accorded "Dominion Status" within the British Empire. Viscount Rothermere has given economic reasons for British determination of keeping India under subjection. He wrote :

"Foolish people in this country (Great Britain) talk about the evacuation of India as if it would make no more difference to the prosperity of our Empire than the abandonment of British Guiana. They do not realise that the step they so lightly contemplate would be *the end of Britain as a great power*. Their lazy minds are incapable of understanding that the loss of India would bring immediate economic ruin to this country ; that instead of close on two million unemployed we should have four or five millions, for whom no relief could be provided, and who would soon be faced with starvation.

"India is still far and away the largest consumer of British exports, and our imports from there are second only to those from the United States. Without the profits which Great Britain draws from her commerce with India the most ruthless Chancellor of the Exchequer would be unable to raise enough to provide old age pensions, unemployment relief, education grants and all the other state allowances which are regarded by their beneficiaries in this country as part of their automatic

[1] *Ibid*, p. 28.

routine of existence. These advantages are unparalleled in any other nation, and the only reason we are able to afford them is that we have hitherto found the greatest overseas market for our manufactured products among the 320,000,000 people of India. *At least four shillings in the pound of income* of every man and woman in Great Britain is drawn, directly or indirectly, from our connection with India.''[1]

Lord Rothermere cannot be regarded as an anti-British agitator and he has given the honest truth about the significance of British Imperialism in India. The above statement gives a clear insight of the true significance of "Britian's civilising mission in India."

TARAKNATH DAS

[1] Daily Mail (London), June 3, 1930, *vide* The Modern Review (Calcutta), July, 1930, p. 102.

THE SPIRIT OF ITALIAN LITERATURE

It is a great pleasure for me to leave apart my Oriental studies and to inaugurate in this University which enjoys the privilege of being the most famous in India, a series of lectures upon things Italian. I always thought that Sanskrit learning must not be a purely philological show ; if I turned my attention to Indian literature it was not for a mere desire of knowing when Indian poets or philosophers lived, and what are the works that they wrote. This was never my purpose. I was on the other hand convinced that philology is a simple means by which we can understand a country, in our case, India, in her past and in her present ; and therefore Indian philosophy was, as many of you know, the subject that I was chiefly interested in, because "philosophy," as Hegel said, "is nothing but the history of a people expressed in the form of concepts." When, in fact, we are confronted with a big civilisation which played an essential rôle in the history of mankind, what we need is chiefly to understand, not merely to know. I came to India to have a direct experience of her life, to live with Indians, I should say to feel what Indian civilisation is. The study of a language or the publication of a text is much but not all ; those who have spent, as I did, many years upon the study of Indian history and culture and have dedicated their best energies to her, waste, I think, their time if they do not accomplish a greater task, *i.e.*, if they do not try to co-operate for the promotion of a better understanding between the country in which they were born and the other to whose study they have consecrated their lives.

India and Italy are perhaps in a condition to link up ties of friendship and to understand each other easier than any other country. Our interests are the highest possible, I mean, purely intellectual. In this sphere of intelligence and cultural relations it is hoped that those hindrances do not exist which divide

men and races and are based upon practical and material interests. Our friendship has its foundation upon a reciprocal sympathy and perhaps upon some peculiar aspects that are common to both races. Indians as well as Italians have the same enthusiasm and the same versatility, the same love for arts and music, though owing to quite different conditions of surroundings and history, these tendencies developed in different ways. We have the same proud awareness of the fact that we had a great past and must be destined to no less great future, the same spirit of intelligent adaptation, which makes us to comply with the circumstances much more than to fight against them with an obstinacy which experience proves after all to be very often fruitless. Though there are some fundamental differences, as we shall see, between Italian and Indian vision of life, still some striking similarities in the external development of the history of our countries can be traced out. Classical culture which is the outcome of the blending of Greek with Latin, that is to say, Roman mind, is at the basis of European civilisation, though modified, in a certain measure only, by Christian influence. There is such a vitality in this, now much abused classical culture, that nobody can understand, I do not say an Italian poet, but any great European poet, say Goethe or Shelley, without being aware of the classical ideals. Kant will remain a closed book to those who do not spend some time in the study of Aristotle. European art in its best productions is essentially classical, that is to say Greek, made more universal because nearer to reality by Latin spirit. Just as at the bottom of the various and often apparently discordant manifestations of European cultures, we find this ideal that we may call classical and Christian, which was chiefly elaborated in Italy, so also Asia in spite of her varieties presents a definite tendency towards a unity of culture upon which the modern Japanese generation is rightly insisting and which we may call Indian-Buddhist. In fact if there was an attempt to unify the different ideals represented by the various Eastern civilisations this was due to India,

because essentially Indian are those general and common features that we find all over Asia.

It is known that this was the achievement of Buddhism, chiefly Mahāyāna Buddhism, that is, a faith which was always coming nearer to Hinduism. It was this Buddhism which inspired the magnificent art that we can trace from the borderland of Persia to Japan, from Siberia to Java. It was the conquest of a higher civilisation which spread slowly over all the countries of the East. Still India did not send any army outside her boundaries nor any fleet to Java and Indo-China. They were only pious monks and priests, clever artists and illuminate traders. In Asia happened what you find *mutatis mutandis* in the history of Italy as soon as the Medieval Age was over and the marvellous blossoming of the Renaissance began. Our country had no political unity ; it was split up into different antagonistic states not only fighting with one another but also asking the German or French emperors for help, thus opening the doors of Italy to foreign invasions. Still in our political misery we were the leaders of European art and culture. That was the time when the "humanists" were reviving the classical ideal of beauty in art and literature that had disappeared during the ravages of the Middle Ages. While Politian and Ariosto perfected the harmony of Italian poetry, Pomponazzi and Telesio laid the foundation of new European philosophy, and Michelangelo and Raffaello astonished Europe with the wonderful creations of their genius. The invaders studied our language, loved our poets, invited our best artists to their countries. Italy in subjugation dictated her laws to the strongest countries of the West. Some might object that freedom and strength are preferable to mere superiority of intelligence, or one might also say that those only who have lost all hope in the present or in the future, praise the past ; this may be true for an individual but not for a nation. Individuals die, but nations if they are not dispersed by external factors, develop through an endless process, thus always realising

new possibilities. To have had a great blossoming of culture in the past does not necessarily imply that all energies are thereby exhausted, but it only shows that a race is better gifted than others. I could insist on this point of similarity between Italian and Indian mind which manifests itself in history as well as in literature. I could also remind you of an Italian Saint who in his life and in his teaching is more Indian than any other European has ever been ; I mean Saint Francis, the Poverello of Assisi, whom we must consider, whether we are Christians or not, as one of the greatest figures of mankind. When I read with an ever growing admiration and excitement that marvellous book, the Chaitanya Charitamrita, I wondered how so many analogies were possible in the life and in the very wording of the teachings of these two great mystics: the same passionate devotion, the same spirit of humility, the same unfailing love for all living beings. The philologist would certainly be glad to note down all these similarities and to start a theory of reciprocal influences of the one upon the other. A more experienced mind will only say that in this case also we are confronted with two Avataras, as you say, of the eternal divine always present though unperceived in the interior of our souls. By this, I do not wish to exclude *a priori* the possibility of some real exchange or even borrowing between India and Italy.

This statement will not appear so surprising when we remember that our republic used to send sailors, merchants, and missionaries all over the East, from Marco Polo to Orderigo da Porfenone. It was certainly through them that the Pancatantra reached Italy and appeared in an Italian garb. There is no doubt that the book of Visṇusarmā was the indirect original of the "Animali Parlanti," "the speaking animals" of Agnolo da Firenzuola. And, I think that between the poets of the "dolce stil nuovo," the forerunners or contemporaries of Dante, and the Vaisnava lyrics of India and chiefly of Bengal, there is a more or less remote connection, which is perhaps based on a common

Iranian mysticism of the middle ages. The similarities are so striking and the symbolism of the Italian and the eastern poets is, in this case, so much alike that the hypothesis of a reciprocal interference is far from being phantastical. These similarities and analogies which can be easily traced through the entire course of the evolution of our literature and history are not the object of mere philological curiosity, but they have also a deeper meaning. It will therefore be my task to note them down during the lectures that I shall deliver in this University. I must say from the very beginning that these lectures will not be a catalogue of names or a series of dates. I cannot do that simply because I do not believe that by heaping up mere external data we can succeed in giving a fairly good analysis of a literature, that is to say, of the mind of a people. History is necessary for putting into order the rough material that we have at our disposal, but this material is meaningless if it is not elaborated in such a way as to give an exact idea of the spiritual evolution of those who created it. It is perhaps useless for me to say these things to you. Your Pandits in fact were always more interested in the inner and ideal meaning than in mere external facts ; the 'bahiraṅgapariksā' in which so many indulge now when our knowledge is greater in extent but lesser in depth, was in India disregarded as an useless investigation. Quite in accordance with this principle I shall in my brief survey of Italian culture, try to give you a synthetical synopsis always referring to the spiritual atmosphere in which literature and art grew and of which they were the necessary outcome. In this way we shall have the advantage not only of visualising the various forms that the artistic activity of Italian mind assumed, but also of finding out the deeper meaning of the evolution of the Italian spirit in general, which, as that of any other people in the world, is always one and identical, though it manifests itself in manifold aspects throughout its endless process. It is therefore evident that in my lectures I shall draw your attention more to the currents of our literature and art than to particular individuals,

excepting those leading figures that mark, as it were, some definite moments in the evolution of our spirit. In fact they are more than individuals. Men such as Dante or Leopardi, Michelangelo or Raffaello, represent much more than particular visions of life or ideals of art, since in their work we see reflected in a conscious synthesis the spiritual exigence and the tendencies of our people at a given moment. We shall therefore study each one of them in detail, and try to understand and to visualise their significance for a better comprehension of Italian mind.

My courses cannot for many reasons be as complete as I wanted ; but chiefly owing to the necessity of fixing some limits to my expositions, I must begin my lectures with the first appearance of our literature in the new vernacular called old Italian, as being quite distinct from Latin exclusively used before that time ; that is to say I must begin with the 12th century, because at that time only we find the first literary composition in Italian. But it is evident that such a limit is quite arbitrary. The history of a literature, as I said before, cannot be disconnected from the history of the civilisation in which it grew and developed. It is therefore difficult to grasp all the fundamental aspects of our intellectual and political life in the 12th century if we do not know the previous evolution of our people and chiefly if we have not a clear idea of that classical or Latin vision of life, blended as it was in the Middle ages with Christianity, which I alluded to before.

There is no doubt, in fact, that so far as my country is concerned, this classical tradition continued uninterrupted even when, as is generally believed, it was obliterated by other currents. This is at least the result of modern research. In the Middle ages, when the population of Italy was reduced from 300 lakhs, as it was at the time of Augustus, the first Roman emperor, to only 50 lakhs ; and the barbarians, Goths, Vandals, Longobards, Huns, invaded and plundered the country, classical

spirit representing the very foundation of our race, did not disappear. Though the newcomers, gradually amalgamating themselves with the Latin population, did certainly impress some of their peculiar characters upon the new nation that was to come out of this fusion, yet Latin civilisation prevailed against every foreign element. Those who visit the villages of Italy, scattered around the mountains and the hills, which have preserved their old aspect almost unchanged, will find in the medieval churches images and pictures in which the unexperienced artist was trying his very best to imitate the models that he had quite at hand in some ruined pagan temple. Schools of poets flourished who did embellish Christain legends with verses taken from the poem of Virgil or Horace. It is due to our monks that the masterpieces of Greek and Latin culture preserved in the libraries of the monasteries were handed down to us. The municipalities of our independent towns were still ruled according to the laws of ancient Roman colonies. Catholic Church itself, in its hierarchy and rites, followed Roman models. The reform that changed the aspect of Christianity in other countries held no sway in Italy because the historical surroundings and traditions did not give it any chance to prosper and develop. One might object that we had Giordano Bruno, Vanini and Campanella who just at that time preferred martyrdom to renouncing their beliefs. But though in some points their ideas were akin to those expounded by the reformers, still they were interested more in speculations and in metaphysics than in the religious and dogmatical problems discussed beyond the Alps.

In the same way our mystics, because you certainly know that we also had and have our mystic schools, are quite peculiar in their aspect. The mystics who flourished in German countries, from Thomas á Kempis to Bhoeme, were solitary souls who denied this world, saw in it the creation of the devil and by meditation and self-discipline in wilderness and mountains were agitated by the thirst after the

experience of the divine. Though we had some mystics of this kind, yet our mysticism, taken as a whole, is quite different, that is to say it is more than simple meditation or, self-mortification. It is action and organisation. Monastical orders, which developed following the model of Roman corporations, originated in Italy. Saint Benedict, himself a great mystic, dictated the Regula Sancti Benedicti, the rules for his monks and writing just after the fall of the great Roman Empire ; he connected the past with the future by introducing Roman civil and social experience into Christian communities. So also Saint Francis the most Indian, as I told you, of our Saints, is himself the founder of another order which being from the very beginning outside the Church, developed in a few years in such a way as to compel the Popes to give it their sanction; this was easily done because Roman Church was always against unlimited freedom of individual activity independently of any control of the community. This spirit of organisation which is quite Latin in its essence does not deny the rights of individuals, but only asserts that each individual can fully develop and realise his possibilities by remaining within the limits of the group and in accordance with the interest of the community. It survived the fall of the Roman Empire and we find it again during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance ruling over our famous corporations ; that is to say associations of workers or classes of citizens who could take part in public life only in so far as they belonged to some of these corporations. The spirit of social organisation is therefore a specific character of our culture all through our history. It seemed to be vanishing, it is true, in more recent times as a consequence of the condition in which Italy lived after the Renaissance. And it was on the point of being completely superseded by foreign ideas, opposing the rights of individuals to those of the community. But a fundamental character of a race cannot disappear and in fact new Italy, after the severe experience of the war and the trial of the tragic years that

immediately followed, during which the national edifice seemed to fall down to pieces under the *disgregative* forces of an ill-conceived freedom, degenerating into anarchism, recovered again the full consciousness of her ideals and her destiny. It has been the achievement of Fascism to assert once more the rights of the community and of the State above the capricious interests of contesting individuals. No nation can prosper unless the citizens identify the aim of the society with their own aim. Only then man can realise his complete freedom, when he freely accepts and follows with full consciousness the supreme laws which make it possible for him to collaborate with all for the interest of all. Therefore Fascist Government has gone back to the old corporative system which is quite Latin in its essence and origin though it has naturally modified it in accordance with the spirit of modern generations. It must therefore be our task in these lectures to trace out all the various manifestations of this classical ideal in our literature, art, history and society, because it is just through this that we can grasp the Italian culture *sub specie aeternitatis*. Let me illustrate this spirit having again recourse to India.

If one wishes to know Indian civilization and to understand her mind he must study the Vedas and the religious literature of India which has given your soul a peculiar aspect. Just in the same way, it would be impossible to understand the various manifestations of our thought at any moment of our history without a previous knowledge of the cultural synthesis which I call Latin or classical. This is peculiar to us as the Vedic and Vedantic culture, in its manifold varieties, is peculiar to you. Because, though, as I said before, there are many similarities, sometimes extremely striking, between the Indian and the Italian mind, still we must not forget that the general vision of life, the motif of our civilisation is different in its essential characters from yours. But as I could not give any adequate definition of what is Vedantism, so infinite are its manifestations,

though its fundamental idea is one, so I hesitate, and I think that every one must hesitate, in defining the classical ideal.

You may perhaps find in some manuals attempts at fixing in the scheme of a formula what is classicism. But in every case we are as a rule confronted with empirical generalisations which point out some external characteristics which have but little connection with the intimate essence of classicism. Some lay stress upon its aesthetical side, others upon its practical activities, others again on its sense of proportion and so on. But I can hardly believe that these definitions of the classical ideal can convey any meaning to those who are born and educated in quite different surroundings. It is certainly easy for us Latins if not to know at least to feel it because we were and are within its influence ; it is difficult for others, say for Indians, to penetrate *ipso facto* its spirit and essence just as it would be difficult for an Italian who did not spend many years upon the study of Indian literature, art and philosophy, to understand what is Hindu vision of life. That notion is the result of a long experience and it requires a perusal of Greek and Latin authors and a knowledge of Latin and Greek art and history. I am conscious of the difficulty that you may find in comprehending the very foundation of our culture inasmuch as I see that Latin and Greek studies seem to be not very common as yet in India.

This classical ideal appears in art as well as in the various manifestations of life. In art it is striving after the perfection of form and harmony. It is an ideal synthesis in which the reality is not copied but spiritualised according to inner intuitions of a higher perfection. It is not, therefore, a mere imitation of nature, because imitation is mechanical, but a real creation of the spirit which accepts and then transforms, following his poetical phantasms, the data of experience. The Apollo of Belvedere or the Madonne of Raffaello are according to me the best expressions of this ideal in which the world of reality and the world of ideas, human and divine,

are strictly and indissolubly connected. This is the fundamental point which perhaps marks a great difference between Indian and Western art and is sometimes the cause of difficulty for Europeans to appreciate fully the inner significance of the wonderful artistic conceptions that were created on the soil of India. Indian art appears to me to be the expression of the superhuman and moves in the sphere of pure imagination. It is mystical and symbolical, it is immediately conducive to spiritual experience. Our art accepts the reality with the necessary limitation, though it transcends that reality in an ideal synthesis which is not of this world.

Classicism is also characterised by a deep sense of nature, *afflatus naturae* as they say in Latin. This nature is neither Māyā nor Avidyā, nor is she the creation of the devil as it was for the Christian mystics of the Middle Ages. She is as real as the spirit; she is our mother and home; she speaks to us a language that we can easily understand. She is always lavishing on us the comforts of her beauty.

Classicism is also harmony. But this harmony is not something external but rather a conquest, that is to say the result of our restless striving; it is neither too much, nor too less; *ne quid nimis*. Not too much implies renunciation. Not too less implies activity, that is to say the eternal struggle in its two fundamental aspects: the negative and the positive, so well expressed in the idea of the hero of the Greek and Roman tragedies.

It was this tragic sense so well illustrated by Nietzsche in his marvellous book on the origin of Greek tragedy, which prevailed and prevails all throughout the evolution of classicism and inspired the greatest literary masterpieces of the West, I mean the dramas of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and at a time nearer to us of Shakespeare, Goethe, and Alfieri. There we find the man fighting, with no hope of success, or victory against some fixed laws of fate; here it is a no less violent struggle within the soul itself of the individual as it was natural to expect at a time which followed Renaissance, when freedom

and the rights of mankind had been fully vindicated. It is, I repeat, this tragic vision which always predominates our culture. And it was even enhanced by Christianity, the essence of which is, as was rightly pointed out recently by the great Spanish writer and thinker, Miguel de Unamuno, just the spirit of "agonie," everlasting struggle. It is also here, I mean in the dramatic literature, considered as the expression of some fundamental tendency of a race that we find another of those differences that I pointed out between Indian and classical soul. Let us compare for instance the greatest of your dramatists, say Kālidās or Bhāwabhuti, with Æschylus, or Shakespeare; in India we find a serene and peaceful atmosphere untouched by wild passions and the poet as well as his protagonists are calm enough to admire the beauty of nature and to give free play to their sentiments in a lyricism, which only occasionally and for a short time may be interrupted by the Bīrarasa, the feeling of the terrible. In Western dramatists the heroes are driven as it were by inner forces towards the final end and so taken by the succession of the events that there is hardly any place for lyricism.

In our drama there is no escape. Man cannot avoid his destiny which is necessarily fixed. This tragic atmosphere dominates all our vision of life. It gives classical culture that pathos which we easily perceive in it. It is conscious awareness of some antinomy which cannot be conciliated and of some laws which cannot be avoided. Other countries also recognise some fatal limitations to human capacities and acknowledge some supreme forces which rule events and man beyond any possible human interference. This sense then manifests itself as a feeling of the nothingness of man before the superhuman, which Professor Otto would call "the *tremendum*" ; and in the *tremendum* there is no place for rebellion or fight but the acknowledgment of our limitation. Man has nothing but to adore and to pray. It is just the sense of the *tremendum* that your Tantric artists succeeded in expressing with an unparalleled ability in their creations

in which the feeling of our nothingness is so well symbolised as nowhere else in the world. But it is absolutely absent in the classical art, though this *tremendum* was never denied by. classicism but rather accepted as a fatal and a irrational opposition. Mankind is engaged in an everlasting struggle against it, even without any chance of success; more than that its success would be its death. It is this same pathos based upon a cosmic contradiction that we can trace in classical philosophy always making unsuccessful attempts to solve the antagonism between spirit and nature, the divine and the human. Spirit and nature were always put on the same plane. Neither spirit was denied, nor nature was considered as a mere illusion. They are both necessary realities. The conciliation was over and again sought for but never reached and even now in spite of the efforts of Hegel and his followers to reduce nature to spirit, the problem still remains unsolved. It is again this tragic sense which separates so deeply the West from the East. But it is just for this apparent antagonism, for these peculiarities of culture proper to each race that collaboration is possible. Harmony comes out always from what, separately taken, seems discordant; and therefore, just where others see the root of a fatal opposition, I see the chief reason why East and West are expected to collaborate successfully in the realisation of higher ideals.

G. Tucci

THE DRUM-SONG

I listen as one bemused with melodies
Brought from the far-off edge of the world
When time was young and men knew joys
That we have forgotten long ago.
I hear weird minor cadences,
And dim ancestral memories
Stir and quicken into life again,
Called back on drum's soft monotone
And Pan-pipes plaintive wordless songs.
To-day, devoid of time and space,
Melts into a million yesterdays, all one,
And all a part of me in some strange way.
I see a flaming orange moon
Lighting with eerie fire the swaying
Tree-tops in a forest glade.
I see dim forms leaping within a ring
As music rises on the wind or falls
To muted breath with darkling night.
I see day-dawns of pearl, and cooking-fires,
And hunters going forth with clubs,
Blood-hungry, avid and primeval
I see youth and youth's love, unashamed,
And marriage-rite around a bee-hive hut;
I see the cycle of life and love and death;
I feel the fierce delight of wandering;
Know all the mysteries that man has ever known;
The drum-song wakes wild echoes in my heart,
Echoes that I would voice yet have no words
Who now am inarticulate and tamed.

LILY STRICKLAND

SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS—THE FIRST INTERPRETATION

I

We read the sonnets for their poetry, and no interpretation can hurt this poetry, for it commands our feelings whatever meaning we take even though most of the pleasure is intellectual. We read the sonnets like musicians enjoying a concert. In listening to music composers and people like that, exercise their intellect on the lovely sounds which we enjoy passively; music entails concentrated brainwork in them; yet all the while their intellect is at play, the beauty of the sounds acts on their emotions. So is it with the sonnets; our attention follows the intricate and conceited thought, while the loveliness of the sounds and expression plays on our emotions; our pleasure is mostly in the sound or in the poetry though our minds attend to the thought. Thus it is not surprising that more has been written about their significance, about what Shakespeare meant when he wrote them, than about the poetry which we read them for. Most great poetry has the misfortune to beget much prose, but we can find more excuse for the prosaic offspring of the sonnets than usual.

The mysteries invented or discovered to explain the sonnets appeal not alone to those whose interest in Shakespeare burns brightest in the Bacon controversy; for though no understandingly sympathetic student of Shakespeare's poetry or dramatic art ever thought it came from Bacon's brain, many sensitively appreciative readers of Shakespeare, accept some theory or other about his relations with a bad dark woman. They do this for one of two reasons. Some are glad to think that here at least the impersonal Shakespeare wrote personally; they like to think they have heard his personal cry. Others accept the slander from sheer lack of interest; they already know Shakespeare from his plays, have an unformalised feeling of the sort of man he was, and when they give limp acquiescence to some story of his love

for a disreputable dark woman, do not really *believe* him a moral weakling. Such stories touch most of us so little that we hardly think it worth the trouble to read the evidence and judge of them for ourselves. We either half believe what those who have dug for mysteries tell us, or deny such tales and leave the difficulty unsolved. Others, more ardent and ingenious, come to Shakespeare's defence like Mr. Cumming Walters with an allegoric reading, or, like Mr. Gerald Massey, invent or discover new stories to oust the old. Such inventions leave Shakespeare's name unbesmirched, and this is a real virtue; the false interpretation of a poet's life becomes morally wrong when it slanders, and almost despicable when that poet and his executors are dead. But the real value of the conflicting fictions based on the sonnets, lies where they destroy each other. We might find one surprising revelation in the sonnets difficult to upset; if they told one story, the sonnets might add to the history of a great Elizabethan; but when they divulge six or seven totally different histories their testimony loses its value.

The printer of Shakespeare's sonnets was a piratical publisher, T. Thorpe. This gives our literary detectives their clue ; of course Shakespeare never meant these pain-wrung private confessions to meet the eye of prying public. Then why did he hand them round among his friends, as we know from Meres that he did? And how brutal of some one, Meres or Shakespeare's friends, to characterize them as "sugred"—his tortured cries described as "Shakespeare's sugred sonnets." Those who combat the dark woman story, in their turn use the pirate publisher. All such theories depend on the sequence ; the story unfolds itself step by step. The advocates for the defence therefore, point out that we have nothing to prove that Thorpe's order followed Shakespeare's and that, indeed, the next editor rearranged the sonnets. But the liberty taken by Shakespeare's second editor does not prove his first irresponsible. We must accept Thorpe's order as Shakespeare's until we have direct proof to the contrary. It was the fashion to write a sequence of sonnets with some sort of

vague story not too closely adhered to yet easily felt, and to circulate it among one's friends. It was not the fashion to publish this sequence oneself, for in those days poets were too modest to print their own poems unless they could think of a good excuse to cover their arrogance, they left their poetry to fall into the possession of pirate publishers. A pirate published Sidney's sonnets, yet we do not question their order. If Sidney's come to us in the right order, why not Shakespeare's ? Sonnets in a sequence make a different sort of poetry from detached sonnets, many of them depending on the general context for their meaning. Even in the manuscript circulating among one's friends, the correct sequence would be as readily kept as that of a long poem circulating in the same way. Consequently the publishers would more easily procure a right sequence than a wrong one, for it could hardly have been worth while, supposing it possible, for a pirate (who, after all, was not a creditable person) to collect Shakespeare's 154 sonnets one by one from his 154 friends.

The dedication is the only other outside evidence directly connected with the sonnets :

" To the onlie begetter of
these insuing sonnets,
Mr. W. H., all happinesse
and that eternitie
promised
by
our ever-living poet
wisheth
the well-wishing
adventurer in
setting
forth.
T. T."

"T.T."[1] is Thomas Thorpe the pirate. "W. H." is certainly neither William Herbert, who was by then Earl of Pembroke,

[1] The facts and arguments, stated too categorically in this paragraph are from Sir Sidney Lee's *Life* where he explodes the theories connecting the sonnets with the Earls of Pembroke and Southampton, and gives evidence for William Hall.

nor the Earl of Southampton. Referring to either as " Mr. W. H." would be as sensible as calling the Duke of Richmond and Gordon " Mr. G.L." "Mr. W. H." may be a certain William Hall who procured the sonnets (he is the " only begetter " [1]) for the publisher, the dedication being in any case the publisher's not Shakespeare's for it is signed " T.T." not " W.S."—a small detail that upsets more than one theory. The solution of the German critic who says that " W.H." stands for William (Shakespeare) Himself, appeals to me, but I am afraid the evidence for William Hall is more tangible. Failing all these, " Mr. W. H. " may refer to any of the other—shall we say thirty? forty? fifty? —W. H.'s then living in Shakespeareland but long since forgotten.

I come to have something to say about the sonnets not from knowing more about Shakespeare or more about the sonnet theories than the average reader of Shakespeare, but because I had the luck to come on the sonnets from an unusual angle. I had not read them in their sequence and knew little more than those we meet in anthologies until I began to study the Elizabethan sonnet for its prosody, and by good fortune in more or less chronological order. I turned to Shakespeare's as a final treat or culmination, and thus came on them with an open mind—except perhaps as regards their prosody—and was struck by them as presumably they would have struck an Elizabethan, or at least as they would have struck me had I been an Elizabethan. This is the right approach to the sonnets; we receive our first impression of them in their native atmosphere. Nothing can destroy an emotional first impression. I think no amount of argument or study could destroy the feeling of my first live impact with the sonnets; and so conclude that if we read them first in the wrong atmosphere, as an introduction to Elizabethan sonneteers or merely as a part of Shakespeare, no amount of study can change the first

1 In Elizabethan times " beget " often means get."

impression of mystery they give, and must give, to anyone who comes on them like that. Even if subsequent reading of the other sonneteers explain away the mystery, still the atmosphere of the first reading must remain, colouring the meaning and influencing the mind to traverse again the groove it has already cut. One who has started by reading a wrong meaning into the sonnets will only with great difficulty receive the right one, however much he studies. The writings of many scholars show this. When the sonnets are read first of any Elizabethan sonnet series, they appear as the designings on the doorway of that gorgeous temple, the Elizabethan Sonnet, and their symbolizations seems to have deep significance in themselves, whereas it is the things in the temple that explain the designing on the door. Although we may enter by these richly carved portals, the masons built the temple first, and added this carved entrance after. All scholars know that Shakespeare's are only one of many Elizabethan sonnet series; yet because they have read Shakespeare's first, they cannot really get it out of their minds that Shakespeare wrote his first. Even the technical name for the typical form of the Elizabethan sonnet is "Shakespearean," although Shakespeare had nothing whatever to do with its discovery. This is not the place to discuss that form, but the misnaming of it is typical of our whole approach to Shakespeare. We think of him as a huge mountain, about which the other Elizabethan poets crowd like beautiful but after all small flowers, whereas in his own time he was merely a singularly lovely poet in a garden of lovely poets. Read alone his sonnets are mysterious, if not incomprehensible, suggesting all sorts of things and able to support a hundred ingenious theories. Read along with contemporary sonnets their meaning can hardly be missed. The Elizabethans noticed nothing mysterious, discovering in them neither a detective nor a Mrs. Grundy interest. Not till the eighteenth century (by then the other sonneteers were practically forgotten) did Shakespeare's sonnets first puzzle—and disgust—by their conceits and

exaggerations. To quote Steevens' oft-quoted complaint: they are composed in the "highest train of affectation, pedantry, circumlocution, and nonsense." In the nineteenth century students tried to turn that nonsense into sense, or in other words, to solve the mystery. The only safe, not to say fair, way of solving the mystery is to read the contemporary sonnets first, when Shakespeare's will appear neither mere nonsense nor mysterious.

The first English sonneteers, Wyatt and Surrey, copied the great Italian sonnet-writers. By 1587 their sonnets had been reprinted seven times. Though Watson's sonnets were published in 1581 the full tide of the English sonneteers was from 1591 to 1597, a six years' fashion. Sir Sidney Lee calculates that more than 200 love-sonnets were written in England each of these six years. The outburst started before them with Sidney (who died in 1586) and Daniel; their series were published in 1591. Before 1596 many more, such as Constable's, Barnes', Drayton's and Spenser's, were printed. Although Shakespeare's were not published till 1609, Meres refers to them in 1598, and some scholars think he started writing them as early as 1591 or 1592, for like those of the other poets they circulated in manuscript long before they fell into the printer's hands. Shakespeare had certainly read Sidney's, Daniel's and Drayton's series before he wrote his own, and probably those of the other poets writing in London round about that time, or with London friends and paying visits to London, such as Spenser, who probably wrote his about 1592 or 1593 to Elizabeth Boyle whom he married in 1594.[1]

The medieval sonnet cycle to an adored lady probably grew out of the Troubadour love song. The Elizabethan sonnet, at any rate, was very much influenced by the songs of its day, hence, indeed, its characteristic form, many of them differing

[1] For information in this paragraph see Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, Appendix IX.

from songs only in the final couplet. Thus to an Elizabethan, a love sonnet meant quite a frivolous or light little poem, not the terrific, solemn thing we mean by a sonnet. It had conventional themes, "commonplace" themes like the commonplaces of ballad poetry. The lady was always beautiful, had golden hair, "saphyr" eyes, pearl teeth, ruby lips, an ivory skin, roses and lilies in her cheeks, and, rather curiously to us, until we remember the *Song of Solomon*, a sweet-smelling breath. When Sidney dreamt about his lady, he asked Morpheus.

Whence hast thou Ivorie, Rubies, Pearle, and Golde,
So shew *her* skin, lips, teeth, and head so well? [1]

Spenser writes

Fayre is my love, when her fayre golden heares,
With the loose wynd ye waving chance to marke:
Fayre when the rose in her red cheekes appeares,
Or in her eyes the fyre of love does sparke.[2]
* * *

But fayrest she, when so she doth display,
The gate with pearles and rubyes richly dight;
Through which her words so wise do make their way
To beare the message of her gentle spright.

or,

Comming to kisse her lyps, (such grace I found)
Meseemed I smelt a gardin of sweet flowres:
That dainty odours from them threw around
For damzels fit to decke their lovers bowres.

Her lips did smell lyke unto Gillyflowers,
Her ruddy cheekes lyke unto Roses red:
Her snowy browes lyke budded Bellamoures,
Her lovely eyes lyke Pincks but newly spred.[3]

Daniel and Drayton's ladies also had golden hair and all the other hues of beauty. Indeed no sonneteer could love a dark-haired woman without defying the conventions. Sidney came near it in writing to Lady Rick who had black eyes. He has to find

1 XXXII. 2 LXXXI, *cf.* No. XV and Daniel's XIX. 3 LXIV.

excuses for them ; he makes them pathetic, they are "mourning" eyes. The proper comparison for eyes was the sun, or the stars,[1] especially the sun,[2] since the lady herself was as important to the poet as the sun to the earth, and because of their dazzling brilliance, and the brightness of their light.[3] Constable[4] declares his love even surpasses the sun, which he flatters by the comparison. Sidney[5] talks of Stella raying her eyes on him like Aurora, presently they scorch him like the sun at noon, and he prays that "my sun go down with meeker beams to bed." As usual the simile appears most softly and sweetly in Spenser.

Mark when she smiles with amiable cheare,
And tell me whereto can ye lyken it:
When on each eyelid sweetly doe appeare
An hundred Graces as in shade to sit.
Lykest it seemeth in my simple wit
Unto the fayre sunshine in somers day
That when a dreadfull storme away is flit,
Through the broad world doth spred his goodly ray:
At sight whereof each bird that sits on spray,
And every beast that to his den was fled,
Comes forth afresh out of their late dismay,
And to the light lift up theyr drouping hed.
So my storme-beaten hart likewise is cheared,
With that sunshine when cloudy looks are cleared.[6]

So beautiful are all those ladies that they show personified Beauty what she ought to look like.[7] Cupid or Beauty make their home in her, or mistake her for their reflection.[8] She is an angel,[9] a goddess, the Phoenix,[10] a new Muse[11] (the tenth), not made of the four elements which Medieval science believed all mortal things are.[12] Drayton's lady works miracles ; he was both blind and deaf until he saw her.[13] All the while, these poets protest they do not flatter ; others flatter but they praise

[1] Spenser, XXXIV. [2] Drayton, 47 and 48. [3] Spenser, III. [4] No. 7 [5] LXXVI. [6] XL. [7] Sidney, LXXVII. [8] Drayton, 9, and Sidney, VIII. [9] Drayton, 40. [10] Drayton, 6. [11] Drayton, 8, *cf.* Shakes., XXXVIII. [12] Spenser, LV. [13] No. 12.

in plain verse, having no need to exaggerate.[1] They love so, that they willingly take the blame of any fault their lady has, and her only fault lies either in being so much above her poet, or in scorning him.

> To all those happy blessings which ye have,
> With plenteous hand by heaven upon you thrown,
> This one disparagement they to you gave,
> That ye your love lent to so meane a one.
> Yee whose high worths surpassing paragon,
> Could not on earth have found one fit for mate,
> Ne but in heaven matchable to none,
> Why did ye stoup unto so lowly state?[2]

Daniel[3] tells us the scorn of his lady will kill him, but when he goes to the Elysian fields and they ask why he died so young, he will shield her name and not blame her.

In fact this lady obsesses them. Her image is painted on their hearts.

> Leave, lady! in your glasse of cristall clene,
> Your goodly selfe for ever more to vew:
> And in myselfe, my inward selfe, I meane,
> Most lively lyke behold your semblant trew.
> Within my hart, though hardly it can shew
> Thing so divine to vew of earthly eye,
> The fayre Idea of your celestiall hew,
> And every part remaines immortally:[4]

They all like this conceit. Daniel[5] says

> Why doth my mistress credit so her glass
> Gazing her beauty, deigned her by the skies?
> And doth not rather look on him, alas!
> * * *

They imagine their eyes, heart, ears or tongue talking about her,[6] sometimes quarrelling which she belongs to, or again, the eyes may be the agent of the heart.[7] Reason too, is personified, but unhappily fights against Love, though always unsuccessfully.[8]

[1] Sidney, 1 to 6. [2] Spenser, LXVI. [3] XXX.
[4] Spenser, XLV, *cf.* Daniel, XIII. [5] XXXVII.
[6] Drayton, 33, and Daniel, XXVII. [7] *Daniel*, VIII. [8] *Drayton*, 31.

So much is the poet's identity bound up in his love that he cannot distinguish between himself and her, and they are fond of putting this in an I. O. U. form. One of Drayton's [1] on this theme ends

> And all is thine which hath been due to mee,
> And I a bankrupt, quite undone by thee.

Thus it is not much wonder that the poet finds heaven in his lady, or that his life depends on her. To gain her love, or merely her praise makes the one object of his life. She alone inspires his pen. Sidney [2] says,

> " Stella, thinke not that I by verse seeke fame
> ...Since all my wordes thy beautie doth indite
> And Love doth hold my hand, and make me write." [3]

Drayton strings his lute with Idea's golden hair, had he never seen her, he would never have written ; and Daniel [4] takes his lady's virtues for the sweet "ground" of his music.

Situations vary slightly according to real circumstances or the whim of the poet, but most of them are commonplaces, the outstanding one being the journey which the poet takes away from his love. They treat this in one manner. The poet finds no joy ; [5] nothing can console him. [6]

> Lyke as the Culver on the bared bough,
> Sits mourning for the absense of her mate :
> And in her songs sends many a wishfull vow,
> For his returne that seemes to linger late ;
> So I alone now left disconsolate,
> Mourne to my selfe the absence of my love :
> And wandring here and there all desolate,
> Seek with my playnts to match that mournful dove :
> Ne joy of ought that under heaven doth hove,
> Can comfort me, but her owne joyous sight :
> Whose sweet aspect both God and man can move,
> In her unspotted pleasauns to delight.
> Dark is my day, whyles her fayre light I mis,
> And dead my life that wants such lively blis. [7]

1 No. 3. 2 XC and Drayton, 28. 3 No. 4. 4 LVII.
5 Sidney, LV. 6 Sidney, XCVII. 7 Spenser, LXXXVIII.

He goes wearily and without interest, pining for his love,[1] thinking only of her[2] and hating everything he sees,[3] or seeing nothing,[4] except perhaps her reflection in everything. Sidney says that if in his absence he sees any

amber-coloured head.
Milk hands, rose cheekes, or lips more sweet more red,
Or seeing jett black, yet in blacknes bright ;
They please, I do confesse, they please mine eyes.
But why? because of you they models be.

Not them, O no, but you in them I love.[5]

The lady destroys her poet's rest at nights :

Now that of absense the most irksome night,
With darkest shade doth overcome my day ;
Since *Stella's* eyes wont to give mee my day ;
Leaving my hemisphere leave me in night,
Each day seems long, and longs for long stayed night;
The night as tedious, woos th'approach of day:
Toyled with dustie toyles of busie day,
Languisht with horrors of the silent night:
Suffering the evils both of day and night,
While no night is more darke than is my day,
Nor no day hath lesse quiet than my night;
With such bad mixture of my night and day;
That living thus in blackest winter night,
I feel the flames of hottest summer's day.[6]

Or again he says that when night pursuades others to sleep

With windows ope then most my heart doth lie,
Viewing the shape of darknes and delight.[7]

but when that "sweet air which is Morn's messenger" calls others to wake, "In tomb of lids, then buried are mine eyes"

[1] Spenser LII (in absence but not on a journey).
[2] Daniel, LII and LIII.
[3] Spenser, XXXV.
[4] Spenser, LXXXVIII. [5] XCI.
[6] Sidney. LXXXIX, *cf.* XCVI. and XCVIII.
[7] XCIX.

ashamed to find "Such light in sense, with such a darkened mind." Spenser has the same plaint:

Since I did leave the presence of my love,
Many long weary dayes I have outworne:
And many nights, that slowly seemd to move
Theyr sad protract from evening untill morne.[1]
For when as day the heaven doth adorne,
I wish that night the noyous day would end:
And when as night hath us of light forlorne,
I wish that day would shortly reascend.
Thus I the time with expectation spend,
And faine my griefe with chaunges to beguile,
That further seems his terme still to extend,
And maketh every minute seems a myle.
So sorrow still doth seeme too long to last,
But joyous hours do fly away too fast.

Though without our sense of historical perspective, the Elizabethans realised that others had lived before them in a past which seemed very dim and antic (antique). They wondered what these antique people were like, how their beauties looked, what they would have thought of this beauty now—not that they have much real doubt. Drayton [2] asks Time to stop, and see his love, so that he may bear witness to her unique beauty. Constable [3] says that when the old poets sang of the beauty of their mistresses, they but prophesied of his. Coupled with this sense of the past they feel the imminence of the future, when the golden hairs of their loves will be silver wires and all their beauty depart[4]; then the lady can regain her beauty only by catching its reflection in the poet's verses. Winter will soon show her hair; the poet prays her therefore to "Love now whilst thou maist be loved again."[5] Then one day their lady will die and would perchance be forgotten were it not for her poet.

[1] LXXXVII. [2] VII. [3] No. 7 of Todd's MS.
[4] Daniel, XXXVIII. [5] Daniel, XXXIX and XL, etc.

Faire Proud! now tell me, why should faire be proud,
Sith all worlds glorie is but drosse uncleane;
And in the shade of death itself shall shroud,
However now thereof ye little weene!
That goodly Idoll now so gay be seene,
Shall doffe her fleshes borrowd fayre attyre;
And be forgot as it had never beene,
That many now much worship and admire!
Ne any then shall after it inquire,
Ne any mention shall thereof remaine:
But what this verse, that never shall expyre,
Shall to you purchas with her thankles paine.
Faire! be no longer proud of that shall perish,
But that which shall you make immortall, cherish.[1]

This like many of the others, is an old theme copied from Ronsard and Du Bellay,[2] but very sweetly naturalised in English, especially by Spenser in One day I wrote her name upon the strand.[3]

Besides a more or less happy, ideal love, their heaven, the sonneteers poetise their rebuffs, their depressions, the cruelty of their mistress, the sordid, or at least painful side of love, their hell. The two attitudes contrast vividly, almost illogically in some of the sonneteers. Sidney and Spenser on the whole write happily, because they record a real love; Spenser married his lady and Sidney's poems to his read sincerely. The more fashionable love-makers, like Daniel and Drayton write on the whole dejectedly, necessarily so; following the custom, they address their fictitious love sonnets to some prominent lady already married. The poets thus fortified themselves against a breach of promise case, but limited their theme; they could not very well pretend the happiness of Sidney in discovering that his lady loved him, nor end with Spenser's *Epithalamion*; they

[1] Spenser, XXVII.

[2] Sir Sidney Lee in his *Life* gives a list of the "sources" of Shakespeare's conceits; some of my references coincide with his, though my illustrations are intended to show the general type of sonnet familiar to Shakespeare before he wrote his, rather than to give the particular sources of particular sonnets.

[3] LXXV *cf.* Daniel XLIII-V.

doom themselves from the outset to write almost nothing but tears and sighs. It was the fashion for poets to exaggerate their misery as much as the perfections of their lady. Fortune herself deals unkindly with the doleful suitor; he is her orphan as Daniel calls himself, born to bear the scorn of the ideal lady, a scorn which saps his life and will eventually kill him. The sonneteers soon become old and worn. Daniel[1] says that "cares have tiled deep furrows" in his brow, and Drayton,

> Looking into the glasse of my youths miseries,
> I see the ugly face of my deformed cares,
> With withered brows, all wrinkled with despaires.[3]

Their poetry rings with the clashing of sorrow with joy; their hearts being always in some sort of conflict, half joyful half miserable.

> The love which me so cruelly tormenteth
> So pleasing is in my extremest pain
> That all the more my sorrow it augmenteth
> The more I love and do embrace my bane.[4]

Sometimes the poet's reason and love conflict,[5] sometimes he is miserable from not knowing what he had best do,[6] and often merely from the uncertainty.

> How long shall this lyke dying lyfe endure,
> And know no end of her owne misery;
> But waste and wear away in termes unsure,
> Twixt feare and hope depending doubtfully.
> Yet better were attonce to let me die,
> And shew the last ensample of your pride:
> Then to torment me thus with cruelty,
> To prove your power, which I too well have tride.
> But yet if in your hardned brest ye hide,
> A close intent at last to shew me grace;
> Then all the woes and wrecks which I abide,
> As means of bliss I gladly will embrace.
> And wish that more and greater they might be,
> That greater meede at last may turn to me.[7]

1 XXVI. 2 IV. 3 14. 4 Spenser, XLII.
5 Drayton, 31. 6 Spenser, XLIII. 7 Spenser, XXV.

They are alternately in heaven and hell. Sidney pleads with Stella not to look unkindly on him with

> Those blest eyes where all my hopes do dwell
> No domes shall make ones Heaven become his Hell.[1]

Drayton almost goes crazy between the two emotions.

> Why do I speak of joy, or write of love,
> When my heart is the very den of horror,
> And in my soul the pains of hell I prove
> With all his torments and infernal terror?
> And Bedlamlike thus raving in my grief
> Now rail upon her hair, now on her eyes,
> Now call her Goddess, then I call her Thief,
> Now I deny her, then I do confess her,
> Now I do curse her, then again I bless her.[2]

This makes a good description of the typical Elizabethan sonnet, always at one extreme. They idolize a woman so perfect and lovely that she subdues the heart of all men; Cupid is no longer the God of love, being robbed by the poet's goddess, who now steals men's hearts for her relief.[3] Because of her cruelty in taking their love and giving only scorn, their ideal becomes a soreness and they revile her.

> Trust not the treason of those smiling looks,
> Until ye have their guileful trains well tried;
> For they are like but unto golden hooks,
> That from the foolish fish their baits do hide:
> So she with flattering smiles weak hearts doth guide
> Unto her love, and tempt to their decay;
> Whom being caught she kills with cruel pride,
> And feeds at pleasure on the wretched prey:
> Yet, even whilst her bloody hands them slay,
> Her eyes look lovely and upon them smile;
> That they take pleasure in her cruel play,
> And dying, do themselves of pain beguile.
> O mighty charm! which makes men love their bane,
> And think they die with pleasure, live with pain.[4]

1 LXXXVI. 2 No. 43. 3 Drayton, 26. 4 Spenser, XLVII.

Yet again Spenser asks, why nature gave such a fair face to such a beast.[1] Daniel is particularly bitter;[2] his love holds yet repulses him; give back, he [3] says, your golden hair to the golden ore, your eyes to the stars, your pearls to the East, your hands to ivory, your breathing sweet to Arabian Odours, your blush to Aurora, and "thy fierce and cruel mind, to *Hyrcan* Tyrges, and to ruthles Beares." They become vindictive; Daniel [4] writes so that everyone may "blame my lovelesse fair," so that all the world may see her fault.[5] Thus the lady who is sometimes their "good angel" [6] becomes a devil. The love which idolizes one moment slanders the next.

The whole thing was very artificial and conceited, not only in expression, but despite occasional sincerities, in the conception. We may see how their attitude differs from ours in Constable's sonnet on the death of Lady Rich's daughter, whose horoscope the poet had read more favourably.

> He that by skill of stars doth fates foretell,
> If reason give the verdit of his side,
> Though by mischance things otherwise betyde
> Then he foretold,—yet doth he calcule well.
> A phoenix if she live must needs excell,
> And this by reason's laws should not have dy'd:
> But thus it chanc't nature cannot abyde
> More than one phoenix in the world to dwell.
> Now as the mother phoenix death should slay,
> Her beautie's light did dazzle so his eye,
> As, while he blindfold let his arrowe flye,
> He slew the younge one which stood in the way.
> Thus did the mother 'scape—and thus did I,
> By good illhap, fayle of my prophecie.

This would be in too bad taste now, when we expect our poets to mean what they say. Elizabethans did not think of

[1] XXX, *cf.* Drayton, 30: *Three sorts of serpents do resemble thee.* [2] XVIII.
[3] XIX. [4] II. [5] XV. [6] Drayton, 8 and 40.

poetry in our desperately sincere way. Their refinements were superficial and did not go deeply into the feelings. We must try to forget the solemn and noble thing the sonnet becomes later. The Elizabethan sonnets, growing out of their songs, are really lyrics ; we do not get the right feeling of them if we expect the high sincerity and the sheer nobility we find in Wordsworth and Milton. Even their serious sonnets were graceful and neat ; what Puritan thought the Elizabethan poets had, did not usually interfere with their cake-and-ale expression of it. We must not read into Shakespeare a solemnity and majesty that is not there. When Shakespeare died, his friends mourned him as a "sweet singer," the "Swan of Avon," the "Star of Poets," or "The applause ! delight ! the wonder of our Stage" ; he is rather "fancies child" than the poet of solemn emotions. His sonnets are more lovable than grand, sweet rather than sublime, and this was what the Elizabethan love sonnet aimed at being.

But even if we approach Shakespeare's sonnets expecting solemnity it will not do much harm if we already know the other sonneteers and are easily influenced by what we read. The expectation of a solemn feast checked me for a little ; I felt puzzled or at least surprised, then I found myself suppressing a smile, till finally, at about the third sonnet or so, I gave way to mirth, realizing that he is all the while quietly pulling our legs. Though his sonnet parodies are often more lovely than the sonnets he bases them on, a humorous twinkle dances in the light of their poetry. Shakespeare was not a satirist, he rarely rouses censorious or damaging laughter ; he does not bring things into disrepute when he laughs at them, for it is possible to treat the most sacred emotions humorously and not destroy their sanctity if one's humour is very gentle. In *Love's Labour Lost*, probably the first play he wrote alone after having learnt his job collaborating with other dramatists, Shakespeare parodies the literary fashions of the hour, including the sonnet, yet retains most that was charming in the fashion he parodies. In

the same way, his sonnets are the parody of a creative poet, who cannot help creating lovely things as he parodies. Yet though most of the sonnets carry honey as well as a sting, not sufficient are made of honey alone, to break the thread of irony running through the sequence.

That time of year thou mayst in me behold
When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang
Upon those boughs which shake against the cold,
Bare ruin'd choirs, where late the sweet birds sang.
In me thou see'st the twilight of such day
As after sunset fadeth in the west:
Which by and by black night doth take away,
Death's second self, that seals up all in rest.
In me thou see'st the glowing of such fire,
That on the ashes of his youth doth lie,
As the death-bed whereon it must expire
Consum'd with that which it was nourish'd by.
This thou perceiv'st, which makes thy love more strong
To love that well which thou must leave ere long.[1]

We tend to suppress our mirth when we come to sonnets like this. If we say that Shakespeare wrote this for a "rag," some one will certainly ask "but where is the humour here?" It is not in the yellow leaf, not in the ruined choirs, neither in the twilight, nor the dying fire, nowhere in the poetry, but in the fact that Shakespeare was probably not thirty when he wrote it. In 1598, when Meres talks of his sonnets, he was 34, and many think he wrote them seven years before this. If we recollect that all the young poets bemoaned themselves like men of seventy only more ardently, we can see the joke in the young man, Shakespeare, mocking them with a groan even more septuagenarian. If we examine the sonnet closely, we notice that it is the poetry not of how an old man feels, but of an autumn evening, and of dying fires; as these resemble old age, so is it the poetry of old age but not otherwise; the final couplet

[1] LXXIII.

closes too smartly if the sonnet were felt seriously. Once we have dropped a certain number of sentimental tears over sere and yellow leaves, it is difficult to see the fun; we refuse to turn poetry which makes decrepit man seem beautiful, into a flippant jest. But if we can get over this, the sonnet becomes more charming for its smile.

KATHARINE M. WILSON

(To be continued.)

THE VOICE

My groping soul keeps calling to thy soul,
Across the barren wastes of this earth-world;
Cans't thou not hear the echo of my voice
In the pale dawn, in radiant day, in
Muted twilight or the glam'rous Tropic
Night of silver moon-light and of stars,
Calling thee, though my earthly lips be mute?
All through the bitter years, this outward self
Keeps vigil, wrapped in silence, holding close
Within sealed doors the clamour of a voice
That will not cease while Time still measures life.
My seeking soul keeps calling to thy soul,
Across the endless lengths of weary days ;
Cans't thou not pause in all thy busy hours
That claim thy substance in its petty bonds,
And brush aside the veil, to look beyond?
Oh love, lift up thy head above the murk
Of slavery to earth, and clasp within
Thy heart the echo of that deathless call
That cannot cease until our soul's re-birth !

LILY STRICKLAND

THE FUTURE OF OUR FOREIGN EXCHANGE BANKS

(EVIDENCE SUBMITTED BEFORE THE CENTRAL BANKING ENQUIRY COMMITTEE.)

Early Beginnings.

Prior to the starting of the organised exchange banks and the exchange markets, the indigenous bankers looked after the internal and external exchange requirements of the people.[1] The balance of international payments being in favour of the country gold and silver flowed[2] in freely. Such intricate economic problems as trade adversity fluctuations did not arise on any important scale.

With the advent of the British East India Company and the foreign trading companies of the western nations foreign exchange business began to develop and an insignificant part of it might have been conducted by the Indian concerns and " black merchants " as the Indian people were styled in the

[1] Until 1796-97 the Governments of the Provinces used to enter into contracts with the shroffs or the indigenous bankers for the securing of resources in the different centres. Due to the Accountant-General Mr. T. Myers the practice of the sale of bills and the inviting of open competition was adopted so that this competition tended to secure more favourable rates than before. See the Public Consultations, Fort William, Public Department, Government Manuscript Records, Imperial Record Office, :th January 1800, No. 47. The Bombay Government adopted this practice so that by selling bills on the General Treasury at Calcutta it could secure the additional revenue needed to meet its requirements.

[2] Bengal, for instance, not only paid for all its imports but could finance the requirements of other provinces and the China trade at the same time. This led to the drain of specie but gradually it was condoned by a development of the export trade, the founding of banks and a thorough organisation of the currency system. See the Public Department Records—The general Public Letter written in April, 1809 to the Court of Directors so as to convince them of the necessity to grant a charter of incorporation to the Bank of Calcutta. It was only after receiving this charter that the name was changed to the " Bank of Bengal." Up till 1809 the Bank of Calcutta was always referred to as the Government Bank in the index of the Government records.

records of the East India Company. It was not until the Agency Houses happened to conduct money exchanging, banking and commission business, etc., that there was any advent of the organised banking system into the country. The first large-scale moffusil banks were the Union Bank of Calcutta (1829), the Agra and the United Service Bank (1833) and the Bank of Western India (1842) and the Commercial Bank of India (1845). These were unlimited co-partnership banks and their avowed object was, of course, internal remittance and banking business. But as the heirs of the goodwill of the Agency Houses they soon began to acquire foreign exchange business and the prohibition on the part of the Presidency Banks helped them a good deal in this direction.[3]

Advent of the Foreign Exchange Banks.

From 1851 the entry of the exchange banks into India becomes noticeable.[4] More banks would have been started if the East India Company had been more tolerant towards them.[5] During 1858 to 1862 the Comptoiré' Escompte de Paris gained entry into this country. Gradually the British, American, German, Dutch, Japanese and the Portuguese banks began to conduct foreign exchange business in this country.

The domestic banking system being insignificant and the few major banks being restricted largely by statutory regulation, these foreign exchange banks, though few, soon acquired prominence. They secured monopoly over the exchange and remittance functions. So late as in 1875 the Anglo-Indian Exchange Banks were hardly considered as "banking

[3] At the instance of the Director Cockerell this prohibition was enacted. See my Present-Day Banking in India, 3rd Edition, Appendix III.

[4] The Oriental Banking Corporation was the first chartered bank of London to gain entry into India.

[5] See the opposition of the East India Company to the starting of a Bank of India in 1836, the Bank of Asia in 1840 and the Chartered Bank of Asia in 1851. See the Bank of Asia Correspondence issued as a Parliamentary Paper in 1843, Vol. XXXV.

institutions."[6] Working in an uncongenial atmosphere and subject to the deterrent disabilities of controlling branches stationed thousands of miles away from the head office the administrative capacity of the exchange banks might have had been seriously undermined but for several helpful factors. Their commanding resources, the lack of effective competition on the part of the small joint-stock banks at the time of their entry into this country and their implicitly following the unwritten rules of sound banking soon earned for them the respect and confidence of the public and gave them an opportunity to succeed and outdistance the local banks inspite of all benefits which the latter could derive from the patronage of local people. and merchants.

By the time the exchange troubles of 1872 to 1892 began to appear the Indian Exchange Banks wisely succeeded in sending back the whole or a large part of their capital to their head office.[7] At present about 18 such foreign exchange banks exist. All these are foreign-owned banks with their head office outside India. They do not deal with the financing of internal trade or industries *quite on a large scale even in the slack season* when they find plenty of loanable resources in their hand. They are unhampered by any discriminatory laws as is the case in America or in the foreign countries.[8] Spreading their operations over a

[6] See the Evidence of the Deputy Governor before the Select Committee on the Banks of Issue of 1875.

[7] See the Evidence of Sir Alfred Dent before the 1898 Committee on Indian Currency, Qn. 1959.

[8] See Willis and Edwards "Banking and Business," New York, 1925 Edn., p. 28. See also Willis and Steiner, Federal Reserve Banking Practice, New York, 1926 Edn., p. 552. France, Denmark, Turkey, Japan, and Spain have special restrictions imposed on foreign banks but wherever such regulations have prevailed it has become the habitual practice on their part to affiliate themselves with domestic capitalists and start institutions working under local laws. Even England is supposed to have scented dangers in this matter and the Cunliffe Committee recommends an examination of the situation with reference to the "open door policy" maintained by the United Kingdom as regards the entry of foreign banks. But so long as the United Kingdom invests abroad and is anxious to retain the world's financial leadership the London money market must be wide enough to allow operations in diverse currencies and foreign banks must be allowed to conduct

wide area these banks have succeeded in minimising the risks arising from local trade fluctuations. As in Japan where a number of important private Japanese banks exist with extensive foreign departments both at home and abroad we have no such domestic institutions on any important scale. They are conspicuous by their absence. It has been an oft-repeated cry on the part of the nationalist economists that locally directed exchange banks do not exist.

Exchange Brokers.

Although there are exchange brokers in the important money centres, yet they do not exist in such numbers as in the case of the well-developed exchange markets of London or New York. There are also finance brokers who are sometimes interested in bonds and shares but their exchange business is little. Exchange brokers can be defined as those whose sole business is broking exchange bills and conducting deals in future.

Aggregate Foreign Exchange Bills.

The aggregate amount of foreign exchange bills [9] which can be drawn through the foreign exchange banks can be arranged roughly under—

(1) Imports and exports.
(2) Gold and silver.
(3) Invisible trade.
(4) Capital movements.

But as no accurate figures can indeed be available under all the above headings specially three and four being purely conjectural it is only a rough idea that can be gained of the actual

their operations. As a guarantee against repudiation the investment of the foreign banks in London would be of some use.

9. See the Memorandum of the League of Nations on International Trade and Balance of Payments, 1913-1927, pp. 143-150.

exchange business transactions. To these must of course be added pure exchange speculations which can only be left to wild conjecture or happy guess. After the recent war this business has increased enormously but it is not yet the usual practice on the part of the Indian merchants to cover all exchange transactions of theirs.

Exchange Rates.

Orthodox foreignexcha nge theory asks us to analyse supply and demand for understanding the fluctuations in the exchange rates. The modern exponents of this theory like Cassel, Keynes and others consider the purchasing power parity as the true indicator of the trend of changes in the foreign exchange rates at least in the long run.[10] During the short period speculation, budgetary situation, and capital movements, exercise their influence. Due to the fact that the Government of India pursues a policy of stabilising exchanges the deviations from the artificially established par cannot be very wide nor lasting for a long time. During the slack season the exchange rates would be at the lower level or the gold export point and unless monetary stringency were to act as a buoy exchange practically would be only roughly $\frac{1}{32}$*d.* or $\frac{1}{64}$*d.* above the gold export point from the country *viz.*, 1*s.* $5\frac{49}{64}$*d.* Within these limits it is the exchange banks which receive exchange news from the chief important centres of the world that determine the rates every day on the foreign countries. These are published in the local newspapers on the next day. The other Indian Joint-Stock Banks who conceivably conduct foreign exchange on a limited scale for their own customers adjust their rates on the foreign exchange bank rates. Though there is not much brisk activity on the part

[10] See Gustav Cassel, The World's Monetary Problems, J. M. Keynes, Tract on Monetary Reform, p. 88. See Angell, Theory of International Prices, pp. 188-90 ; Nogaro, The Modern Monetary System; D. Bordes The Austrian Crown, pp. 198-200; U. S. Commission, Gold and Silver Inquiry Series, 9 (1925).

of the Indian Exchange brokers some amount of arbitraging in exchanges and dealings in futures are entered into on their own account. They are undoubtedly busy making and receiving quotations of rates from merchants and banks and it is not germane to this topic to discuss their activity and bustle at the telephone."[11] Their anticipations however do contribute something towards levelling the exchange rates.

Characteristic Features of Exchange Fluctuations.

A scientific study of the exchange rates points out that there are two distinct features, *viz.*, the strengthening of the exchange rate in the busy season and the slackening of the exchange rate in the monsoon season when it is at the lowest level. This general movement is usually smooth and no wide range and spread of fluctuations present itself. The lack of trade or export bills, the abundance of money in the slack season which is usually in the first half of the official year (April to September) and the floating of the rupee loans whose sole proceeds have to be converted into foreign currency to finance capital expenditure on goods explain the low exchange rate of the rupee. This is the period of weak exchange. Expanding trade increases export bills and tight money conditions raise the exchange rate to the gold import point of the country. This is the period of strong exchange. Each successive season these features are reproduced with almost clocklike regularity. Under the Gold Exchange Standard system there was a literal pegging of the exchange rates of the silver rupee and no great deviations or spread of the rates could be noticed in either of the seasons. The releasing of gold or gold exchange from the Gold Standard Reserve at the gold export point from the country and the purchasing of unlimited quantities of sterling whether required for immediate *bona fide* expenditure use of the Govern-

[11] For a comparison and contrast of the work of our Exchange Brokers with those of the West see F. T. Rushforth, The Indian Exchange Problem and Phillip's Modern Foreign Exchange.

ment or not when the exchange rate is fast rising, are the present-day methods to curb the exchange fluctuations. Acting as the currency authority the Government have been in a position to have tolerable control over the exchange market. On the whole the system has worked fairly well. At certain times the Government did not resort to the release of gold from the Gold Standard Reserve at the gold export point but have used the "Defence Treasury Bills" to contract currency and steady exchange at $\frac{1}{64}d.$ higher than the gold export point from the country. Similarly gold might not have been permitted to enter the country by unlimited sale of purchase of sterling at a lower rate than the gold import point of the country. According to some measure or other the cherished object of stability of exchange has been realised. The statutory obligation under the Indian Currency Act of 1927 is being fulfilled. Exchange remains pegged at the 1*s.* 6*d.* ratio. The Bankers who dislike the treasury bills floated at competitive rates or even higher rates might have noticed a few malpractices. The Government are undoubtedly feeling the strain to maintain exchange a burdensome one but the net result that the ratio has been observed must be conceded. The *status quo* has always been maintained and there was no serious exchange slump at any time during these two years under the regime of 1*s.* 6*d.* ratio.

Present-Day Characteristics of the Exchange Market.

Throughout this vast continent there is not one important city that can be called the "New York" or "London" of India. The position of either the Clive Street of Calcutta or the wider money market of Bombay cannot be compared with that of the Wall Street in America or that of the Lombard Street in the United Kingdom. Though Bombay has greater share of exchange dealings than either Calcutta or Madras it would be entirely erroneous to minimise the importance of Karachi and Rangoon as important exchange markets.

Compared with the dim early beginning of the exchange markets the first salient characteristic is the close competition that exists in the market. This can be easily discerned by noting "the narrowing" of the exchange points,[12] while formerly the difference used to be ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1*d.* on a rupee the present-day difference is only *d.* on the average. Difference in exchange might sometimes be as low as $\frac{1}{64}$*d.* or even worse as compared with the fair difference of the earlier days.[13] Direct rates between Calcutta and the foreign money centres other than London have also been established under the stress of free competition. But such firm connection as exists with London is not to be met with in the case of the foreign centres.

Nextly, many exchange bills D/A and D/P have arisen under the documentary credit principle. With the growth of the volume of trade the market has become wide as well as steady. Banker's clean bills have also arisen to a certain extent. A clean continuing letter of credit is not

[12] The following quotation from the Bombay Castle Gazette explains the exchange operations of the Oriental Bank, the first really strong foreign exchange bank of this country as Benjamin White puts it :

Exchange on London	at six months' sight above	£50 at 1*s.*-10 and 1/4*d.*	per Re.
,, ,,	at three ,, ,,	£20 at 1*s.*-9 and 7/8*d.*	,,
,, ,,	at one ,, ,,	£20 at 1*s.*-9 and 5/8*d.*	,,
,, ,,	at one day's sight above	£5 at 1*s.*-9 and 1/2*d.*	,,

See, the notification of the Oriental Bank in the Bombay Castle Gazette, Rampart Row, 12th Sept., 1849.

A comparison of the above with modern exchange rate quotations makes this plain, *On Oct. 5th, 1929*, exchange rates in Calcutta were as follows :

T.T.	1*s.*-5$\frac{27}{32}$*d.*
on Demand	1*s.*-5$\frac{27}{32}$*d.*
Banks buying	
three months' sight bills	1*s.*-6$\frac{1}{4}$*d.*
four months' sight bills	1*s.*-6$\frac{3}{8}$*d.*
six months' ,,	1*s.*-6$\frac{19}{32}$*d.*
sight bills	1*s.*-6*d.*
T.T.	1*s.*-5$\frac{15}{16}$*d.*

[13] See the Speech of the Chairman of the Chartered Bank of India, Annual meeting, March, 1928.

generally issued to the Indian importer as yet. So far as the time-length of the bills is considered thirty, sixty, and ninety days' bills have come into vogue. Sterling bills are predominant and there are not very many rupee bills even in the matter of our trade with the Eastern countries. The lack of an open discount market precludes the early development of the rupee bills and the absence of the latter has been rendering it difficult to create a short term money market where these can be discounted. This is the vicious circle facing the banking reformers at the present day. The habits of the merchants and the industrialists also must change before bills of exchange can become more abundant. "Manufactured bills" for emergency currency purposes arise in the busy season and practically disappear when the Imperial bank realises no such necessity.[14] The market for the exchange bills consists practically of the exchange brokers and the exchange banks. There are not a large number of buyers of hundies in the native bazar even, as in the case of the newly created bill market in the federal Reserve banking system.[15] The sole burden of financing exports and imports consequently falls on these foreign exchange banks and the London money market in so far as the latter rediscounts the export bills of the Exchange Banks.

Again there is not much of bank acceptance by the Indian Joint Stock Banks as in the case of the London Acceptance Credit or the Federal Reserve Banking system of America. Unless an extensive use of bank acceptances is forthcoming and an adequate market exists there would be no proper co-ordination between the activities of the two kinds of banks, *viz.*, the exchange and the commercial banks. The absence of rupee bills in the import trade is still a marked feature. If the exchange banks need adequate funds for their operations in India there is at present no means of rediscounting or disposing of their import

[14] See A. C. McWatters, Memorandum before the Hilton-Young Commission.

[15] See W. R. Burgess, The Federal Reserve Banks and the Money Market, Chapter on the Bill Market.

bills in this country. They fall back on the Imperial Bank and secure advances on securities or rediscount their DIA export bills in London and send their resources to finance their Indian business.

The Imperial Bank and the Exchange Banks.

The old historical error that the exchange banks financed foreign trade solely with the help of their own capital resources during the years 1860 to 1900 needs no refutation at all.[16] The Imperial Bank of India finances foreign trade only when it helps the exchange banks who might feel reluctant to move funds from London if better money rates were to prevail there or if rapidly fluctuating exchange rates would threaten to involve them in heavy losses if they were to resort to London. If Indian rates are not high enough the same result would happen. The exchange Banks would secure advances on securities from the Imperial Bank and dependence on the Imperial Bank becomes a marked feature at such times. Thus it indirectly contributes at such times towards the financing of foreign trade. But if the Government were to force the Imperial Bank to raise the bank rate to 8 per cent. as it was done in February, 1929, it might tempt the exchange banks to remove funds to India but much depends on the prospects of the money rates in London and India than anything else. The fluidity of capital depends more on interest rates prevailing at the time than any administrative measures. It would not be far wrong to say that under certain circumstances the Imperial Bank might be forced to finance foreign trade also. It must also be remembered that the Imperial Bank is allowed to conduct foreign exchange business to meet the personal

16 See the Memorial of the Exchange Banks to the Viceroy sent on the 3rd February, 1900, quoted in the Appendix XV, p. 409. Chamberlain Commission, Interim Report, and the Letter of the Government of India sent to the Secretary of State on the 3rd December 1900. *Ibid*, Appendix XV, p. 407.

requirements of its customers alone. This amounts on an average to about six crores of rupees.

B. RAMCHANDRA RAU

(To be continued)

THE SPELL

No matter how I strive to shut my heart
To all the magic beauty of the East,
Its echoes sound for ever hauntingly,
I close my eyes and hear again the throb
Of muted drums, or melodies of flutes;
I breathe the mingled perfumes of the night ;
I see the creeping beauty of the palms
In silhouette against the moonlit sky ;
I feel the old enchantment in my soul;
I would be calmly unresponsive ;
Serene with reason and philosophy,
Yet all my senses leap to join once more
The pageantry of dreams that India brings.

LILY STRICKLAND

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF LOCKE'S THEORY OF RELATIONS.

I

It is hard to reconcile the discussion of knowledge in the fourth Book of the *Essay* with the analysis of ideas in Book II. In the latter, Locke had so frequently treated isolated ideas as themselves complete contents of knowledge that it perplexes us to find him in the former maintaining that, in order to know, we must first have ideas and then perceive their agreement or disagreement. In point of fact, almost all the difficulties of Locke's theory of knowledge centre round his ambiguous use of the term 'idea.' When he refers to stimulation of the senses as giving rise to ideas, he is dealing with the natural conditions under which a change in the mental life comes about. He is employing the term 'idea' to denote a particular phase of the conscious subject's existence,—in the sense, namely, in which Bradley spoke of the 'psychological idea.' But when, on the other hand, he introduces by aid of the preposition 'of' the thought of relation, he is using the term in an altogether different significance. The 'idea *of* blue' or 'the idea *of* extension,' for example, is a short mode of stating a highly complicated fact,—knowledge, namely, on the part of the conscious subject of some definitely distinguishable feature or characteristic, a knowledge which involves reference by the conscious subject to this feature or characteristic as distinct from himself as knowing or apprehending. These two significations are, however, *toto genere* distinct. In the one case, we are naming a mental event or occurrence; in the other case, we are not naming an event or occurrence at all, but a portion of the wider whole that may be called 'knowledge.' A psychological investigation of the mode of origin of 'ideas' is never an adequate treatment of 'ideas' in the epistemological sense.

Moreover, when Locke is strictly true to his definition of the term 'idea,' as 'the object of the understanding when a man thinks,' it is clear that he is regarding it as in its own nature an individual fact. So conceived an 'idea' occupies an intermediate position. On the one hand, it is distinct from the faculties or operations of the mind which may be exercised upon it. And, on the other hand, it is equally distinct from the real external object knowledge—no reasoning, no imagination, no distinct thoughts at all. A man infallibly knows, we are told, that what he calls white and round are the very ideas they are and are not such ideas as he calls red and square, yet, as Hume was presently to insist, identity does not mean simple unity. If we are to speak of an 'idea' as the 'same with itself' that must mean that it is the 'same with itself in its manifold appearances,'—that is to say, we must be acquainted with something that exists continuously. Locke apparently does take identity to be equivalent in meaning with unity. And, according to the account he had given in the second Book, the idea of unity is a simple idea, given to us, that is to say, and not therefore involving any intellectual act on our part. Every idea of sense, every idea of reflection, is one, and accordingly unity is 'suggested to the understanding by every object without and every idea within.'[1] But how is it possible, on Locke's premises, that an idea can be simple which is not 'given' through any of the avenues by which sense 'ideas' are said by him to be 'given,' and which is certainly not 'given' as an 'idea of reflection'? Sense-qualities and mental states,—these are objects directly known, and are, therefore, it is assumed, contents of ideas which are 'simple.' If, then, unity is involved in every simple idea, it must be a part of the content of that simple idea. Obviously, however, it is not; and even if it were, the mere fact of its being so would not account for its being recognised as such and as being common to 'every object

[1] II. 7. 7. (All references are to Fraser's edition of the *Essay Concerning Human Understanding.*)

without and 'every idea within.' Evidently an act of discriminating would be necessary even for distinguishing one part of the content from the rest of the content of a 'simple idea' from the rest of its content; and, on Locke's own shewing, the result would not be entitled to the designation of a 'simple idea.'

A similar consideration holds with reference to the idea of existence. Like the idea of unity, it is said to be a simple idea of sensation and reflection, 'suggested to the understanding by every object without and every idea within.'[1] This statement involves, as Green points out,[2] that every so-called 'simple idea' is, in truth, composite, made up of that which distinguishes it from other ideas and of that which it has in common with other ideas; and, since it appertains to all ideas, there would appear to be no means of determining the content of this common element. Yet Locke expressly distinguishes 'real ideas' from what he calls fantastical ideas,' and describes the former as having 'conformity with the existence of things,[3] whereas the latter have not. The truth is there is perpetual equivocation in the *Essay* between *an existent idea* and *the idea of existence*. Every idea, however 'fantastical' it may be, according to Locke's own shewing, exists ('when ideas are in our minds, we consider them as being actually there'); but only some ideas are 'real' as being ideas of existent entities ('we consider things to be actually without us,—which is that they exist or have existence').

It is, however, totally impossible to identify these two meanings of the term 'existence.' Indeed, one might raise the question whether, in any sense in which the term 'existence' is applied to 'things,' it is applicable to an 'idea,' when by that is meant a content apprehended, at all. The process or act of apprehending is doubtless an existent in the same sense in which

[1] II. 7. 7.
[2] Introduction to Hume's *Treatise*.
[3] II. 8

an external thing is said to be ; but whether an 'idea ' defined as 'the object of the understanding when a man thinks' is properly so designated is another matter. But the point I wish here to emphasize is the following : There can be no doubt that Locke repeatedly represents knowledge or experience as beginning with the awareness of ' simple ideas ' which are 'given' devoid of relation, and the mind as, by an activity of its own, proceeding to bring them into relation and to compound them. These simple ideas are, we are told, 'the materials of all our knowledge' ; and when the understanding is once stored with them, 'it has the power to repeat, compare, and write them, even to an almost infinite variety, and so can make at pleasure new complex ideas.[1] Or, again, ' the senses at first let in *particular* ideas, and furnish the yet empty cabinet, and the mind by degrees growing familiar with some of them, they are lodged in the memory, and names got to them. Afterwards, the mind, proceeding further, abstracts them, and by degrees learns the use of general names.[2] On the other hand, he no less frequently represents knowledge as beginning with the awareness of real things, and then takes 'ideas' to be ' ideas of ' such real things. The transition in the *Essay* from passages such as those just cited to others in which the senses are said to 'convey into the mind distinct perceptions of things' is surprisingly frequent. It is true that Locke warns us that if he speaks sometimes of ideas as in the things themselves, he is to be understood to mean those qualities in the objects which produce 'ideas' in us,[3] and that these qualities are merely 'powers' in the things in question to excite effects.[4] Yet the fact remains that he does assume that in some way we have ideas of the entities in which these powers reside, that we are not without ideas of the ' primary qualities ' of bodies, and that in some cases,

1 II. 2. 2.
2 I. 1. 15.
3 II. 8. 8.
4 II. 21. 2.

at least, we are acquainted with their 'particular bulk, figure, and motion.'[1] What, now, does this imply? It implies, in the first place, that ideas of bodies are ideas of substances. Locke's account of the 'idea of substance' is notoriously halting and confusing. He finds himself under the necessity of including in the whole complex idea of a 'thing' a part which is not capable of being referred to any simple idea. We enumerate the various qualities of a so-called 'thing,' each of these being referrable to a simple idea, and 'not imagining how these simple ideas can subsist by themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some *substratum* wherein they do subsist.'[2] Here, then, is an idea, very void certainly of content, not explicable by reference to any simple idea whether of sensation or of reflection, and apparently imposed upon us by certain necessities of what is called 'imagination.' Locke did not, it would seem, consider what would follow had he been true to his principle that ideas not supplied by either sense or reflection are 'fictitious' and 'unreal.' The difficulties of the matter do not, however, end here. Along one line of reflexion, Locke appears to be saying that we first have the 'relative' idea of substance in general, and then come to have ideas of particular sorts of substances.[3] Whereas, along another line of reflexion, he appears to hold that ideas of particular sorts of substance are prior to the general idea of substance, and that the latter results from a process of abstraction.[4] Yet, on the one hand, it is expressly affirmed that 'general and universal belong not to the real existence of things.'[5] And on the other hand, it is well-nigh impossible to understand how particular sorts of something 'we know not what' can be supposed to be primarily apprehended. On the one hand, the idea of substance is spoken of as compelling us to refer our ideas to the objective

[1] IV. 3. 24.
[2] II. 23. 1.
[3] II. 23. 3.
[4] II. 23. 6.
[5] III. 3. 11.

world of real fact,[1] and, on the other hand, it is insisted that this objective reference must be regarded as dependent on a problematic inference restricted to empirical combinations,[2] although, in the first *Letter* to Stillingfleet, the protest is lodged that the *being* of substance is not in any way rendered doubtful by the obscure and imperfect ideas we have of it. And, in the second place, in regard to the position above indicated, a fundamental consideration is this. If knowledge is supposed to start, as Locke seems driven in the end to suppose it does start, with the crude apprehension of complexes, that are in fact empirical conjunctions of simple ideas, and if each of these announces itself as an 'ectype' of an 'archetype,' although not necessarily a different archetype to each idea, it follows inevitably that relations must be regarded as veritable factors in existent entities, as subsisting, namely, between these existent entities, and between constituents of them. And, in truth, Locke was constrained to acknowledge this in so many words. "Most of the simple ideas that make up our complex ideas of substance are, he says, "only powers," or, "but so many relations to other substances."[3] It is clear from his statements that he is assuming that the relation of cause and effect is involved in the being of particular substances. "Secondary qualities are," he says, "nothing but the powers (which) substances have to produce several ideas in us by our senses, which ideas are not in the things themselves, otherwise than as anything is in its cause."[4] So, again, he tells us, in dealing with the relation of cause and effect[5] that, whatever is considered by us to operate to the producing any particular simple idea which did not before exist has for us the relation of a cause. And it is obvious from what he goes on to say that he is taking for granted that the relation between cause and effect holds between things or

[1] II. 23. 4.
[2] IV. 4. 11 and 12.
[3] II. 23. 37.
[4] II. 23. 9.
[5] II. 26. 1.

events in nature. Moreover, it is no less obvious that numerous relations,—those, for example, of place and extension, of succession in time, even those of identity and diversity—are frequently taken to be actual features in the external world.

Yes, but the trouble is that, in other connections, Locke is just as emphatic in declaring that ideas of relation, in common with complex ideas generally, are purely the 'work of the mind.' Whatever is not immediately given either by outer or inner sensation is regarded a mere 'thing of the mind.' Complex ideas are not given directly as manifestations of outward things or of the inner life ; they are 'invented by the understanding.' Substance, whether as an abstract or as a complex idea, is the 'workmanship of the mind ;' and if different statements in the *Essay* be put together (*e.g.*, II.21.3 and II 25.8), it would follow that power, as a relation, 'is not contained in the real existence of things.' And so, too, the idea of cause is not one of those which 'the mind has of things as they are in themselves,' but one which it obtains by bringing things to, and setting them by one another.'[1] In fine, ideas of relation, like those of substance, would seem, in pursuance of this line of argument, to be a direct contribution of the mind itself to the stock of ideas which were said, at the outset, to constitute 'all the materials of thinking,' and thus to fall outside the general view of 'experience' which had been proposed. Indeed, we are expressly told that relations are 'not contained in the real existence of things, but (are) something extraneous and superinduced,'[2] that they have 'no other reality but what they have in the minds of men,' and, consequently, ideas of them, as being archetypes, cannot differ from their archetypes.[3]

Even Professor Gibson, who strives to show that Locke is not exposed to much of the criticism that has been brought to bear on the *Essay*, is compelled to acknowledge that the

[1] II. 25. 1.
[2] II. 25. 8.
[3] II. 30. 4.

denial of the reality of relations is 'too prominent to be overlooked.'[1] But, he urges, it is not because they cannot be given as units of merely sensible experience that they are declared to be unreal; it is because the admission of their reality would be inconsistent with the traditional ontological scheme, which Locke had inherited of real entities as substances possessed of qualities. "The admission that relations to one another entered into the being of substances would have been fatal to the self-contained and independent existence which these were thought to possess." Accordingly, he thinks relations were conceived as purely accidental and 'external,' having no basis in the nature of their terms; and, in the last resort "the attempt was made to preserve the purity of the doctrine of substance by declaring them to be merely ideal." It is, however, difficult to discover this trend of thought in what Locke actually says. On the contrary, his reiterated contention is that we have no clear idea of substance at all, only a confused obscure idea of what it does, that we talk like children about it, and that it is only by the combinations of simple ideas and nothing else that we represent particular sorts of substances to ourselves. So far, then, from accepting the scholastic notion of substance, he would seem rather to be all the while inveighing against it.

The truth is, I think, that the inconsistency which I have been exhibiting is to be traced back to the initial position assumed by Locke with respect to 'experience.' Starting from the conception of a real world in which individual minds by their faculties participate, he naturally proceeded to interpret the 'experience' of the individual mind as resulting from the action of external entities upon it. It was equally natural for him to distinguish between the *reality* of that which is purely and simply 'given,' of that which is directly conveyed or transmitted to the mind, and the *unreality* of such additions

[1] *Locke's Theory of Knowledge* (Cambridge University Press), by James Gibson.

as may result from the mere play of the mind's own operations. The successive stages by which Locke was driven to qualify, amend, and even to contradict his initial position shews clearly enough that from that position no coherent theory of knowledge can be developed. Locke was throughout embarrassed by the necessity of retaining at the same time the view of ideas as being directly 'given,' as claiming, therefore, a right to the designation 'real,' *and* the view of those ideas as facts of mind, as being, therefore, no more than representative of the real. When ideas are regarded, in accordance with the former point of view, as independent entities, agreeing or disagreeing with one constantly combining together, or only coinciding *per accidens,* relations are inevitably conceived as 'extraneous and superinduced'; when ideas are regarded, in accordance with the latter point of view, as representative of the real, it becomes equally inevitable to recognise that 'there would be no room for positive knowledge at all, if we could not distinguish relation between our ideas.[1] But what Locke's procedure conclusively illustrates is the impossibility of writing both these points of view in one coherent doctrine of knowledge.

II

It is worth while pursuing somewhat further the conception of relations as the 'workmanship of the mind,' seeing that in one form or another this conception has played a prominent part in much subsequent speculation.

What Locke was bent upon doing, so far as our knowledge of external things is concerned, was to assign to sense-affection if not the whole, at all events the more important share in determining the significance of the phrase 'real existence.' And yet, as we have seen, it was impossible for him to remain true to this position. While, on the one hand, contending that ideas produced in the mind 'enter by the senses simple

[1]IV. 1. 5.

and unmixed',[1] that is to say, as unrelated units, he was nevertheless forced, on the other hand, to recognise that all ideas, of what kind soever, when attentively considered, include in them some kind of relation.[2] Take, for example, such ideas as those involved in every apprehension we have of external things, —the ideas, namely, of extension, duration, motion, power. All ideas of extension are said to contain a 'secret relation of parts.' The idea of figure is 'nothing but the relation which the parts of the termination of extension, or circumscribed space, have amongst themselves.'[3] In our idea of place, 'we consider the relation of distance betwixt anything, and any two or more points, which are considered as keeping the same distance one with another, and so considered as at rest.'[4] Again, men are said to derive their ideas of duration from reflecting on the train of ideas that succeed one another in their own understandings and without which they could have no notion of duration whatever might happen in the world.[5] Most of the denominations of things received from time are declared to be 'only relations.'[6] So too, the idea of notion is treated as an idea of relation; each phase of movement perishing the moment it begins, it cannot exist in different times, or in different places, as permanent entities can. And, once more, our idea of power, although it 'may well have a place among other simple ideas, and be considered as one of them,' yet includes in it some kind of relation, —a relation, namely, to action or change.[7] But when so much has been granted, it is evident that the ground has been cut from under the contention that the only real factor in our knowledge of external things

[1] II. 2. 1.
[2] II. 21. 3.
[3] II 13. 5.
[4] II. 13. 7.
[5] II. 14. 4.
[6] II. 26. 3.
[7] II. 21. 3.

is that which is represented by the given, constrained, impressed character of sense-affection.

The full significance of the question with which I am here concerned may perhaps best be brought out by comparing Locke's doctrine, in this context, with what is certainly the much more developed analysis undertaken by Kant in the first *Critique.* After the manner of Locke, although probably without having been directly influenced by the *Essay*, Kant proceeds by instituting a sharp distinction between the merely passive character of sensibility and the active function of the understanding. Through the former, sense-data are received through the latter; they are combined and referred to objects. Intuitions and notions, although wholly distinct in character and having different roots in human nature, are yet so related that except by their union no knowledge of objects is possible. No consideration is more emphatically insisted on by Kant than that the synthesis or conjunction involved in the knowledge of objects is never given. The material supplied must be abstractly represented after the fashion of isolated units, in no coherent connexion with one another. The special function of the understanding is, then, to introduce synthesis or connectedness into what would otherwise be a disjointed 'manifold' and taken in reference to mental action, such unification is always expressible as a 'notion' (*Begriff*). And it appeared to Kant possible to contemplate this process of unifying, or of forming notions, and thereby making indeterminate particulars matter of knowledge, quite in *abstracts* to isolate the understanding and to lay out the different lines along which its synthetical operations would proceed. The categories were, in fact, the several ways in which the synthesising or relating activity of the understanding expresses or manifests itself in arranging the material of sense-intuition. Now when Kant's table of categories is compared with the various 'ideas' that, under the head of 'simple' and 'mixed' modes, Locke had differentiated, it becomes apparent that, although the

Kantian distribution is unquestionably the more methodical and systematic, yet it is in no small measure anticipated in Locke's cruder treatment. The categories of quantity (unity; plurality, totality) are, for instance, clearly forestalled in what Locke has to say of unity, diversity and number, and, although the categories of quality (reality, negation and limitation) are not explicitly differentiated, they are certainly implied in what Locke refers to under other headings, whereas the so-called categories of relation (substance, cause, and interdependence) are discussed at length. Nor would it be altogether erroneous to assert that Locke anticipated to some extent the critical view of the function of the categories. It is true that Kant himself accuses Locke of '*sensualising* all notions of the understanding, that is, representing them as nothing but empirical, though abstract, reflective notions.' But the accusation was, in fact, ill-founded. On the contrary, Locke certainly assumed an operation of the understanding that was *sui generis*, an operation that gave rise to ' ideas ' through means of which the raw materials of sense were elaborated and worked up into the form of objects.

And the point I wish to make is this. Thus to separate the shares contributed by sense and understanding, whether the contributions be regarded as due to the operation of supposed faculties or however else they may be accounted for, is inevitably tantamount to conceiving the object known as a combination, or *product* in which these two detached factors somehow come together. Such was, in truth, Locke's view ; and in his hands it led to a conclusion which, although differently expressed, is almost identical with that in which Kant too so frequently tended,—namely, that the element of reality in knowledge is that which is furnished to the mind from without. Whatsoever was added to the given ideas of sense Locke, as we have seen, designated 'ideal,' and he tries, at any rate, to allow to it no share in determining the content of the real. The fate that attends a violent separation

of that sort is seen perhaps most openly in the *Essay.* After the *real* element has been thus severed from the *ideal* contribution of the mind, it has to be admitted that in all the 'given,' so far as it is a matter of knowledge at all, there is relation, that relations imply the mind, and that the secret core of real existence is for us an idea in regard to the content of which we can determine nothing,—the idea, namely, of substance. In this connexion, there is to be found an interesting approximation to Locke's result in one of Kant's well-known contentions. It is, Kant maintains, a primary function of the understanding to refer our perceptions to a 'something' as the object of sensuous intuition. But this 'something' is no more than the 'transcendental object,' an X, of which we know nothing, and of which we can, from the actual structure of our understanding, know nothing, but which merely has the function of standing as a correlate of the unity of apperception to manifold in sensuous intuition. This pure concept of 'something=X,' which is said to be contained in all our apprehension, bears a striking resemblance to the 'uncertain supposition of we know not what' that Locke was bound to recognise as lying at the basis of our cognition of 'things.'

The *impasse* just noted would seem of itself to indicate that there must be something wrong with the premisses from which it has resulted. The fault lies, I think, at the door of the uncritical view of sense-apprehension that is assumed at the start. If sense-data be conceived as 'impressions' made upon the mind by certain hypothetical external 'powers,' there is nothing for it but to regard them as unrelated, disconnected units, which require to be somehow arranged and welded together in order to constitute objects of knowledge. And, in that case, it is equally inevitable that the relating activity should be represented as a function of what, in contrast to mere sensibility, may not unnaturally be designated 'understanding.' or 'thought,' and that relations should be interpreted as dependent, both for their being and recognition, upon

mind. As against this view, I would however, contend that the initial fact in our experience is never of the nature of that passive reception which was the meaning given to the term 'sensation' both by Locke and Kant. In sense-apprehension there is doubtless stimulation of the organs of sense, but the stimuli are not *what* we apprehend; rather are they the occasioning conditions which give rise to the occurrence of the *act* of apprehending, and which do not enter into the content apprehended. The act of apprehension which is thus occasioned is directed not upon a disconnected multiplicity of 'impressions,' for there are none such, but upon a real thing, the characteristics of which are already related to one another and to the whole of which they are characteristics. And in and through the act of apprehension, the conscious subject gradually comes to distinguish these qualities and to recognise their modes of relation. When, for example, I judge that 'this is a book,' I do not 'superinduce' an idea or concept of unity upon a number of data that were previously destitute of it. Doubtless, the data are multiple; but they exhibit a unity of outline, of spatial position, and so on, which is as 'real' a factor in the given whole as the multiplicity itself. Again, it is doubtless true that the notion of unity is implied in any use of the term 'book;' but it does not follow from this that the idea or concept of unity is for me prior to the apprehension of the book. The truth rather is that unity as well as multiplicity is found or discovered in things, whereas the idea or notion of unity is arrived at by analysis of things or objects that are one. In *this* relation the abstract is not temporally prior but posterior to the concrete, the idea or notion to the apprehended fact. Or consider the causal relation. Here certainly we are not concerned with a relation which is *given* in the direct way in which spatial relations or such relations as resemblance and difference may be said to be given. But, for all that, it does not follow that the abstract notion of this relation is prior in our experience to concrete and particular

exemplifications of it, or that our empirical judgments as to the connexion of events in the realm of sense-perception are based on the general concept on causality, or that no experience of objective fact would be possible except in and through the thought of a universal order of sequence. In this instance, Locke, in his naive and inconsistent manner, would appear to be nearer the truth than Kant. For he did not recognise that our simplest representations of real change contains, not the abstract, not notion of cause, but concrete instances of constancy of relation on the strength of which the idea or concept of causation is subsequently formed. "Everything that has a beginning must have a cause is," he writes to Stillingfleet, "a true principle of reason, or a proposition certainly true; which we come to know by contemplating our ideas and perceiving that the idea of beginning to be is necessarily connected with the idea of something operating, which we call a cause; and so the beginning to be is perceived to agree with the idea of a cause, as is expressed in the proposition." And he agrees that the changes which we apprehend but do not initiate—we likewise come to refer to causes which we think of as efficient in producing them.

Relations in things are, then, I conclude, apprehended by precisely the same process of cognitive activity as the qualitative characteristics of these same things,—a process involving always discrimination and comparison. There is no reason whatever for assuming that the constituents and the relations are given by different processes. In apprehending the former we are likewise apprehending the latter. If, for example, we distinguish a square from an oblong, we must likewise distinguish the relations of the lines composing these figures. The contents which we apprehend are invariably wholes consisting of related elements, and the elementary relations of things are no less 'given,' in any intelligible sense of that term; than the elementary qualities of them are. Just because there are no contents 'given' without relations, it follows

that there is no need to postulate a mental activity to acquaint us with relations except the capacity to apprehend them.

III.

The crucial difficulties in Locke's view of relations come perhaps most pointedly to the surface when we proceed to inquire as to the way in which he deals with two distinct kinds of relation that require to be distinguished,—namely, relations between truths and relations between existent things or their characteristics.

In 'ideas' is to be found, according to the theory, the material of our knowledge; the mind in all its thoughts and reasonings hath no other immediate object but its own ideas. Knowledge can, then be concerned with ideas only, and accordingly, is defined as the perception of the connexion and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy, of any of our ideas. But in this definition it is not made apparent that account must be taken of the two aspects which 'ideas,' according to Locke, possess,—(*a*) their immediate aspect, as the direct objects of our thought, and (*b*) their representative aspect, as the media through which we come to know of what is real or existent. The term 'agreement,' or 'disagreement' is intended, then, to cover these two different ways in which 'ideas' may be regarded in our thinking. On the one hand, we may regard them in their immediate aspect and become aware of the relations of various kinds among ideas as objects. On the other hand, we may regard them as representative, and their agreement or relation will mean the connexion between the idea as a medium of knowledge and the real thing which is represented by it. As a result, it is evident that knowledge, regarded as the sum of truths, may be divided into two kinds,—(*i*) proposition which concern only ideas, 'ideal propositions,' as they may be called, and (*ii*) propositions concerning real existence which is made known to us more or less completely and certainly, 'real propositions,'

(1) In the first case, the agreement or disagreement is discoverable, so far as it can be discovered, in the ideas themselves. No reference to existence other than that of the 'ideas' is required for such knowledge. Certain important consequences follow. In the first place such knowledge is essentially intuitive in character ; the relations between the ideas compared are such as are directly apprehended. Within this range is to be included demonstration, the peculiar features of which is the insertion of intermediate ideas by means of which there is apprehended the relation between the two ideas compared. Demonstration depends on intuition, for, however many or few the intermediate ideas may be, the relations involved in each must be intuitively apprehended. In the second place, since the relations apprehended are given in the ideas themselves, there may be here perfect generality of statement. Our assertions may be universal in scope for they concern no particular matter of fact ; or if we give to such assertions a kind of reference to existent fact, it is altogether hypothetical in character,—we assert only that existent fact, so far as it conforms to our ideas, will possess the relations apprehended in those ideas.

It is obvious, I take it, that Locke altogether failed to make explicit the fundamental feature in this doctrine of purely ideal knowledge,—the apprehension, namely, of relations. If the ideas be taken in Locke's fashion *as objects*, we might perhaps admit that such a relation as that of identity and difference would be directly apprehended, as consequent upon the natural fact that each idea as it exists in the mind is an individual entity, and is, therefore, itself and different from any other. But whether such perception of difference could give rise, in a mind constituted as he takes it to be, to a proposition in which the relation is predicated is another and much more difficult question. Locke is all the while assuming that the relations supposed to subsist will be at once perceived and made the predicates of propositions, whereas it is very evident that no such

manipulation would be possible except when the mind and its operations be radically different from his conception of them. There is, however, a more important variety of relations among truths,—that, namely, in which one truth or proposition is said to involve or imply another. In this relationship of *implication* we have to do with a connexion that is essentially internal It is a relation of ***necessary connexion*** between propositions, whereby we know that if *p* is true, then *q* is true. The types of relation that carry with them this relation of implication are extremely numerous ; the relation of implication between two propositions is, in fact, an essential condition of inferring the one from the other. But the difficulty is that an 'ideá' is consistently represented by Locke as an *object* of the mind, and as, therefore, in its own nature, an individual fact. "The immediate object of all our reasoning and knowledge is," he says, in dealing with the syllogism "nothing but particulars. Every man's reasoning and knowledge is only about the ideas, existing in his own mind, which are truly, every one of them, particular existences ; and our knowledge and reason about other things is only as they correspond with these our particular ideas. So that the perception of the agreement or disagreement of our particular ideas is the whole and utmost of our knowledge. Universality is but accidental to it, and consists only in this, that the particular ideas about which it is are such as more than one particular thing can correspond with and be represented by. If, then, particular individual objects are all that we are cognisant of, how is to possible to apprehend a universal relation, such as that of implication, a relation which is certainly not contained in one idea and which simply cannot be so much as stated as a relation between *objects* ? It was, indeed, precisely on account of his view of the individuality of ideas *as objects* that Locke rejected general axioms as principles of reasoning,[2]

[1] IV. 17. 8.
[2] IV. 7. 10.

and, on a similar ground, he ought to have denied the legitimacy of implication and inference.

(2) As regards the second type of knowledge, real propositions concerning the relation of ideas to existent fact, the question as to how far the relations apprehended among ideas can be regarded as holding good in things other than ideas is obviously the pressing one. In the first place, it has to be noted that, according to Locke, ' things ' not being ' ideas ' cannot be directly compared with ideas. In respect to this type of proposition there can be, therefore, neither intuitive nor demonstrative certainty. In fact, it is admitted that to call it ' knowledge ' at all is to do violence to the term ; we can have here only 'assurance' or what later writers call 'belief.' Such belief may, however, be as satisfactory as knowledge, and it approaches its highest degree of validity in proportion as we can secure that the ideas concerned are perfectly simple, not, that is to say, worked up by the mind. That is the case, for example, with the simple ideas of sense-qualities, above all the primary sense qualities, the essential qualities which bodies must possess in order to produce effects on the mind, which ideas are perfectly simple and may accordingly be taken to resemble perfectly the qualities themselves. In the second place, no knowledge of this kind can possess universality, no general propositions certainly true can (with two notable exceptions) be asserted with respect to matters of fact. Even mechanical science, in which propositions of a very general kind connecting primary qualities with derivative ones are laid down, can claim no more than a high degree of hypothetical truth. A proposition which concerns matters of fact must rest upon particular experiences, and is, therefore, in its own nature incapable of being universal.

According to his view, then, knowledge of external nature is only of the kind called practical certainty, nor is it possible to have demonstration within the sphere of natural science. But, probably influenced by Cartesian doctrine, Locke insists that we

have an intuitive knowledge of the self; and, in a way peculiar to himself, he agrees that we have demonstrative evidence of the real existence of God. One can hardly fail to be struck with the impossibility of reconciling the two last contentions with the general ground of the distinction between the two kinds of knowledge.

According to that distinction, intuition or direct apprehension, resulting in self-evident propositions, was restricted to the case in which idea was compared with idea. Indeed, it would be difficult under any definition of intuitive knowledge, and it was specially difficult for Locke with his restriction of knowledge to ideas, to assign any place to intuition when the comparison made is not between two contents apprehended together. But, now, for Locke, the only contents, the only objects of our thought are ideas; a concrete existing thing may be represented by an idea but is never itself an idea ; that, indeed, was the very ground on which the propriety of describing sense-perception as knowledge had been called in question. In what way, then, is it to be supposed that this difficulty is capable of being surmounted in the case of the self? How is it that here there *does* seem to be possible what is required for intuition, a direct comparison of the *idea* of the self with the *actually existing* self? I think it must be answered that, on Locke's premises, no such comparison is possible; and further that he never attempted to explain what he meant by the term 'idea of self.' One might fairly have asked him whether, in truth, there is any such 'idea.'

As regards the existence of God, Locke's contention brings forward another special difficulty in his general analysis of knowledge. It has been a familiar doctrine of logic that there can be no demonstration of a matter of fact, and that doctrine is, of course, in exact accordance with Locke's view. How, then, does Locke, in the particular case before us, contrive to add to the universal relations of ideas the implication of existence? He does so by ascribing a quite peculiar meaning

to the general relation of cause and effect. There is, he agrees, finite existence, as, for example, our own. Being finite, it must be regarded as an effect, and an effect requires a cause, which cause must be an existent. Now, here Locke is putting together two quite different conceptions. The one is the analytical connexion between the notions, cause and effect ; since these notions are correlative, we cannot form the one without the other. The other is the relation between matters of fact which we may call that of necessary connexion. But these two conceptions are *not* identical ; and on Locke's general principle there is no doubt at all that, with regard to the second, his consistent conclusion would have been that, in respect to matters of fact, we are never able to perceive necessary connexion. Clearly, then, the supposed demonstration of the existence of God is incompatible with his view of matters of fact, and it rests upon a quite unjustifiable identification of the merely ideal relation, the relation of the *notions*, cause and effect, with a *real* necessary connexion between concrete existents.

And this brings us back to the perplexity we were discussing under the previous heading. What exactly is meant by a relation among ideas? Locke is all the while giving to ideas a kind of substantive existence ; and, therefore, assimilating their relations to the relations of substantive things to one another. In this way, the difficulty regarding external perception is intensified, because the ' idea ' of an external object comes to be regarded as an intermediary, a *tertium quid*, between the perceiving mind and the thing itself.

M. R. ANNAND

FEDERALISM

Federalism constitutes a happy compromise between the separatist and the unifying forces in a country. When some states come to unite permanently with one another for gaining some common purpose and serving a higher end, two conflicting ideals naturally inspire their inhabitants. They still retain some loyalty to their own state and at the same time feel interested in the progress of the new union. They remain imbued still with a spirit of provincialism but they have to yield to some extent to a wider national sentiment as well. Now they think only in terms of their own territorial community and serve the separate interests of their province ; again, however, they think in terms of the larger nation and serve the interests of this greater society. These two tendencies seem to be conflicting and antagonistic ; they are apparently irreconcilable. The aim of federalism, however, is to bring about a harmony between them. "A federal state," remarks the late Professor Dicey, " is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of state rights."[1] Thus federalism opens out to the people an opportunity of being the citizens of a larger commonwealth without destroying the identity and the special characteristics of their separate territories. They retain to a great extent their old local and provincial attachment and side by side with it develop a wider patriotism. Federalism hence is a convenient half-way house between the centrifugal and the centripetal tendencies in a country.

From the above it is clear that a federal union among some independent political bodies is possible only when a very peculiar sentiment moves the inhabitants of these states.

[1] Law of the Constitution (8th ed.), p. 139.

" They must desire union, and must not desire unity."[1] For some purposes they must be ready to cast in their lot with their neighbours, but in other fields of public activity they must prefer a separate and isolated life. The inhabitants of the different tracts must have a sufficient amount of mutual sympathy. They must have enough of that fellow feeling and neighbourly attachment to enable them to work permanently together for the achievement of common ends. But at the same time these portions of mankind must not be fitted or disposed to live for all administrative purposes under the same internal Government.[2]

In all the modern states that have accepted the federal mechanism, we notice these contradictory sentiments imbuing their peoples. They have all been tenacious of their respective provincial rights, but have come to compromise with their neighbours and entered a union only for better and safer discharge of the common functions of Government. In all these countries, a national and a local feeling exist side by side, state patrotism is not found incompatible with the wider nationalism. Without the existence of this intense local feeling by the side of a national outlook, federalism will lose all its force and vitality. It will even lose all its utility. In the absence of a provincial patriotism, the question of maintaining the separate identity of the component states does not arrise at all. They may be merged completely in the new union and instead of a federation, a centralised and unitary state may be brought into being.

But notwithstanding these contradictory sentiments of the people, the territories, once united together by the bond of federalism, come to constitute not merely a league of sovereign communities; they form a distinct state by itself with all its fundamental elements and attributes. The component states

[1] *Ibid*, p. 137.
[2] Mill, Representative Government, Chap. XVII.

no longer retain their sovereignty. In the processes of the formation of the union, it is shifted to the people of all the states together. It is these people who now acting together in a specified manner exercise the supreme authority in the country. In the United States of America, the states were all sovereign bodies before their Union in 1789. But after the formation of the federation the supreme authority came to be vested in the people of the Union who now acting according to a complicated plan may change the constitution and as such may also modify the status of a component state even against its clearly expressed will.[1] The Article V of the constitution which provides for its amendments seems no doubt to grant an irrevocable privilege to the states. It declares that "no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." For a moment it would seem that so far as this right is concerned, the states are beyond the reach of the people of the Union. But this privilege also is more illusory than real. The people of the Union, if they like, may by constitutional amendment change the nature of this Article and then proceed to modify the representation of states in the Senate.[2] Thus no individual state can decide as to its fundamental powers and functions. It can take up only those duties which are left to it by the people of the Union. If the people decide to deprive a state of some particular function it prizes, no amount of protest on its part will avail. The function will go out of its hands at any rate. Then again the states cannot set up any kind of constitution they like. The people of the Union have given the ukase that only republican government can be instituted in the states.[3] A state may violate this law only to its own discomfiture. Thus cribbed

1 The constitution can be amended on a motion accepted by two-thirds of both the houses of Congress and three-fourths of the state legislatures, See Art. V of the Constitution.

2 W. W. Willoghby, Fundamental Concepts of Public Law (1924), p. 251, foot-note.

3 Art. IV, Sec. 4, of the Constitution.

and cabined the states cannot be said to possess even the shadow of sovereignty.[1]

In Australia, if we overlook the legal fiction of British Parliamentary sovereignty, the states were sovereign before their union in 1900. But with the constitution of the Commonwealth in that year, the supreme authority passed into the hands of the people of the different states together who now acting according to a specified manner may change the constitution.[2] Not only by the Constitution many of the essential powers of the states have already been taken away from their hands, but the people by constitutional amendment may also deprive a state of any of its remaining functions. No doubt the Australian Commonwealth Act includes a provision that without the approval of the majority of the electors of a particular state, no law diminishing its proportionate representation in either House of the Parliament or modifying any way its territorial limits can be valid.[3] But this privilege does not take the Australian States very far. It bears no testimony to their sovereign character. This is of course a difficulty in the way of national sovereignty but it is a difficulty which can easily be overcome. By one amendment of the Constitution this provision may be taken out of the Commonwealth Act and then by means of a second amendment the people of the Union may deal with these questions of representation and territorial limits of the states any way they like. The component parts of the Australian Commonwealth thus occupy the same position in the Union as the states in the American Federation. They are at the mercy of the sovereign people.

[1] *Cf.* "The most conclusive evidence of the ultimate sovereignty of the people of the Union and of the dependent status of the people of any particular state is afforded by this provision that the United States shall guarantee to every state a republican form of government whether the people of every state wish such a government or not."—A. N. Holcombe, State Government in the United States (1926), p. 12.

[2] Section 128 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900.

[3] *Ibid* sec. 128.

Article 3 of the Swiss Federal Constitution points out that "the Cantons are sovereign, so far as their sovereignty is not limited by the Federal Constitution." According to the orthodox definition of the term, sovereignty cannot, of course, be something limited and divisible. If a community is to be vested with sovereign character, it must have absolute and undivided legal authority over its internal and external affairs. Hence the limited sovereignty which the framers of the Constitution attribute to the Cantons is only a contradiction in terms. As in the U. S. A. and Australia the component parts in Switzerland also are subordinate bodies at the mercy of the people of the Confederation who enjoy the final sovereign authority. Acting according to some definite methods they can change the constitution, and can deprive thereby the Cantons of their existing powers and functions.

Subordinate authorities as the states are, their secession from the Union is out of the question. Along with the formation of the Union their old sovereign character is lost, and their status as organic parts of the federation is practically the creation of the people of the union who now exercise the sovereign authority.[1] Hence the states must live and have their being only in the Union ; outside it they have no legal status. Of course, after the constitution of the American federation in 1789, the question as to the real status of the states remained for long an open one. It was only after the termination of the Civil War that the clouds of controversy were dispelled and the real position of the states exposed. Nor is the situation any way uncertain in Switzerland. In this country, the federal constitution of 1848 was the direct outcome of the civil war of the previous year. The Catholic Cantons dissatisfied with the turn of

[1] *Cf.* The Federal state "is created by the people as a whole and the individual states are creations of its will In the case of a federal state historically founded upon union of previously existing sovereign states, one is to consider the citizens of the federal state as first divesting themselves of their old state sovereignties and then as a people, establishing national federal state," Willoughby, Fundamental Concepts of Public Law, p. 195.

some events in the Protestant provinces formed the Sonderbund and were bent upon seceding from the loose union set up in 1815. The forces of union, however, proved ultimately to be too strong for them and after a strenuous fight on both sides the Catholic Cantons were brought back into the Confederation. The bonds of union which were so long loose and slack were now strengthened and tightened. Coming in the wake of the military successes of the unionist forces, the new Constitution naturally guarded against any movement of secession. If the safety of the Union is endangered by any disturbance in a Canton and if the Cantonal authority fails to bring the matter to the notice of the central administration, the federal authority has now the right to intervene at its own initiative, and bring the disturbing forces to book.[1]

The sovereignty being vested in the people of the union, it is for them now to set up the organs of administration and invest them with proper rights and duties. Both the federal and the state authorities are thus the creation of the people. Directly and expressly through the machinery of a constitution, they establish a central government and determine its scope and jurisdiction; and through the limitations imposed upon the authority of the states by the federal constitution, they also decide as to the powers and functions of the component parts. Both the central and the state governments hence draw their jurisdiction from the people of the union. They are in direct touch with the people and act on them directly without the medium of any other authority. The two governments are "in fact but different agents and trustees of the people constituted with different powers and designed for different purposes."[2] The central and the state authorities thus exist side by side each endowed with its jurisdiction by the people. One is not dependent upon the other, both are supreme in the respective fields assigned to them by the sovereign people. In a federal

[1] Art. 16 of the Constitution.

[2] The Federalist, No. 46.

union thus "there are two governments, covering the same ground and commanding, with equal direct authority, the obedience of the same citizen."[1]

Now both the governments derive indeed their authority from the will of the sovereign people. But this will must not be something nebulous, something fleeting. It must be definite, clear and unambiguous. Both the governments must be sure as to the powers and functions that they are entitled to exercise. They must not be kept in uncertainty as to the province of their jurisdiction. Their rights and duties should, in fact, be embodied in a constitution at once written and rigid. "A written constitution is the only method by which the effective control of the powers allotted to the constituent parts of a federation can be guaranteed to them."[2] This constitution is the source of all authority both to the central and the state governments. Any action on the part of either of them which violates this constitution is, hence, *ultra vires*. The constitution determines and limits the scope of their activities. They are the creatures of the constitution and as such cannot transgress any of its provisions. "The stream cannot rise above its source," as Bryce[3] would say. Now if the constitution is not to be violated by any of its offspring, it must be removed beyond their control. Neither the central nor the state government should have any right to change and amend its provisions. It must not be subject to alterations and revision in the same way as any ordinary statute of either governments. Its amendment must be vested in a different machinery representing the sovereign people. In other words, this constitution must not be flexible, it must be rigid.[4] In the United States, a special sanctity attaches to the Constitution. A written document, it has been elevated to be an institution inspiring respect and

1 Bryce, The American Commonwealth, Vol. I (Revised Ed.), pp. 17-18.
2 H. J. Laski, A Grammar of Politics, p. 306.
3 The American Commonwealth, Vol. I, p. 243.
4 Dicey, Law of the Constitution, pp. 142-145.

confidence among the people. It is far removed from the ordinary rough and tumble of politics. It cannot be amended by either the federal congress or any state legislature on its own account. It is beyond their grasp. Article V of the constitution provides for its amendment only according to a complicated procedure. The constitution of the Australian Commonwealth is also a written document. It is embodied in the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900. The provisions of this Act are not alterable by either the federal parliament of Australia or the legislature of any particular state. It is the source of their authority and as such beyond their control. It can be amended only after the assent of the majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth and of the majority of the states is available.[1] The Constitution of the Dominion of Canada is also a written document. It is enshrined in the British North America Act of 1867. As an ordinary statute of the British Parliament, it can of course be altered by it in the same way as any other statute. But it is the source of all power and the fountain of all authority both to the central and the provincial governments in Canada. The two governments enjoy the powers which are granted to them by the constitution. It is, therefore not up to them to change this body of fundamental laws. Thus so far as the Canadian governments are concerned, the constitution is rigid and inflexible. It cannot be amended in the same way as an ordinary federal or provincial statute of Canada. Of course in the matter of the constitutional organisation of a province, the provincial legislature is empowered by the British North America Act[2] itself to amend and modify it except as regards the office of the Lieutenant Governor. Apart from this, none of the two authorities can touch the constitutional system set up by the British North America Act. Switzerland also constitutes a federal union. We should therefore, expect that its constitutional arrangement is determined by

[1] Section 128 of the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900.
[2] Section 92, 1.

a written rigid body of fundamental laws. The Constitution of the Swiss Confederation is a written document no doubt, but it is questionable if it is rigid as well Broadly speaking, the only difference between the procedure of changing an ordinary law and that of amending the fundamental law consists in the fact that referendum is optional in the former case while it is compulsory in the latter ; and while initiative is admissible in the case of constitutional change, there is no provision for it in the case of making or altering an ordinary statute. There is also a slight difference between the two methods in the fact that while the sanction of the majority of the voters in the Union and also of the majority of the Cantons is necessary for the passing of the constitutional amendment, a simple majority of the people of the Union is enough for making or changing an ordinary statute. Thus the passing of an ordinary law may be as difficult as a change of the Constitution. The two procedures being almost the same, the constitution may be described as flexible. Again both the methods being difficult and both requiring the assent of the people, the constitution may be said to take up the character of rigidity. But it really does not matter if the Swiss system is rigid or flexible ; it is enough that the amendment of the constitution requires the sanction of the sovereign people. Even if it is flexible, it cannot be changed by a body enjoying only delegated powers. The sovereign people alone can modify their will which is enshrined in the constitution.

A written and rigid constitution is thus an indispensable preliminary to any federal arrangement. But even this is not enough. Further precaution comes out to be essential. The federal and state governments working under a written constitution know of course the duties they are entitled to discharge and know also the boundary which they cannot overstep. But no constitution, however precise and definite, can be exact as to the allocation of powers. Some ambiguity, some disputable point is sure to be left. Both the governments may now claim jurisdiction over this disputed area. Again one government may

also deliberately encroach upon the province of another on this plea or that. The question then immediately arises as to which body is to decide between them. The federal system creates a balance of power between two rival governments which can be maintained only by the vigilant watch of " an umpire independent of both."[1] If the supremacy of the constitution is to be preserved and the limitations of both the central and the state governments are to be maintained, there must be independent courts of justice whose clear duty it is " to declare all acts contrary to the manifest tenor of the constitution, void."[2] Without this guardianship of the courts of law, the federal system becomes unworkable. " Laws and constitutional provisions possess no momentum of their own,"[3] and the federal constitution which is the bed-rock of the federal union, cannot protect itself from the onslaughts of the rival governments without the help of the independent courts of justice. In a federal union, the laws passed by either the central or the state legislature are of the character of bye-laws of a municipal corporation or a railway company.[4] They are valid only when they are in agreement with the powers conferred upon the corporation or the company by an Act of Parliament. If, however, they are in excess of such powers, any individual affected by their application may question their validity before the recognised courts of law which will declare them null and void. Similarly in a federation, a state or a central law should be valid only if it does not go against any provision of the supreme constitution. In case, however, any such law is in excess of powers conferred by the constitution on the government concerned, any individual who is affected by its application, may invoke the ruling of the judicial court which will now have a clear opportunity of declaring it *ultra vires*.

1 J. S. Mill, Representative Government, Chap. XVII.
2 The Federalist, No. 78.
3 W. B. Munro, The Government of the United States, p. 64.
4 This comparison is instituted both by Dicey and Bryce.

This doctrine of judicial supremacy is one of the fundamentals of the American Constitution. "Our Courts," says Dr. Woodrow Wilson "are the balancing wheel of our whole constitutional system."[1] In case one government encroaches upon the jurisdiction of another the federal courts may intervene. They of course do not interfere at their own initiative. "The courts do not render decisions like imperial rescripts declaring laws valid or invalid. They merely render judgment on the rights of litigants in particular cases, and in arriving at the judgment they refuse to give effect to statutes which they find clearly not to be made in pursuance of the constitution and therefore to be no laws at all."[2] Their interpretation of the constitutional provisions is final. Their decision sets at rest any dispute that may arise between the two governments. Judicial supervision over federal and state legislation is one of the features of the Australian Commonwealth as well. This supremacy of the courts is looked upon as essential for maintaining the constitutional equipoise of the federation. The only court, of course, which can entertain a case touching the validity of a central or a state law is the federal supreme court, the High Court of Australia.[3] The state supreme courts are debarred altogether from dealing with any such constitutional issue. If per chance, such a case turns up in a court like this, it must be removed forthwith to the High Court of Australia.[4] Again just as the state courts have been given no jurisdiction over a dispute between the governments, similarly the judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council also has been given very little authority over such cases. This tribunal cannot in fact take up a constitutional case without leave granted to that effect by

1 Constitutional Government in the United States, p. 142.

2 Elihu Root, Experiments in Government and the Essentials of the Constitution, p. 62.

3 A. B. Keith—Responsible Governments in the Dominions (2nd Ed.), Vol. II, pp. 662-63.

4 *Ibid*, p. 664.

the High Court of Australia.[1] The people of this Dominion are sensitive as to foreign interference in their local affairs. They pin their faith more in the Australian courts than in a foreign tribunal. In Canada, however, no such restriction has been put upon the jurisdiction of the Privy Council. The British North America Act of 1867 provided indeed for the establishment of a Canadian Supreme Court which was in fact started a few years later. But the establishment of the Supreme Court did not affect the authority of the Privy Council at London. And to-day this latter tribunal acts as the highest appelate court as much for the constitutional cases as for the other civil cases of Canada. It is thus the ultimate guardian of the constitutional system set up in the Dominion of Canada by the British North America Act. It holds the balance even between the central and the provincial governments and quashes any action on the part of either of them which goes against the fundamental law. This great authority which the Australians have practically refused to the Judicial Committee of the British Privy Council is exercised by this tribunal in Canada simply for the fact that the French population of Quebec looks upon this distant imperial court as the sure protector of its separatist interests. But the question whether this jurisdiction of an external tribunal over the action of the Canadian legislatures is consistent with the principle of Dominion Home Rule requires to be answered. No less an authority on Dominion affairs than Dr. Arthur Berriedale Keith has actually given the verdict that the authority of the Privy Council does not fit in with the present constitutional status of the Dominions. Besides, a court which is not looked upon as any way worthy of

1 In the original draft bill which the Australian representatives took to England, the British Privy Council was given no power as to the interpretation of the Constitution unless the public interests of some part of Her Majesty's Dominions, other than Australia, were involved. (Section 74.) But as the British Cabinet did not want the Judicial Committee to be absolutely deprived of constitutional powers over Australia, this compromise was effected.

taking up a single appeal case in England should not continue as the final court of appeal for the Dominions.[1]

The problem of maintaining the balance of power between the central and the provincial governments is no less keen in Switzerland. Here also the relation between the two authorities is determined by the Constitution. Hence if any of the governments undertakes a measure not in agreement with this Constitution, the measure must be declared void. If again a dispute arises between one Canton and another or between a Canton and the Confederation, there must be an impartial court of justice to settle it. To this effect there is a Federal Tribunal in Switzerland "constituted by statesmen who knew the weight and authority which belongs to the Supreme Court of the United States."[2] But in the point of actual constitutional jurisdiction, "the Swiss Federal Tribunal is at a great disadvantage as compared with the Supreme Court of the United States."[3] No doubt, in all disputes between the Cantons and the Confederation this Court sits in judgment and its decision is final in the matter. In all constitutional and political conflicts between one Canton and another, it is this Court which is empowered to act as the arbiter. In cases also of Cantonal legislation being in conflict with the federal constitution, this tribunal has complete jurisdiction. If any law of a Cantonal legislature is in excess of its powers as determined by the federal constitution, the Federal Court is invested with the right of declaring it *ultra vires* and maintaining thereby the sanctity of the Constitution.[4] But while this Court is authorised to nullify a Cantonal measure for upholding the true constitutional relation between the central and cantonal authorities ; it cannot decide as to the constitutionality or otherwise of a federal law. Whatever be the character of such a law, the Federal Tribunal cannot sit in judgment

1 Responsible Government in the Dominions (2nd Ed.) Preface, p. ix.
2 Dicey. Law of the Constitution, Appendix, p. 552.
3 A. L. Lowell, Governments and Parties in Continental Europe, Vol. II. p. 218.
4 Bryce, Modern Democracies, Vol. I, p. 401.

upon it. It is bound to apply every law passed by the central legislature.[1] "It has therefore none of the peculiar authority vested in the Supreme Court of holding statutes unconstitutional and none of the exalted dignity which that authority confers."[2] This absence of judicial veto over federal legislation is one of the anomalies of the Swiss constitution. The cantonal and the federal governments both deriving their authority from the constitution, none can go beyond the schedule of duties granted or left to them by that constitution. In case, however, the central legislature crosses the boundary of its own jurisdiction and encroaches upon the province of the cantons, no tribunal can question this undue assumption of power. It seems, therefore, that Federal Assembly may, if it likes, destroy the balance of power set up by the constitution. In point of fact, however, this is not possible in Switzerland. In every case of federal legislation, the sovereign people whose will is embodied in the Constitution may demand referendum. "For ninety days the law may be said to be on probation, for if within that time a sufficiently numerous body of citizens so demand, a popular vote must be ordered, and acceptance or rejection is decided by that."[3] It is not expected that the people whose ideas about the allocacation of powers between the central and cantonal governments are enshrined in the constitution will allow a law to be passed by the Federal Assembly which may be repugnant to this constitution. Of course, in the process of the working of the constitution, questions of jurisdiction may easily crop up which are too nice and too technical for the common people to decide. Only an expert judicial body can unravel such mysteries of law. Hence although in broad cases the people may intervene with success to maintain the balance between the two governments, in finer and more technical cases the federal government gets an undue

[1] Article 113 of the Constitution.

[2] Lowell, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 219.

[3] J. M. Vincent, Government in Switzerland, p. 188.

advantage. It would have been logical if the Federal Tribunal was invested with jurisdiction over the legislation of the Federal Assembly. The federal system would have been better guarded and the constitutional relations between the two governments better maintained, if the Federal Tribunal could declare null and void a federal law not consistent with the constitution. The absence of this jurisdiction on the part of the Swiss Supreme Court is only an anachronism and does not speak against the system of judicial supremacy in other true federations.

A federation is not expected to consist of states always of similar size and strength. It may, almost as a matter of course, include within it both large and small members. Now naturally as the federation comes into operation, the smaller states may fear that their interests will go by default and the larger states will have everything in their own way. They may be reasonably afraid of being overshadowed by their stronger co-partners in the Union. This fear will be strengthened all the more if the central legislature is formed by proportional representation from the different members of the federation. The larger and the more populous states in that case will swamp and dominate the legislature. Thus threatened with dictation from the more powerful neighbours, the smaller states will never agree to enter the Union. If however all the states are equally represented in the central legislature, the larger states will stand the risk of being dominated by the smaller ones who may be in the majority. The bigger states with their superior numerical strength and greater financial contribution can never enter the federation on this condition. They cannot be expected to put themselves at the mercy of their inferior neighbours. When none of these two alternatives is a solution of the question, a compromise comes out to be indispensable in the matter of representation in the central legislature. Representation should be determined neither simply on the basis of population, nor only on the basis of the state as a corporate body. A *via media* has to be cut out. The central legislature in a federal union should be a bicameral

body. In the lower house the people of the states are to be represented in proportion to their numerical strength. In the Upper house, however, all the states irrespective of their territorial size and population strength, are to be represented equally. Federal Union is, as is explained already, a compromise between two opposite principles. It reconciles nationalism with state patriotism. Naturally the central legislature of such a union should also represent this attitude of compromise. It cannot be the exponent of merely the nation-idea in the country. Nor can it be merely the mouthpiece of the principle of local independence. It must partake of the nature of both. The one house is to represent the people, the other chamber is to be the organ of the states.[1]

In the federal convention at Philadelphia, that framed the constitution of the United States, there was a good tug of war between the two opposing schools of political ideals as to the representation in the central legislature. The Virginia plan, initiated in the Convention by Mr. Randolph, advocated a bicameral legislature in both the chambers of which the states were to have representation in proportion to their population. As a counterblast to this scheme another plan, sponsored by the smaller states and popularly known as the New Jersey plan, was introduced in the Convention. It demanded a unicameral legislature in the central Government in which all the states would have equal representation. Thus while the first plan would place the smaller states completely in the hands of their stronger and larger neighbours, the second plan would throw the larger states entirely at the mercy of the smaller members. While the first plan would give all the emphasis upon the principle of nationalism, the second scheme would attach all the importance to the idea of state sovereignty. If both parties were to

[1] The Federalist, No. 62.

be logical in their opinions there would be no end to the controversy. It would have, in fact, wrecked all the work of the Convention. But businesslike as the members of this Convention were, they at last accepted the suggestion of a compromise made by one of their colleagues, Dr. Johnson. He pointed out that the two points of view were not altogether irreconcilable. They "instead of being opposed to each other ought to be combined." In one branch of the legislature, "the people ought to be represented ; in the other the states." [1] Mr. Ellsworth who supported this suggestion of compromise was also quite explicit as to its suitability to American conditions. "We are partly national, partly federal," he observed. "The proportional representation in the first branch was conformable to the national principle and would serve the large states against the small. An equality of voices was conformable to the federal principle and was necessary to secure the small states against the large." [2] The American Senate thus enshrines the federal idea. It is the States' House as opposed to the House of the people which the lower chamber is. Its important function, according to the Fathers, is the protection of the interests of the small states against the onslaughts of the large ones. In practice, however, the Senate has lost to-day all its utility as the House of the States. It "is not necessary to protect the small states against the large states." [3] Most interests that engage the attention of politicians and statesmen run across state boundaries. They are not limited to one type of states only. "Agriculture concerns the farmers of New York as much as the farmers of the Middle West, the tariff is important to southern manufacturers as well as to those of New England." [4] Under these circumstances,

1 Hunt and Scott, The Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787, pp. 182-3.

2 *Ibid*, p. 189.

3 Lindsay Rogers—The American Senate (1926), p. 245.

4 *Ibid*, p. 100.

there is no question to-day that divides the small states from the large. And no opportunity is available to the senators from small states to combine together against the rest. The Senate never divides on state lines.[1] As the house of the states the Senate therefore, is now only an anomaly.

In Australia also, equality of representation of the different states in the upper house of the central legislature was the condition-precedent to the federal union. From the beginning of the federal movement, the principle of 'majority rule' was of course preached and advocated by a group of nationalists. They wanted that a majority of voters on a population basis should determine the policy of the union government through their representatives. But this proportionate representation of the states in the central legislature would have brought the small states at the feet of New South Wales and Victoria whose population together far outnumbered the inhabitants of the rest of the colonies. Naturally this method of representation could not secure any advocacy outside Sydney and Melbourne. Nor could the other extreme principle—that of equal representation of the states in a single legislature—be seriously entertained by the large states. They could not be expected to place themselves at the mercy of the small states which would be in the majority. A compromise was called for. The two extremes must meet half way. Accordingly it was decided to set up a bicameral legislature in the central government. In the House of Representatives, the people of the states are represented according to their numerical strength while in the Senate all the states, whatever be their size and population, have an equal number of members. This arrangement was made not only to meet the conflicting demands of the large and small states in matters of representation, but also to give due emphasis to the antagonistic ideals of nationalism and state particularism. The lower house was to be the stronghold of the nationalist

[1] *Ibid*, p. 99.

forces, while the Senate was to be the bulwark of state automony. The legislature was hence so constituted as to ensure that "every law should receive the assent of a majority of the states as well as of a majority of the people."[1] The Senate thus became the states house. "As the courts are the guardians of the rights of the states in matters that lie outside the federal power, so the Senate is the guardian of the interests of the states in matters which are within the federal power."[2] Whenever, therefore, any measure was on the legislative anvil, which might jeopardise the interests of the states, the Senate was expected to throw itself against it. In point of fact, however, the Senate has not been able to live up to the ideals of its originators. It has not fulfilled the special functions for which it was created. The labour party in Australia which has dominated this chamber for a number of years is committed to a policy of centralisation and nationalisation. It has pinned its faith to undertakings on a national basis. Whenever therefore, it is a question of states *versus* the nation, the Labourites on principle support the latter, and the Senate which was their stronghold, became the chief instrument for carrying out this policy. This body was thus reduced to a very curious position. Created as a house of the states, it was converted "into an instrument for weakening the power of the States."[3] Thus it is safe to conclude that the second chamber has not been of much utility and service, either in the United States of America or in Australia for the maintenance of the federal balance. Its services have not been demanded or given for protecting the small states against the large. Nor has it been of any use in protecting state autonomy from the encroachment of the nation. The development of the nation-wide parties has cut out the ground from underneath its feet as a house of the states.

1 Sir Samuel Griffith in the Convention of 1891 at Sydney.

2 W. H. Moore, The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia, p. 151,

3 Lees-Smith, Second Chambers, p. 110.

In the Dominion of Canada also, the second chamber has proved a failure as a house of the provinces. Before the federation was effected in 1867, the two Canadas had equal representation in the lower house of the legislature. This constituted of course an injustice to upper Canada whose population had increased rapidly and which contributed about three-fourths of the revenue of the State. An agitation was on foot to do away with this grave anomaly. But the opposition of Lower Canada stood in the way. The Quebec Resolutions of 1865 at last provided for representation by population in the lower house of the proposed Confederation. But this was on the express condition that in the upper chamber all the naturally differentiated tracts of the country would have equality of votes. Without this equality of representation in one of the chambers, the less numerous provinces could not possibly protect their separate local interests from the aggression of the larger neighbours.[1] This equality of status in the federal upper house is hence one of the corner-stones of the federal structure. Without this concession the project of the union would have fallen through. And to day the four natural divisions of the Dominions—Ontario, Quebec, the Maritime provinces and Prince Edward Island, and the Western Provinces—have twenty-four members each on the Senate.[2] Thus constituted, the Senate is expected to be a bulwark of Provincial interests whenever they come to be threatened from any quarters. In fact, however, this is a duty which the Senate has scarcely attended to. As in every other state, federal or unitary, party lines are not

1 "Our Lower Canada friends have agreed to give us representation by population in the Lower House on the express condition that they shall have equality in the Upper House. On no other condition could we have advanced a step; and, for my part, I am quite willing they should have it. In maintaining the existing sectional boundaries and handing over the control of local matters to local bodies, we recognise, to a certain extent, a diversity of interests, and it was quite natural that the protection for those interests, by equality in the upper chamber, should be demanded by the less numerous provinces." Hon. George Brown in the Debate on the Confederation in the Canadian Parliament, Feb., 1865.

2 Section 1, sub-sec. (1), para. (ii) of the British North America Act, 1915.

vertical but horizontal in the Dominion of Canada as well. They cut across provincial boundaries. The members of the Senate are not appointed, really speaking, to represent this province or that. They are appointed only to give support to this national party or that. Questions accordingly are treated in the Senate only on party lines and not as issues between the provinces and the central Government.

In Switzerland, we have seen, the Federal Tribunal has not been invested with any right of veto over federal legislation. The judiciary thus cannot protect the interests of the cantons when invaded by the central legislature. But as in other true federal unions, the legislature is a bi-cameral body in Switzerland. In the Lower House all the Cantons are represented according to population. But in the second chamber they have equality of status and representation. Each of these Cantons of whatever size and strength is represented by two members on the Council of States.[1] Thus although the cantons did forego the judicial control of federal legislation as a safeguard of local interests, they made their equal representation on the Council of States an indispensable condition of their union. This was a safeguard on which they put much emphasis. And "the Council of States was designed in a peculiar sense to represent the Cantons."[2] Unlike in the United States or Australia, the Swiss Cantons determine each in its own way, the qualification, tenure of office and the manner of election, of their representatives in the federal second chamber.[3] The Council of States is thus the citadel of cantonal particularism as a counterpoise to the National Council which is a house of the people.

From the above survey it is apparent that the second chamber as a house of the states serves practically no useful purpose in some of the important federal unions. Still the fact remains that without the institution of such an Upper House no

1 Art. 80 of the Constitution.

2 Robert C. Brooks. Government and Politics of Switzerland, p. 81.

3 *Ibid*, p. 82.

federation would have taken place at all. True indeed that forces of centralisation are universally on the ascendant, true also that the rapid growth of parties with national issues has relegated the question of states rights to the back ground. But all the same, no component part of a federal union would entertain to-day with patience any proposal for destroying the equality basis of the second chamber in the central legislature. Experience has diminished the fear of the small states and history has proved that the second chamber need not necessarily protect the interests of the states. All this notwithstanding, confidence in the possibilities of such a house as the protector of small communities and the guardian of local rights remains unshaken. And it is very doubtful if autonomous contiguous states anywhere would care to form a federation even under serious external pressure without the safeguard of a second legislative chamber on which they are equally represented.

NARESH CHANDRA ROY

(To be continued)

HIBISCUS.

How like the red hibiscus is her mouth,
Glowing and warm and beautiful;
Yet have I known those luring rosy lips
To utter words more cruel far
Than flaming sun at noon-tide, and have learned
That lovely lips, like poison blooms,
Can be as dangerous to one
Who ignorantly gathers them!

LILY STRICKLAND

KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-KNOWLEDGE [1]

An exile—it is a matter of pride and satisfaction to me that you should occasionally think of me and summon me to your midst. Says the honey-mouthed Saib :

دور دستان را بهمت یاد کردن مشکل است
ورنه هر نخلی بپای خود ثمر مي افگند

When your invitation reached me I was at a loss to fix upon a subject which would at once be topical and instructive and at the same time neither controversial nor provocative of strong differences of opinion. In prudence I had to steer clear of two perilous rocks, Religion and Politics, for both evoke heat and passion and make for trouble.

Fellow-students, the subject on which I propose to address you to-day is 'knowledge' and the "self-knowledge" resulting therefrom. The subject is not a new one. In fact it is as old as the hills, but it is none the less a subject which always retains its charm and freshness. And if any proof was needed, the proof is strikingly furnished by a poet of classic renown :

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد * که از رفعت همي با مه مرا کرد
نه بيني ز آن همه یک خشت برپای * مدیح عنصري ماند است بر جای

In this age of many competing interests knowledge, for its own sake, unfortunately, is little sought for. The struggle for existence has become fiercer; new avenues have been thrown open; new ambitions, new aspirations have come to the forefront, and

[1] Presidential Address delivered by Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh at the Bihar Students' Conference held at Patna on the 21st of September 1930.

that which is most subversive of all for the pursuit of knowledge —that peaceful leisure so conducive to serious thinking and uninterrupted research, is now almost entirely gone. In the vortex of the modern, hurrying, hastening life where we invest little but expect much ; where fame is indistinguishable from notoriety ; where talent and wit are not marketable commodities; where the recompenses of life are accorded by preference to intrigue, to vulgarity, to the charlatans who cultivate the art of puffing, and to the smart people who just keep without the clutches of the law—it is but inevitable that 'knowledge,' and especially 'knowledge for its own sake,' should be at a discount.

All that I ask for is that such a state of affairs should be mended, for to ignore 'knowledge' is to sap the very foundation of public and private life and to set a premium on fraud and imposture.

Cicero, in enumerating the various heads of mental excellence, lays down the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake as the first of them. And Mutahhar in 355/966 A.D. wrote thus :—

"Learning only unveils herself to him who wholeheartedly gives himself up to her : who approaches her with an unclouded mind and clear insight; who seeks God's help and focuses an undivided attention upon her; who girds up his robe and who, albeit weary, out of sheer ardour, passes sleepless nights in pursuit of his goal, rising, by steady ascent, to its topmost height, and not to him who seeks learning by aimless flights and thoughtless efforts, or who, like a blind camel, gropes about in the dark. He should not yield to bad habits or permit himself to be led astray by vicious tendencies. Nor must he turn his eyes from truth's depth. He should discriminate between the doubtful and certain, between genuine and spurious and *should always stand firm by the clear light of reason.*"

Mutahhar's is not an isolated note. The passion for knowledge in the East, notably in the Islamic world, was deep-rooted

and wide-spread. The popular zeal was seconded and re-enforced by the munificence and benefactions of those that could materially advance and liberally forward its course. Princes, magnates, war-lords, merchants—all, without exception, assisted in rearing that magnificent temple of learning, the crowning glory of Muslim civilization. At the end of the 4th/10th century every one of the three great rulers of Islam—of Cordova, of Cairo, and of Baghdad—was a lover of books. Al-Hakam of Spain had his agents all over the East to collect first copies of books that were written. The catalogue of his library consisted of 44 Fasculi, each of 20 folios, containing merely the titles of books. At Cairo before the Caliph Abdul Aziz (d. 386/996) mention was made of the *Kitab al-Ain* of Khalil ibn Ahmad. He sent for it and the librarian immediately brought over 30 MSS., among them an autograph copy of the author. A dealer offered the Caliph a MS. of the '*History of Tabari*' for which he had paid 100 dinars. The Caliph had in his library more than 20 MSS. of this work, including an autograph copy of the author. Of the *Jamharah* of Ibn Duraid he had 100 MSS. Later writers even presume to know the actual number of books there. In the printed edition of Maqrizi the number is estimated at between 160 and 120,000 volumes. According to Ibn al Tuwair: The library had departments, divided into sections, each section with a door on hinges and with locks. It contained more than 200,000 volumes. Poor is the comparison which the western libraries of this period offer. In the 9th century the Cathedral library of Constance possessed 356 volumes; the Benedictbeuren library, in 1030, just over 100 volumes, and the Cathedral library of Bamberg, in 1130, only 96 volumes. Mukaddasi was shown over the library of Adud-ud-Dawlah by the Chief Bed-maker (Rais-al-farrashin): The library formed a building by itself. It was in charge of a superintendent (wakil), a librarian (khazin) and an inspector (mushrif). Adud-ud-Dawlah had collected there every book composed up to his time in every branch of learning. The library consisted of a large ante-room and a long

arched hall with rooms on all sides. In the walls of the hall and the rooms he had inserted cupboards of veneered wood two yards long by three broad, with doors which were let down from above. The books were all piled upon shelves. Every branch of learning had its own cupboards, and catalogues, in which the names of the books were registered. Only distinguished people were allowed admission into the library. The three passionate lovers of learning of the 3rd/9th century were Jahiz, Fath ibn Khaqan, a magnate of the Court, and Qadi Ismail ibn Ishaq. Never did a book come to Jahiz's hand but he read it from cover to cover, be it what it might. Finally he hired the shops of the book-dealers to read the books there on loan. A later authority even invents for him a bibliophile's death. He used to heap up books high around him and one day the heap fell upon him and killed him.

Whenever he left the Caliph's table for some business or other Ibn Khaqan pulled a book out from his sleeve or his shoe and read it until his return. "I always found Qadi Ismail ibn Ishaq either reading a book or shifting books," says Ibn Nadim.

Sijistani (d. 275-888) had a wide and a narrow sleeve made: the first was intended for books, but the other served no special purpose.

About the middle of the 3rd/9th century the courtier Ali ibn Yahya Munajjim established on his estate a beautiful library which he named the 'Treasure-house of wisdom' (Khizanat al-hikmah). From all parts of the world people flocked there and were entertained at the proprietor's cost. There also came with the pilgrim caravan the astronomer Abu Ma'shar from Khorasan. He visited the library and was so captivated by it that "he forgot both Islam and the pilgrimage."

An Isphahanian theologian and landowner (d. 272/885) is said to have spent 300,000 dirhams on books. Even a Court Marshal at Baghdad who died in 312/924 left behind books worth more than 2,000 dinars. In 357/967 among other things, 17,000 bound volumes were confiscated belonging to a

rebellious son of the Amir of Baghdad. In 355/965 the house of the Wazir Abul Fadl ibn Amid was so thoroughly plundered by 'itinerant religious warriors' that nothing was left behind to sit upon or to drink water from. The historian Ibn-Miskawaihi, who was then his librarian, thus proceeds: The Alid Ibn Hamzah sent carpets and utensils to him, but his heart was troubled about his books, for nothing was dearer to him than they. And he had plenty of them, dealing with all sciences and every branch of philosophy and literature—more than a hundred camel-loads. When he saw me, he asked me about them and I informed him that they were as safe as before and that no one had touched them. He was delighted and said: You are a child of fortune. Everything else can be replaced but these can never be. I noticed how his face lighted up. He added: Bring them to me to-morrow at such and such a place. I did as I was told, and of all his possessions they alone were saved.

Sahib ibn Abbad (d. 384/994) refused the invitation of the Samanid Prince to become his Wazir on the ground, among others, of the difficulty of removal,—having 400 camel-loads of theological works alone. The catalogue of his library filled 10 volumes. Under Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who proved himself a Maecenas neither to Firdausi nor to Beruni, the books were consigned to the flames.

The Qadi Abdul Mutrif of Cordova (d. 420-1/1011) was a great collector of books. He always had six copyists to work for him. Whenever he heard of a beautiful book he sought to secure it, making extravagant offers for it. He never lent a book, but would willingly get it copied and make a gift of it without hesitation. After his death his books were sold for a whole year in his mosque, fetching 400,000 dinars for the collection. The Baghdadian savant Al-Baiqani (d. 425/1033) required 63 baskets and two trunks for the transport of his books on removal.

The Manichaeans had already shown delicate taste and fancy in the get-up of their books. In 311/923, at the public

gate of the castle at Baghdad, the portrait of Mani, together with 14 sacks of heretical books, was burnt. Gold and silver fell out of them. The supporters of the schismatic al-Hallaj (executed in 310/921) also imitated the Manichaeans in this respect. Their books were written in gold on Chinese paper, were encased in silk and brocade, and were bound in costly leather.

The state-papers in the Byzantine Chancery are always mentioned as works of art. In 326/937 a letter of the Byzantine Emperor came to the Caliph, the Greek text in letters of gold and Arabic translation in letters of silver. Somewhat later another letter was sent to the Caliph of Cordova in letters of gold on sky-blue leather. It was encased in a cylinder of chased silver with the portrait of the emperor in coloured glass on the cover. That entire work of art was enveloped in brocade. The poems of the Caliph Mutamid were likewise inscribed in letters of gold. The Wazir Ibn Abbad (d. 386/996) personally drafted the letter of appointment of his Chief Qadi, Abdul Jabbar, and himself copied it in a most extravagant fashion. It consisted of 700 lines, each line on a folio and the entire work fitted into an ivory case, which looked not " unlike a thick column." In the 5th/11th century this work, along with another bibliographical rarity, was presented to the Wazir Nizam el-Mulk. The latter was a Quran, the variants of which were in red, between the lines, the explanation of uncommon expressions in blue, and passages of practical import in gold.

The book-lovers' greatest joy consisted in MSS. by famous scribes.

But along with libraries another form of literary endowment came into existence. It combined the collection of books with instruction or at least with remuneration for work done in the libraries. The poet and savant Ibn Hamdan (d. 323/935)—a distinguished nobleman of Mosul—founded in his native town a 'House of Learning' (Dar-al-'ilm) with a library

possessing books on every branch of learning. It was open to all who wished to make use of it. For the poor paper was provided free. For himself, the founder set apart a place where he declaimed his verses or those of others and dictated historical and juristic notes. The Qadi Ibn Hibban (d. 354/965) bequeathed to the town of Nisabur a house with "library and quarters for foreign students and provided stipends for their maintenance." The books were not to be lent out. A courtier of Adud-ud-Dawlah (d. 372/982) built at Ram-Hormuz on the Persian Gulf—as at Basrah—a library where those who read or copied received a grant. At Ram-Hormuz a Mutazilite theologian always lectured on Mutazilite principles. In 383 the Buwayyid wazir Sabur ibn Ardashir (d. 415/1024) founded a 'House of Learning' (Dar al-'ilm) on the west side of Baghdad. Besides 10,400 volumes, mostly authors' autographs, and copies belonging to celebrated scholars, it possessed 100 copies of the Quran written by the Banu Mukhal. The management was in the hands of two Alids and a Qadi.

Further Ar-Radi, poet and registrar of the Alids (d. 406/1015), established one such 'House of Learning' for students (Talabat ul-ilm), making necessary arrangements for their needs (Diwan, Beyrut, 1,3). The name signifies the change. The old institutions, which were libraries, pure and simple, were called the 'Treasure-house of Wisdom' (Khizanat al-Hikmah), the newer ones 'the House of Learning' (Dar-al-'ilm) in which the library was merely a special section. Even in Egypt such academies were founded. In 378/988 Aziz purchased a house by the side of Al-Azhar and endowed it for 35 theologians, who held their sittings for learned discussions every Friday in the mosque between the midday and the after-midday prayer. Thus, the Islamic academy, which is still the greatest academy in Islam, dates from the 4th/10th century. The wazir Ibn Killis established a private academy. He is reported to have spent 1,000 dinars every month for

professors, copyists and book-binders. In 935 the Caliph al-Hakim founded a 'Dar-al-'ilm' at Cairo in which he gathered together books out of the different libraries in the citadel.

Teaching was regarded as a sacred duty. A whole band of savants, *e.g.*, the entire Hanafite school, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Sufyan Thauri and others, declare it unlawful for teachers to take money for instruction in Quran and tradition.

Others considered it lawful but placed those traditionists higher who "only taught for the sake of heavenly reward." Even Nawawi in the 8th/13th century refused to accept the salary assigned for his post at Ashrafiyyah.

Such then was the love of knowledge, such the spirit of benefaction, such the sacrificing zeal of the teachers! I wish to emphasise that the remarks that I have made are not meant only for the Islamic world but are truly applicable to the entire Orient. The spirit is the true Eastern spirit, shining resplendent throughout the East. It is therefore all the more regrettable that that noble, disinterested spirit—eminently our very own—should be lost in the wave of modernism, submerging the noble, the sublime, the ideal in life. Nothing can or will stir our languid pulses except our own Eastern history, Eastern tradition, the examples of our forbears, the lessons from our past. Their heroism will stimulate and inspire us ; their errors will caution and correct us; their wisdom will bless and guide us; out of their examples and precepts there will arise that unity which, shedding love and light, will link the scattered brothers and sisters into one enduring, unbreakable chain—a unity standing above *that* religion which divides and *that* expediency which ignores the future.

And nothing but the advance of knowledge can achieve this unity, dispelling at once the mist of misunderstanding and bringing home to us our limitations and possibilities. Like the individual the State too must know its limitations and possibilities if it is to continue sound and remain stable. Without such

self-knowledge neither the one nor the other can thrive, *even for long* endure. The three notable instances of failure in history due to a sheer want of national self-knowledge, as Dr. Adolphus William Ward points out, are the instances of Greece, Rome, and the Holy Roman Empire. The weakest point in the political system of Athens was her treatment of her allies. The only alternative to incorporation was the alternative of a genuine federation. Federation did come, but it was a mere cloak for the hegemony of Athens. It was not a reality but a mere make-believe, and the equality of the allies therefore a baseless, transparent fiction. The result was, as is well-known, Cleon and his successors, gifted with political insight realized the falsity and hollowness of the situation and rent the mask under which Pericles had striven to enshroud the inroads of Athens upon the rights of her allies. Her subsequent history need not be retold. From the moment Athens forgot herself and her mission, sure and steady was her downward course. She overstepped her limits and in the consciousness of her pride, sapped the very foundation of her strength. "And thus, slowly but surely, the day arrived when the neglect of the lessons her history had in vain placed before her eyes avenged itself upon her ; when her ships were burnt in her own harbours and her walls laid level with the ground, to the mocking music of the Lacedaemonian flutes."

Pass on to the history of Rome and there too the very same lesson is borne in upon us. The tendency of the Roman nobility was that of most aristocracies, namely, the maintenance and increase of the class-influence. And so powerful was its hold, so complete its sway, that neither the voice of reason nor that of expedience was heard or heeded. Warnings notwithstanding they went their way. The proposals of the Gracchi were naught else but to readjust the balance of landed property. The nobility resisted and their resistance was nothing more nor less than an attempt to dam the stream of the national development in its course. The defeat of the Gracchi was the birth of

a popular movement which ruthlessly swept the nobility and their vested interests away. It ushered in the absolutism of Caesar—a punishment which Rome had brought upon her own head. In both these instances—the one of Democracy and the other of Aristocracy—we have an impressive lesson and a salutary warning: namely, that the disregard of national self-knowledge can lead to but one certain, inevitable result, failure and defeat.

And once again, it was a pure miscalculation of strength and actualities which made Charlemagne oblivious of the signs of the times, and led him on to that most impossible of dreams, of uniting the heterogeneous mixture of races under one central power. And this romantic dream dreamed by that powerful monarch was renewed by a long list of monarchs from the days of Otto the Great, with results ominous and catastrophic.

Students of history work in order to qualify themselves to become intelligent readers of the present as well as of the past. And more so still to acquire that self-knowledge which is the most valuable of all assets for distinction in public and private life. And this self-knowledge can only be acquired by a study, deep and extended, of your own and other peoples' history; by the cultivation of those habits of observation which take in the full measure of the present and a comprehensive view of the future; by discounting unbridled imagination and wild, chaotic dreams; by planting our feet on the solid earth and realizing, once and for all, that true progress is always slow, steady, orderly, non-violent, and is conditioned by self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control.

Goethe speaking of his own days says: "I cannot help thinking that the greatest evil of our times, impatient of slow growth as they are, is that one moment is swallowed up in the next, and that people thus live from hand to mouth and take no time to dwell upon anything whatever. Why, we can get a newspaper at every hour of the day. And hence every single thing any one does, attempts, writes—nay, every single thing he hopes

to do—is dragged into the light of publicity. No one may be glad or sorry, but all the rest batten on it; and so the vortex spreads from house to house, from city to city, from realm to realm, and in the end from continent to continent, with incredible velocity.'' And if such was the case in Goethe's time, much worse is it now. Oh that we would take his warning and his teaching to heart,—namely, to reach to the sources of imagination and intellect, sounder views, more placid outlook. But if history opens up vast vistas before us, literature holds up the mirror of life and science, the triumph of human achievements. They all serve but one common interest—the ascent of man. Fellow-students, what we must always guard against is the expression of opinions formed without study and vented without reflection, for is it not the accumulation of such opinions which ultimately determines all that is dearest to man—honour, prosperity, progress? It has been said in season and out that students should avoid politics; that the proper sphere of their activity is the ivory tower of their University. I have never understood the meaning and purpose of the exponents of this view. If by politics is meant license, disorderliness, a spirit of desperation and nihilism I am entirely at one with them, and I will, as earnestly as they, bid you do without so tremendous an explosive, destructive of peace and ordered progress.

But if by politics is meant what I understand it to mean, an intelligent, reasoned, loving interest in your own affairs and the affairs of those to whom in the days to come you must hand over the torch of patriotism, then, to my mind, politics is not only a leisurely interest which you may or may not cultivate but a duty which you must and shall fulfil. But for such a duty you must have the necessary equipment ; you must pass through the required period of apprenticeship. Pause before you plunge; reflect before you utter; receive guidance before you seek to guide others and, above all, always, always give credit for honesty to those who differ from your views or diverge from your path. The words of the late Master of Peterhouse

always ring in my ears: "The business of life, in which, according to Bacon, men are doomed to hold converse 'generally with the foolish,' will never supply the defect of that historical study without which the most patriotic politicians must be content to be classed among *dilettanti*."

The pursuit of knowledge has a yet higher aim. Beyond the temporal advantages it secures and sustains, it ensures the continuity of human effort in its attainment of the highest ideal. In this field all humanity is one—fellow-workers, fellow-tillers cemented by the self-same ambition, fired by the self-same zeal.

سالها دل طلب جام جم از ما میکرد
آنچه خود داشت ز بیگانه تمنا میکرد

You must seek and find the light within you; single-handed you must work out your destiny; neither the prospect of reward, nor the fear of punishment should move or deter you; you should follow Light and do the Right—wheresoever they may lead you—for Light, the inner Light of conscience, never fails, and Right, the eternal symbol of divinity, stands, ever and anon, four square to the winds that blow. Does not Ibn Yamin say:—

خلق خدا که خدمت دادار میکنند
هستند بر سه قسم که این کار میکنند
قسمی شدند از پی جنت خدا پرست
وین رسم و عادتیست که تجار میکنند
قومی دگر کنند پرستش ز بیم او
وین کار بندگانست که احرار میکنند
جمعی نظر ازین دو جهت قطع کرده اند
بر کار هر دو طائفه انکار میکنند
چون غیر خویش مرکز هستی نیافته
بر گرد خویش دور چو پرکار میکنند
این است راه حق که سیم فرقه میروند
سیر و سلوک راه بهنجار میکنند

Far above the agitation and strife of man's petty passions, far above the individual cares and interests that seem for the moment so important, never hasting, never resting, onward through the ages, the life of thought and knowledge advances to its goal. What its course has been in the past is only an augury of the yet more splendid future that awaits it. Science, advancing to richer discoveries, and more comprehensive grasp of the order and system of nature; philosophy, shedding new and fuller light on the deeper problems of thought; art, enriching the world with new and fairer creation; and the many-sided intelligence of man, freed from the idols and prejudices that still encumber it, unfolding new capabilities of insight, and a new consciousness of power and freedom—if something like this is the intellectual destiny that lies before us, is there not in the contemplation of it that which may inspire us with a high and ennobling sense of our duty and work? To work in order to gain the knowledge that will qualify you to earn your bread is no dishonourable motive. To study for honours, to be inspired by the love of fame and reputation, if it be the reputation of acquirements that are in themselves good and noble, is no unworthy aim. But there is an intellectual virtue that is higher and purer than these, without some touch of which you can be no true student. For, as the highest patriotism is that of the man who thinks not of honour or rewards, but so loves his country that he is content to be forgotten, to lose himself altogether in the larger, dearer life for which he lives, so he only rises to the true nobility of the student's calling who catches some sympathetic spark of that pure intellectual love, that love of knowledge for its own sake, which lifts him out of self into fellowship with those in all the ages whose life has been, and will be, the eternal life of thought.

حافظ وظیفهٔ تو دعا گفتن است و بس
در بند آن مبـــاش که نشنید یا شنید

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

HISTORY OF TAXATION OF SALT UNDER THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Bombay.

It may not be forgotten that at the very moment when the plan for the introduction of the salt tax in the Bombay Presidency was all but complete, the whole thing split up on the rock of the India Government's strong objection to abolish the transit duties. Again, to introduce the one without the abolition of the other was not possible since it would be flying in the face of the express instruction of the Court of Directors.

As days went on, it became more and more manifest that the continuance of the transit duties was altogether unjustified. Forced by the irresistible logic of circumstances, the Supreme Government had ultimately to acquiesce in their abolition. So in 1837, full many a year after the question had been first raised, was passed the first of the Acts to obtain, on the principle of excise, a special revenue from salt in the Bombay Presidency. Manufacture of salt was to be carried on under a system of licence. The duty, fixed at eight annas per maund, was to be collected at the pans at the time of the removal of salt from there. Salt, once excised, was not liable to pay any further duty within the Presidency.

By a subsequent measure, enacted within two months of the first, all transit duties but not town duties were repealed and provision was made for the imposition of a customs duty equal to that of excise on the strict free trade principle.

The discontinuance of the transit duties was certainly welcome from the economic point of view, though it had come somewhat too late. But the financial readjustment was without doubt socially unjust. For the entire burden of the transit duties,[1]

[1] For a schedule exhibiting the rates of inland transit duties and frontier duties in all places under the Presidency of Bombay in the year 1828-29, see Appendix to Report on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1831-32, p. 753.

distributed over a wide range of articles, necessaries, comforts and luxuries, was all thrown upon one single commodity, a prime necessity of life.

The Bombay Government felt from the beginning that a duty of 8 annas per maund was too high for the country. Shortly before the Act was passed, it had therefore made a strenuous effort to have a lower rate of 6 annas per maund. But all was in vain. When however the measure was put into the statute book in spite of its opposition, it appointed a Committee to examine and report if it were not necessary to give some relief to the consumers in the vicinity of salt pans. The Committee reported against any exemption or concession except in the case of salt-fish-curers, who were granted remission of import and export duty on their article of trade.

The introduction of salt excise in commutation of the transit duties resulted, contrary to the expectation of the India Government, in a financial deficiency of Rs. 2,51,607.[1] Notwithstanding the deficit, the Government decided in 1843 to root out all town duties and various other taxes on trades and professions, which were full of inequalities, anomalies and abuses. But, for the loss of a net revenue of Rs. 9,10,119, which would consequently arise, the Government again sought the recompense in an augmented salt tax and thus aggravated the injustice it had on the similar occasion of repeal of transit duties inflicted on the poor. It was at first contemplated to raise the duty to 12 annas but a factitious circumstance determined it otherwise. It was just the time when the transit and town duties in the Madras Presidency were abolished and the Madras monopoly price of salt

		Rs.
[1] Total loss incurred including compensations	...	16,60,879
Net revenue annually obtained on an average of six years from 1838-'9 to 1843-44 ...	...	14,09,272
Total deficit	...	251,607

The above calculation does not include the financial result of the revised sea customs, which should however be taken into account, to gauge the net effect of the change on the revenue.

was consequently raised from 15 annas to Re. 1-8 as. per maund. In order to equalise prices and prevent the salt of one province from underselling that of another, the Bombay duty was raised to Re. 1 per maund[1] even before the repeal of the town duties had become an accomplished fact.

The retribution for this precipitance of action came quickly at its heel. With the town duties yet unrepealed, the new measure was naturally looked upon as an insidious attempt on the part of the Government to add to the burden on the poor man's shoulders rather than as a part of a mere contemplated financial readjustment. To a large number of people salt had already become a dear article of food and a further rise in its price portended utmost hardship to them. So it was that no sooner had the news filtered down among the masses than disturbances broke out. The people "became so dissatisfied that in the city of Surat they marked their sense of oppression by closing their shops, which put an entire stop to business and for some days the inhabitants were in tumult."[2]

The price in Madras, it will be remembered, was immediately brought down by the intervention of the Court of Directors. Having removed the chief cause of the enhancement of the Bombay duty, the same authorities, reasonably enough, enjoined on the Government of that Presidency not to exceed the maximum of 12 annas per maund in case they found an increase of the duty unavoidably necessary.

Whether it was agreeably to the above injunction or that the hands of the Government were forced by the disorderly outbreaks, the newly fixed duty, even before it had taken effect, was promptly reduced, by an executive order, to 12 annas per maund. And soon after the law was passed abolishing town duties and such other taxes of an obnoxious kind. But the import duty, fixed at Re. 1 along with excise on the principle of

[1] Act XVI of 1844.

[2] Second Report of the Select Committee on East India Company's Affairs, 1852-53. Evidence of Jevanjee Pestonjee, No. 3906.

equality of treatment, escaped the immediate attention of the Government and remained for some time higher till it was brought to a level with the excise in 1852.

The enhancement of the tax from 8 annas to half as much was followed by a progressive decline in the deliveries of salt from the year 1844. The Court of Directors became much concerned and directed, by their letter of 18th November, 1846, a searching enquiry to be instituted for the purpose of ascertaining the "true cause of so remarkable a circumstance," "whether it was attributable to the local and temporary causes, whether it was in any degree assignable to a fluctuation in the demand for exportation to the other Presidencies and to foreign countries or whether it was in consequence of diminished consumption caused by the enhancement of the rate of duty or whether it was occasioned to any extent by the illicit introduction of salt."

The Bombay Government then forwarded a statement showing the results of the operation of the salt excise from 1842-43 to 1845-46 and further informed that the subject was receiving their best attention. In reply the Directors again emphasised the utmost importance of the causes being clearly ascertained. They added, "If, after full inquiry, you should arrive at the conclusion that the increase of duty, in 1844, from 8 annas to 12 annas per maund, has occasioned the decrease in the consumption of this necessary of life, of the probability of which we entertain a strong opinion, we desire that you will apply to the Government of India for authority to reduce the duty to its former amount of 8 annas per maund."

On ascertainment of the views of Collectors and Commissioners, the general trend of whose opinions was that the decrease of consumption, if any, was not such as to call for any reduction of the duty, the Bombay Government replied: "We are unanimously of opinion, under the information we have obtained, no reduction in the present rate of excise is, at

present, necessary. We beg however at the same time to assure you, that we shall not fail to review periodically the effects of Act XVI of 1844 and if, at any time, it should appear necessary, for the welfare of the community and especially of the poorer classes, to adopt the remedy authorised by you, we shall not neglect to do so."

Meanwhile, it began to be increasingly felt that unrestricted right of manufacture was hardly in accord with a system of excise. For, on the one hand, it was not an easy task to effectively guard against clandestine removal of salt over a wide region and on the other, some of the salt works were not worth the expenses of the maintenance of the necessary police establishments. It also appeared to the authorities that they must be vested with more drastic powers and in some instances with inquisitional methods for the effective discharge of their duties. On persistent representation from the Bombay Government, for the enactment of a law on the above lines, the India Government passed the necessary measure in 1850. It, however, was a cause of complaint on the part of landed proprietors, who felt that their rights and interests were seriously affected, that they were subjected to loss and deprived of the means of making their waste lands productive.[1]

Sind.

Sind was acquired in 1843, and after four years of separate administration, was attached from 1847 to the Bombay Presidency.

In all parts of Sind salt was produced by an artificial process from patches of saline tracts with which the country was dotted. And in the southern part of Lower Sind salt was

1 *Vide* Second Report of the Select Committee on East India Company's Affairs, 1852-53, evidence of J. Pestonjee, No. 3906.

obtained naturally from the extensive natural deposits of the place. But the quantity thus collected was limited in consequence of the dreary wasteness of the region. The cost of production varied from two to three annas per maund in one part to one and one-fourth to two annas in another. The selling price was usually six pies or one anna above the cost of production. The naturally obtained salt was scarcely cheaper than the manufactured product.

For reasons, political as well as economic, it was not considered advisable to subject Sind salt to any duty of the nature of an excise or otherwise. On the one hand the imposition, all at once, of a heavy tax on an article of common use in a newly acquired territory was highly impolitic. On the other it appeared that the cost of preventive establishments against illicit manufacture in the province itself and contraband trade from salt-manufacturing native states traversing and surrounding it would be out of all proportion to the probable yield. So salt manufacture and sale in Sind was wholly unrestricted and with the exception of two small farms of salt works, yielding about an annual revenue of Rs. 100, the Government derived no income from salt throughout the province. But it appears that generally the same duties and rules used to prevail in Sind, in respect of import and export of salt, as were in force in other parts of the Bombay Presidency.

Mysore, Coorg and Ajmer-Merwara.

Two or three other territories, forming parts of the Company's possessions, deserve but passing reference.

First brought under direct British administration in 1831, Mysore was a part of British India till 1881. During the first twenty-five years of British administration the hopelessly chaotic condition of its national finance was considerably improved. But no new tax appears to have been imposed and no old tax increased. Of the various items of revenue, one consisted of

fees levied on pans for the manufacture of earth salt, which was generally consumed by the poorer classes throughout the country. It was not till 1873-74 that its manufacture was prohibited. The majority of the people consumed the marine salt imported from the sea coast of Madras.[1]

Coorg, annexed in 1834, was altogether dependent upon salt chiefly imported from the western coast.[2]

The two tracts, Ajmer, Merwara, were originally distinct districts and each possesses a history of its own. They were united under one officer in 1842. It was not till 1860 that the two districts were consolidated into one circle for purposes of customs and not till the lapse of nine years more was the customs entirely abolished. The indigenous methods of taxation, transit, export and town duties and a tax called Mapa[3] were retained and adhered to with only a slight improvement in 1836. Salt was imported but in one part of Ajmer salt exuded abundantly in years of heavy rain and was extracted by a special process but the manufacture was prohibited more than a decade after the end of the Company's rule.

V

During the Last Days of the Company's Rule.

The Charter of the East India Company was renewed for the first time in 1853. The Select Committee which sat on Indian affairs at the time had before them quite a good number of petitions[4] both from the British merchants as well as from

1. See the Petition of the Madras Native Association submitted to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, 1852-53, App. No. 7

2 *Ibid.*

3 A tax on the sale of every article in every village levied from persons not residing in the place.

4 For the list of petitions received by the Committee from India, *vide* 1st Report of the Select Committee, 1852-53, Appendix No. 7. And for the list of petitions from British merchants and manufacturers, *vide ibid*, Appendix No. 2.

all sections of the Indian population, equally praying for the abolition of the salt tax. The petitions from India bore eloquent and pathetic testimony to the undue severity with which the tax pressed on a very poor population. The British dealers, who had their own axes to grind, were even more emphatic in their condemnation of the oppressiveness of the tax. They still complained that the salt duty was designed by the Company to "protect a monopoly of its own of inferior salt," though the truth was as we had already observed, that the Bengal Government had on the contrary blunderingly placed them in a position of comparative advantage. And the complaint this time was even louder since the British salt industry was itself passing through a period of depression.[1] They also strongly pressed before the Committee what they had long contended that the manufacture and sale of salt by the Company was a manifest violation of the terms of the previous Charter.

All imploration and agitation for the abandonment of the tax fell on deaf ears. But the opinion prevailed that the manufacture of salt was repugnant to the provisions of the previous Charter. So when the bill originally passed through the Lower Chamber, manufacture of salt, whether carried on by the Company itself or under its control, was, by a special clause, declared to be unlawful from and after the 1st May, 1856. The entire trade, from the producers' end to the consumers, was to be absolutely free, subject only to such excise as might from time to time be decided upon. The clause was, however, subsequently dropped during the passage of the bill through the Upper House and the Lower Chamber finally agreed to the omission.

But the Court of Directors took the hint. They realized that the question was shelved only for the time being and was bound to raise its head again at the very first opportunity. They therefore asked the Government of India to hold an inquiry.

1 See evidence of W. Worthington before the Select Committee on Indian Territories 1852-53, No. 7179. And also petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Wych, otherwise Droitwich, in the county of Worcester.

They further stated "they were aware that the present system was long-standing and had been maintained after frequent considerations as the safest mode of ensuring the collection of the revenue but that they were nevertheless very desirous that the Government should, if possible, cease to be connected with the manufacture of salt and that its function should be confined to the collection of the duty." Accordingly Plowden was appointed Salt Commissioner at the end of 1853 to carry on the desired investigation. Plowden entered into his work from the commencement of the following year.

In the interval steps were taken to tax the consumption of salt in the region, known as Saugar and Nerbudda territories, which was hitherto free to manufacture its own salt and open to unrestricted importation from outside. First acquired along with a large tract of country in Western India after the conclusion of the Mahratta war (1817-18) and placed under the administration of an Agent to the Governor-General, the area was incorporated into the North-Western Provinces in 1835. It continued in that position till the formation of the Central Provinces in 1861 but with a temporary break from 1842 to 1853 when it was administered for the second time as the direct charge of the Supreme Government. When Act XIV of 1843 was passed so that a large area in Western India was diked up by customs lines and the manufacture of alimentary salt prohibited within it, Saugar and Nerbudda remained unaffected. It was in 1855, after the reincorporation of the territories into North-Western Provinces, that the customs line was altered to bring the whole of the area within its fold and Act XIV of 1843 extended under notification by the Lieutenant-Governor (9th May, 1855) to them. The duties ordered to be realized on the importation of salt were variously fixed at Rs. 2, Re. 1-8-0 or Re. 1 per maund along three different parts of the line. The unrestricted manufacture of salt was brought to an end.

The newly extended customs line, which passed through regions little known in those days and in many parts wildly

mountainous, afforded very great opportunities for smuggling. Besides, the line did not extend far enough to the south with the sequel that large quantities of untaxed salt could reach the area from Rajputana and even pass beyond into the upper parts of the province. The imperfection of the line largely defeated the object of the law-maker. Only a small revenue was derived from it.

The province of Nagpur came into British possession in 1854. Notwithstanding the very inadequate knowledge of the new region, the customs line was once more changed, and necessarily in a very imperfect manner, towards the end of 1856 in order to comprehend this recently annexed tract within the zone of taxation.

In the North-Western Provinces the Government wanted to relieve the population of the Benares division by the abolition of the differential duty; for the districts were the furthest removed from the points at which the western salts were imported. For the purpose they invited the opinion of the Bengal Government but the latter opposed on the ground that the Bengal revenue could not in that case be maintained. So the idea was given up.

In 1855 was also passed an Act for the better protection of salt revenue in general and its provisions for the first time put some check, though slight, upon the manufacture of salt in the saltpetre factories.

Oude was annexed in February, 1856. A good deal of correspondence and discussion as to what should be done about salt followed immediately. Salt enough was made in the province not only for the consumption of the inhabitants but for extensive export. It was decided that the manufacture should be allowed to continue on a system of farms and accordingly in the beginning of 1857 the right to make salt in certain tracts was farmed out at a total yearly revenue which is believed to have been nearly 2 lakhs of rupees. But the outbreak of the Mutiny upset the whole plan.

Salt Commissioner's Recommendations.

It was about the middle of 1856 that Plowden brought his labour to a conclusion. The report which he submitted was a very comprehensive and valuable document, comprising an exhaustive study of the whole subject of supply of salt for British India. It was therefore well-fitted to be, as the writer himself had claimed, a text-book for all future reference on the subject.

We shall now summarize below the principal recommendations of the Commissioner.

Revenue System.

A system of modified excise, as more or less prevailed in the Bombay Presidency, was, in his opinion, a most eminently suitable method of realizing salt revenue. He therefore recommended its gradual adoption in the Madras Presidency. Similarly, he advocated the extension, by gradual and successive stages, of the partially begun excise system throughout the whole of Bengal. The system of retail sales in Bengal and of local sales at low prices, in addition to retail sales in Orissa, was to be abandoned at once. The Punjab system was to remain unaltered since in the existing circumstances of the country it was the best that could be devised. "Nothing would be gained by allowing private manufacture under excise licenses in addition to sale from the Government mines, at all commensurate with the additional expense and inquisition that would be necessary." The excise system was recommended for adoption in Sind as well.

Rate of Duty.

Then as regards the rate of duty. The Bombay excise rate of 12 annas per maund was considered fair and moderate and hence further reduction was on that ground deemed unnecessary. But Plowden noticed that the Bombay revenue was steadily on the

wane from the time the duty was raised to 12 annas. He therefore suggested that it might be advisable to revert to the original duty of 8 annas in case the shrinkage of revenue was persistent. The tax in Madras was to be equal to what it was in Bombay. So the Madras monopoly price was to be immediately brought down to what it formerly had been (Rs. 105 per garce). A corresponding reduction was no doubt to be made in the rate of sea and land import duties. When in the long run the excise system would be established in the province, the duty would of course be 12 annas per maund, the prevailing rate in Bombay, or whatever else the latter might in the meantime adopt.

In the opinion of the Commissioner, the Bengal tax, notwithstanding the reductions, was yet positively too high. If finances permitted, the tax was to be immediately lowered and levelled down with what existed in the North-Western Province. For there was no earthly reason why the residents of one portion of the Bengal Presidency would be more penalised or favoured than those of the other. Plowden also examined the question if it were desirable to increase the price of salt at the Punjab mines in order to equalise the tax between the two neighbouring provinces. He believed that a duty of Rs. 1-8 annas per maund might with convenience be adopted in the long run throughout the Bengal Presidency and the Punjab. To Oude, he proposed an extension of the salt laws of the North-Western Provinces.

Another important question, very often discussed in those days, was, whether it would not be more equitable to readjust the tax on salt in such a manner as to bring about a fair approximation of its prices in different parts of the country. Plowden's view on the particular point was that no such forced uniformity was desirable. For, the price of salt either in Bombay or in in Madras should naturally be cheaper than that of Bengal and the tax there, though it would, at first blush, appear to be small was not, however, in any way less when considered as a percentage of the cost price of the article.

Miscellaneous Recommendations.

The principle of the levy of export duty was declared unsound. Accordingly the export of salt by sea from the two great salt-exporting provinces of Bombay and Madras was to be exempt from the duty levied on salt intended for home consumption. And so long as the monopoly continued in Madras, the commodity was to be " made available for private exportation by sea not at certain ports only " but " from every place of its manufacture " at a price that covered only the actual cost of production at each place.

It was also recommended to prohibit, except under a license, the manufacture of earth salt in Madras, to discontinue the Moturpha tax levied on its production, to substitute for it the same excise duty as was imposed on the marine salt and to prevent, or to impose the equivalent duty on, the importation of earth salt from the native state of Padoocotta or from Mysore.

The Government had hardly time enough to consider the above suggestion when the Mutiny broke out in 1857.

Conclusion.

As we bring this long narrative to a close, a few points suggest themselves in our minds.

In the first place, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that till the end of the Company's rule, the salt tax policy was more or less actuated by the principle of " Pluck the goose with as little squealing as possible," and the financial administrators did seldom have in view, at least ostensibly, the broader principle of justice in taxation. Even their trains of reasoning, which they apparently put forward in defence of their action, smack of this mentality.

Secondly, it is difficult to conceive in our own days how throughout the greater part of the country the badness of roads and the general want of all easy communications prodigiously enhanced

the price of this bulky commodity in proportion as it radiated to the frontier in all directions. In order therefore to guage the true effects of the salt tax during the period of the Company's rule it is necessary that the above fact must constantly be kept in mind.

In the third place, it must strike everybody as somewhat strange that the financiers should have found no reason to provide for rebate or concession in some other form, on salt consumed for industrial purposes.[1] In all important countries known, wherever salt tax was levied at one time and another, it had always been the rule to allow at least a partial remission of tax on salt for industrial use. In India however the idea has always worked in the minds of the officials that there was no demand for salt in this country for agriculture and the arts for they are in too rude a state to create such a consumption.[2] And the whole thing formed a vicious circle for the Government policy did in its turn act as "a bar to the success of every attempt to introduce into the country any of the various useful processes in which salt is a necessary ingredient."[3]

Lastly, it is remarkable that a hundred years of rigorous taxation on an article which, to quote Fawcett, is "as much a necessary of life as the air we breathe or the water we drink,"

1 For the sake of strict accuracy it must here be mentioned that in August, 1833, the Governor-General in Council had on the basis of petitions submitted by Messrs. Robert Ker & Co. of Calcutta, resolved that a drawback should henceforth be allowed the import duty taken upon English salt in the preparation of country cured provisions, on the exportation of that article to sea from the Presidency of Bengal subject to the conditions that parties intending to benefit by the indulgence would make known their purpose to the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium in order that an officer from the Custom House might be appointed at the expense of the provisioner, to reside in the premises where the curing was conducted for the purpose of keeping an account of the quantity of English salt on which the drawback would be claimable. (Appendix No. 65 to the Select Committee on Salt, 183..)

2 Report of the Board of Salt, January, 1832.

Also the evidence of Sir Frederick James Halliday before the Committee on Indian Finances, 1871-74, from which we make the following extract: 'The people dry their fish in the sun or eat it, I am sorry to say, in a putrid state but never think of salting it. Salting of meat is not allowed by climate.'

3 Note by Hon'ble A. Ross, 29th March, 1833; Appendix No. 59 to the Select Committee on Salt, 1863.

were hardly disturbed by any riotous manifestation of discontent.[1] History records that the English people not only repined at the excising of their food but actually gave expression to their feelings of irritation in a violent manner. The excise in that country had virtually to be established at the point of the sword. And in the face of the hostile attitude of the people it could not be retained till the prime necessaries of life—flesh and salt—had been struck out of the list. Why then is this difference ? In the past this unquestioned acquiescence of the Indian people was not infrequently misunderstood as indicative of absence of any sufferings. But to one, who is even slightly acquainted with the psychology and temperament of our people, there cannot be any doubt about the true cause. As a high official once remarked "The poor undoubtedly grieve over the dearness and scarcity of what is an absolute necessary of life; but they do not, so far as I know, connect their distress with the taxation which causes it ...... ; the evil is accepted as an inevitable condition of their hard and careless lives "[2] or as another put it, even more appropriately, "They accept things that come very much as the will of God."[3]

PARIMAL RAY

(Concluded)

1 True there had been a few disturbances. The outbreak at Surat and the uprising in Orissa were already referred to. Besides, there occurred a slight disturbance in Canara and two disturbances in the Trans-Indus area. But they did not last more than a day or two and none of them was of a sufficiently serious character.

2 Quoted in "Money's Note on Salt."

3 Evidence of J. Geddes before Select Committee on Indian Finance, 1871-74, 7th June, 1871.

* The writer thankfully acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. J. C. Sinha for one or two suggestions and specially to Dr. P. N. Banerjea, who has favoured the writer not merely with suggestions but has read through the whole of this paper in manuscript.

ASPECTS OF BENGALI SONG

Love, as an integral internal reality is formless. Its expressions are varied as devotional, conjugal, lawlessly human, parental and so forth. In Hindu Bengal devotional love is current in more than one general form. In Hara and Parvati it has the conjugal aspect, in Radha and Krishna the purely human. In Durga it is principally motherly love. Her child daughter on marriage is exiled from her parental home crushing the parental heart to which she is restored for only three days in the year. Under stringent rules of caste a rich man's daughter nursed in luxury may be married to a polygamous man in poverty adding to parental suffering. Copious tears flow even in the present day when the image of Durga is being prepared to be carried out of the worshipper's home for immersion in the river.

Songs in abundance have kept and even now continue to keep these three aspects of devotional love, living and burning in the heart of Hindu Bengal, even though the devotional feeling may not raise its pointing finger towards divinity. Songs also sing of Kali accepted as the universal mother rescuing her child—the devotee, from the flood of *Kal* which is time and trouble, to rest in peace of eternity. But naturally such songs are of an individualist character. There are songs connected with the religious sects of Baul, Sahajiyá and others of similar standing, which consecrate the body as the temple of the invisible Lord and sweetens fellowship with love. Songs by Ram Mohun Roy and by his associates are of a more universal and therefore of a less emotional character.

May some specimens be exhibited with the sincerest apologies for faulty translations. The exhibition opens with the

disorderly infant love of the soul called Radha for Krishna the Suprême :

Love's first fervour draws her on,
Hindrance none her binds,
Forth alone she goes for love,
Path, unpath unminds.
Deep the darkness of the night,
Heart-light Love affords :
Cut down journey's dangers all
Love's unfailing swords.

VIDYAPATI.

Her love gains in peace as it matures :—

The hut I built for joy of life
Is gone. *It* the fire has burnt;
In sea ambrosial while I bathe
To poison all is turned.
Oh friend! the script of fate upon my front
Will end not, ne'er begun.
For coolth I crave for face of moon
I meet the blazing sun.
For fear of change I climb high hill
I plunged in plumbless sea.
I pray for fortune find but want.
Unlooked my gem leaves me.
I found a town I bank the sea
My gem again to find,
The sea is dry and hides the gem.
I feel my ill-fate grind.
In thirst I pray to plentious cloud
On me the thunder falls.
Oh! more than death is Kanu's love
So Jnānadāsa calls.

JNANADASA.

On the turn is visioned the anguish of Durga's mother to be parted from her daughter following her husband :

My Uma's taken away from me
My heart cannot it bear!
That one alone whose love is torn
From heart can feel the tear.

In anxious expectation of a short visit from her daughter she feels the Divinity informing her expected visitor :

Oh! Mountain-lord my Gauri came,
    She showed herself to me in dream;
She stole away my conscious life
    Where's hid her form, the Light Supreme?

When Gauri came to her as daughter her feeling is human :

In Hara's home how fared thy days
    Oh! tell me Uma, dear!
Oh! many men say many things
    That pierce my heart through ear.
Amongst them people in whisper say
    A mendicant is he;
And to be pair with son-in-law
    Thy gold-form ash-rubbed be.

Another turn shows the worshipper of Kali :

Kali the Blissful

In life, he is the greatest joy
Who knows her, who is bliss Supreme
He recks not holy sites or works
All Kali does—to him joy's cream.

(MAHARAJAH RAM KRISHNA OF NATORE.)

The spectator must feel more at home at the next turn It marks the revival of ancient Brahmanic faith in the dual aspects of Divinity—transcendence (Svarupa) and immanence (Upadhi) :

O, Him who is unreached by mind
    How this eye can see?
He's threefold universe beyond
    Devoid of form is He.
Imagination He transcends
    And Vedic words to dumbness sends.

(RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY.)

To fear Him makes all terrors all,
To love Him makes belov'd of all,
A lifeless speck before wert thou,
He has given thee sentience now,
Has called the senses to thy aid.
Now, think thy choice, if wisely made,
To Him unmind, when truth is said.

Ibid.

Without the aid of illustrative symbols and examples, devotional feeling reaches the mind capable of distinguishing intellect from emotion. But no devotional song expressed in symbols of human beings and things of human life can only whisper into the devotees' heart their spiritual significance by the help of names adored. The opposite process is discernible in some songs. To the ear they are but songs of human love but in the process of assimilation the mind and heart are sucked up into the sphere of spirituality. Flowers picked up in Sridhar Kathak's garden of songs are presented in a bunch so that the spiritual fragrance may be preserved. Each by itself will not fail to charm the ear but with the risk of thought taking them only as songs of human love. When associated, their underlying spiritual unity will change the atmosphere of feeling.

Love for whom

I.

He mine, he mine, oh, say no more
　　I'm his, He 's mine,—does He not know?
Does He not know even this?
If mine, he'd come as constant bliss
　　Knows not Love absent burns in glow.

II.

Whoever absence says is ill,
Himself he's ever evil still.
Of absence I devotee be—
A store of joy gives absence me.

The end of day was near life's end
When far was sight of love, my friend,
In heart now love I ever see.

III.

A stranger he! then who's my own
My life—his trust, than life prized more
My name made black, reviled by eld.
In home and out of scorn the score.
And yet there is but one desire
His cling of love for this heart's score.

IV.

Love thou me—or love me not
All life my heart shall yearn for Thee
My life is thine to take at will
To give me life Thy glory be!

One question waits for answer. Can these songs be imprisoned within the human world of love between man and woman or do they rise as a prayer from soul to Soul Supreme? Is it dream alone that can see the hand of Harmony entwining these song-flowers into a garland, with the love pet of devotion, the love-thought that knows not life's limits, the love-unity that makes all one and one all, untouched by un-loves of life, and the self-effacing love that rests in peace on sweetness that is called glory?

More than half a century past there was a tradition current about a Bengali singer. He belonged to the Court of a rich and powerful Zemindar, a prince in the early days of British rule. As day followed day and secret chain of unwedded love between the singer and his master's childless widowed sister, fair and young, was woven by hand of Fate.

Day again followed day and the screen of secrecy was rolled up by the same hand. The outraged and enraged brother condemned the singer to death. He was tied to a post and the sword unsheathed to do its fatal work. The singer asked for a

respite to sing his last song. His last prayer was granted and he sang :

> Once Thy endearment called me life,
> Thou takest now that life away;
> All joys of love, O, Thou gavest once
> 'Mongst whom are they now scattered say.

Had the song an ending that was left unsung when she, with hair dishevelled and *Sari* floating in the air over her left shoulder, and half-suppressed groan, clasped his feet, flooded with the tears from her eyes. Pity assuaged rage. His life was spared and she, exiled to Benares. It is profitless to enquire whether the tradition is at fault in identifying the singer with Śridhar.

The lotus, with colour so catching and scent so sweet and soothing grows from slimy muck. The hired nautch-girl sings :

> I care not for Thy coin or shell
> Nor ornaments of gold
> O, let me live in love-joy sweet
> What else can ev'r me hold !

An untraced Bengali singer invokes the solace of love's presence in absence in a tune of his own. It is kept for conclusion lest the harmonious flow of Śridhar's songs be impeded. He sings :

> The heart can never love forget
> A stranger love to death,
> The cloud but hides of Moon the face
> Love parted hides love's breath
> From flint and steel in water plunged
> Close hit, fire grit, ev'r rayeth.

The last taste of sweet is sweetest last. Poor translation must precede the rich original in silent expectation that the true character of the bunch of songs will be appreciated in delight.

HENRIK IBSEN

MODERN DRAMA

I.

The publication of '*Pillars of Society*' in 1877 marks a turning point in the history of Drama. It was the first step in what has since proved to be an interminable intrusion by the Dramatist into the relations between men and women in the Social Compact. For tens of centuries Dramatists had been apparently satisfied with the stock themes conveniently afforded by Romance: they had never even remotely imagined that the sordid social relations between the sexes could lend as edifying problems for discussion and command, as wide a human appeal on the plank of Drama, as the tragedies of Sophocles, Shakespeare or Racine. Henrik Ibsen was the pioneer who planted at the teeth of unparalleled animosity a few wonderful seeds of realism on the fertile soil of Drama. The mastery of the technique of realism by a succession of brilliant Dramatists has now almost driven away sentimental romance from the domain of present-day Drama. Realism in its multifarious manifestations has made its conquest of the theatre nearly complete and is to-day deep-rooted in Western consciousness. The foundations of Realism whereon the edifices of Ibsen's so-called 'Modern Drama' are constructed are unassailable and impregnable: inherently they are stable enough to stand the fiercest buffets of ignorance, cupidity and conservatism. The work accomplished was not of course the achievement of Ibsen alone: many other hands have laboured hard at it braving a hundred hostile influences: the peoples' very outlook, in spite of appearances to the contrary, during the past half a century of individual assertion has been singularly responsive to the new stimulus: Ibsen or no Ibsen, Realism would have come to its own anyhow. Still it would be nothing short of lunacy to undervalue the pioneering work of Ibsen: without him the work would doubtless have

been considerably delayed, possibly it would have been turned out in a different and a cruder cast. For Ibsen not only gave the signal but himself charged the new movement with the impetus to rush on with the tumult of an all-consuming force. And his masterpieces—and there are at least a dozen of them—are not *his* masterpieces only : they are still, and for ever will be, the masterpieces of Realistic Prose Drama whose creator he was. He did not step aside with unconcerned arrogance once he had sown the seeds : no, he nourished them, watched their hourly growth, sustained them assiduously with the enervating wine of his genius. When at last they had attained the pinnacle of perfection—when the seeds had assumed with careful deliberation and sure strength the magnificent proportions of the oak—the pioneer knew that his life-work was over and that now at any rate the theatre had been made safe for Realism. And so in satisfaction and triumph, as Prophet and Pioneer, in an incredible frame of mind and with an impenetrable placidity of demeanour passed away the strong, heroic soul of Ibsen, the idol of his country and the beacon-light of Nations. The dozen plays from '*Pillars of Society*' to '*When we Dead Awaken*' constitute his contribution to Modern Drama. A frank discussion of these from a mere human standpoint is all that is offered in this and the succeeding papers by the present writer. This is just a first study, and as such they should be considered by my indulgent readers.

Paradoxical as it may sound it is yet a fact that '*Pillars of Society*' is the least typical of Ibsen's great social dramas. Despite its colossal success in two continents, its wonderful plot, its audacious probing into certain vital social problems and above all the unmatched subtlety of some isolated scenes—that between Bernick and Aune in Act II for instance or the one where Bernick consults the crusty Rorlund for a good dose of dubious casuistic solace—one feels that after all the play is but a magnificent patching up. The plot indeed is in one sense the beginning, the middle and the end of '*Pillars of Society*.'

it is of course amazingly developed: or rather it is no development at all, properly so called. The art of the dramatist in this as also in his other plays consists in his unfaltering ingenuity to reveal the real plot by faultless retrospective narration. But it is done with exquisite and compelling art. Even the first act of Shakespeare '*The Tempest*' pales into insignificance in this respect. One feels that the plot is merely stationary though with puzzling alteration it now seems to go forwards and now again to swing backwards with an abrupt movement. In the end one knows all, but these had happened long, long ago. One is delighted, charmed, stunned: one closes the book with a vague uneasiness. Anon he takes it up again and must read it from the beginning.

This is the story of '*Pillars of Society*.' Karsten Bernick the chief character in the play is a ship-builder. He loves one Lona Hessel, is betrothed to her younger sister and has had a long liaison with an actress to his credit. Lona and he cannot marry for she is not sufficiently rich; the other sister is an excellent catch, for her aunt has left her mistress of a whole fortune; he decides to marry her as he is convinced that he must absolutely have some money to place his tottering business on a stable foundation. Lona naturally resents this but there is nothing else to be done. At this point a theatrical company comes to the town and with it the actress also. Bernick is anxious to avoid a scandal and goes to meet her wishing once and for all to make it up with her and come to reasonable terms. The husband of this unfortunate woman returns unexpectedly and poor Bernick has to run away to escape detection by jumping out of a window. In a few hours the town is full of strange rumours. Bernick is in a dreadful dilemma. He is on the brink of despair. But luck in the person of Johan Tonnensen, a friend of his and the younger brother of his betrothed, saved the wretched man. Johan runs away to America to forge a new life there leaving Bernick to exploit the situation as best as he may. Certainly Bernick is not the man now to flinch.

Moreover Lona also follows Johan close on his heels to America. Bernick is thankful beyond expression to these benevolent souls for this ready and anticipatory amenability on their part. He does not vacillate, he sets to work in studied deliberation. There surely was a scandal connected with the actress but it was the runaway that was responsible for it. More than that the niggardly Johan had also taken away with him the cash box of Bernick & Co., shipbuilders, in which firm he had been employed. It all bore the impress of verisimilitude. Everybody gave credence to the story. Bernick's sister herself, the incomparable Martha, has to believe this, she who loves Johan as only a woman can ; as for the other woman she too is kept in blissful ignorance but marries Bernick all the same, content to be the wife of the prosperous shipbuilder of the place. On this lie are built up the fortunes of Bernick but none knows it and he easily passes for a 'Pillar of Society.'

Rorlund, a school-master of the place, and Hilmar Tonnensen, Mrs. Bernick's cousin, din into abject Karsten's ears the high principles on which the community should be reared and the invulnerable code of moral discipline and propriety which should be necessarily conformed to by every 'Pillar of Society.' Rorlund is a miserable and detestable personage with an extraordinary propensity for talking about the ingredients of moral excellence. He feels that by special edict of God he has been appointed guardian of the morals of the community it has pleased Him to make him live in. As for Hilmar he has an equally important urge in life, to keep him fully occupied whether in the province of thought, speech or action—only the last is nil. His glorified mission in life is to hold aloft 'the banner of the ideal' and help Rorlund as far as it lies in his power to function as the unpeccable moral pillar of society. It is inevitable that such blindness should infect others too in the long run: and so it does. Mrs. Bernick, Martha, the members of the Society for Fallen Women—they are all so *moral*. Karsten Bernick himself is irreproachable in his

conduct. He is occasionally troubled by his conscience but the latter always takes care to be a money-making conscience. He has made heaps of money ; he has even made liberal donations towards the general welfare; he is, when the play opens, the richest and the most influential person in his town; his home is the model home of the place, his conduct the model conduct; his morality is universally regarded as spotless. Any villainous project would meet with public approval were his name to be associated with it. None would dare to suspect him of complicity in any questionable undertaking. And all this Karsten owes to the self-sacrificing amiability of a true friend and to his own unscrupulous self-centredness. In the pithy language of Lona 'all this grandeur...... is founded on a treacherous morass.' This veritable 'pillar of society' has another nefarious scheme up his sleeve. A railway line is to be opened : not certainly the coastal line that was proposed the year before and which Karsten had stoutly opposed as it would then have injured the steamboat trade and consequently his own industry. This is a new scheme altogether : this would not touch his pockets ; far from it. There is the very real possibility of a metamorphosis in his financial condition, of his eventually turning out to be a multi-millionaire. Only he has need of all the backing up of his terrible reputation for fair-dealing and meticulous honesty : yes, he must play his cards well, he could never play them too well. With two other equally hypocritical scoundrels he hatches an infernal plan : the accomplices are to get a fifth part of the net profits as their share. The wealthy capitalist as he is, Bernick proposes to buy all the lands, mines and waterfalls through which a branch line to his own town will have to pass if ever it should be decided upon and of course with his prodigious influence he is sure of its coming to pass sooner or later. Then would the price of the lands rise and the transaction cannot fail to put a few millions into his purse. At this point the play ostensibly opens. Bernick is all jubilation ; Rorlund is all preaching. Unexpectedly

as a bolt from the blue arrive Lona and Johan after fifteen years of unremitting toil in an alien land. The whole household is thrown in utter confusion. Hilmar and Rorlund fidget and fumble in uncontrollable agitation. The Society for Fallen Women suddenly breaks up. In the eyes of all the newly arrived pair are but a visible monstrosity. So assiduous has been the pernicious propaganda of the Bernicks, of Rorlund and of Hilmar, that everyone shrinks and recoils at the sight of Johan. But in the inner recesses of Bernick's heart there are stirrings of a very disturbing nature. That they should come just now and create a scandal, "just when I must be backed up by every iota of my reputation! I wonder if after all I would be able to weather the storm and carry through my project. And if it should fail, I would be a ruined man: I have been too rash in buying up those huge tracts of land in the hope of —no, the hopes have no prospects of fulfilment: no prospects whatsoever!"

Yet Bernick does not give up the tussle with fate: thank God, he is made of sterner stuff. This past-master of dissimulation welcomes the pair with remarkable equanimity and instructs everyone to do likewise. No allusion to the past! So runs his peremptory order to one and all. But there is Dina. She is Karsten's own illegitimate daughter taken after the actress's death into the Bernick household and brought up by Mrs. Bernick and Martha as almost one of themselves: but the curious circumstance is that when Johan was made the scapegoat for the liaison he automatically became the father as well of the child. As one more twist in the course of events Johan immediately after his return from America falls in love with Dina who is already though only secretly (the coward dared not affirm it in public) betrothed to Rorlund. The latter as soon as he comes to know of this is incensed more on account of the deep moral pit into which the unhappy Dina would fall than on his own. A shattering scene follows in which Rorlund tells Dina that it is the seducer of her own mother that she is

making love to: Johan and Lona are thunderstruck; this really is too much. They demand an explanation of Bernick: they insist that Johan must be exonerated in the eyes of Dina. The ugly situation grows uglier still: Karsten's mind is rent by conflicting emotions. It is all obviously a nuisance: he could afford to ignore it but for the blessed railway project. And this Johan is threatening to let the cat that had so long slumbered in obscurity out at the very moment when a deputation of the citizens is to wait upon him and make him a rich present thanking him for the meritorious services that by precept and by example he had so long rendered to the community. No, he need not capitulate yet: here at last there is a way out. Johan proposes to go that very day to America on board the 'Indian Girl.' He hopes to return in a couple of months having settled his affairs there: but Karsten would prevent that. The 'Indian Girl' shall sink on the way: *she shall.* Then the spectral agony would also go down to the bottom of the sea. Alas, Karsten has reckoned without his host. The perversity of fate is not so simple as all that: As it actually happens, Johan and Dina quietly pack off to America leaving Lona to deal with the culprit in any manner that she likes: but they go on board 'The Palm Tree' and not the 'Indian Girl.' However Karsten's little son Olaf is in the 'Indian Girl': his father's autocracy had been too much for him and he is going to run away to America in the company of uncle Johan. Karsten understands the fatal truth: the edifice of his ambition staggers and swims before his sight: he knows he has sinned in vain, nay, sinned only to pull the noose round his neck tighter. And the procession of citizens to honour him is approaching him and in mute scorn a banner faces him illuminated and transparent whereon he quietly reads to his indescribable torment: 'Long live Karsten Bernick, Pillar of our Society!'

But Olaf is saved after all: Mrs. Bernick and Aune effect this at the very eleventh hour. Karsten experiences a new

feeling: remorse for his evil deeds and the slumbering and smouldering lie of his life smites him: he is spurred on by a sublime thought. Now is the time for him to tear asunder in the presence of all the veil of hypocrisy and make open confession of his early infamy. He rises to the occasion: in answer to the address of the people eulogising his services Bernick in an unruffled tone and with calm emphasis makes the following indictment of the era that is just ended:—

'The old era—with its affectation, its hypocrisy and its emptiness, its pretence of virtue and its miserable fear of public opinion—shall be for us like a museum, open for purposes of instruction.'

His confession immediately follows. The assembly gradually disperses hotly discussing what has happened in all its bearings. As for Karsten he has lifted the killing weight of years from off his shoulders. The hero of Lona Hessel's youth stands 'free and true:' as an apt gloss to his heroic action she tells him, her hand lying firmly on his shoulder, that "the spirit of truth and the spirit of freedom" are the real pillars of society.

It would be seen even from the foregoing distorted and cumbrous recapitulation of the plot how successful on the stage 'Pillars of Society' should have been. Indeed it was generally so highly applauded that in such countries as Germany and Austria it had very long and successful runs and the public was genuinely in insatiable raptures over it. No class was particularly offended as the play hit only at the false *ideas* of society. Ibsen, early in life, had been struck by the phenomenon of the few rich and the many poor, of the existence of unscrupulous impostors and their unfortunate prey; and in this play he gives us the reason why such things are rampant in society. He feels that the ideas that govern and are governed by society are so rotten at the centre that such a miserable state of affairs as the world is witness to to-day is only the natural and unescapable conclusion. Bernick coolly says: "the lesser must go down before the greater: the individual must be sacrificed to the

general welfare." Why 'must?' one gasps. Still that, has become the watchword of society, Again the undue insistence on a supposed morality washes nature clean from his conduct. Is one to be moral or simply natural ? This is the crucial question of Dina, one of the 'fallen creatures :' why 'fallen?' But society is incorrigible : the shame of the mother descends unto the daughter with mathematical precision. Ibsen had brooded over all these knotty points in human relationships and social iniquities for long. The arch-individualist of his age, Ibsen returned to these questions, in his succeeding dramas every time with increasing pertinacity. In 'Pillars of Society' he touched upon his favourite theme with success but he took care not to offend his critics. He had won his way now : the complete Ibsen might now come forth. In any case he would be heard. 'Pillars of Society' had seen to that.

And so after a brief interval of two years came out '*A Doll's House*.' It would be hideously banal to refer to the epoch-making character of this play. Its technique no less than its vindication of woman's inherent right to realise her responsibility and assert her independence made its appearance sensational. Till the middle of the third act there is nothing that surprises or irritates the reader : it is then that the innovation in technique is made clear and the rational social viewpoint consistently developed. The bare facts of the story are told in a few words. Helmer is a young man who has just now been appointed manager of a Bank. He is what the majority would call a sensible and moral human being, the father of three nice children, the husband of Nora, a man of position in society and in every instance above criticism from our accepted canons of morality. He has a particularly horrid dread of debts. "No debts ! No borrowing !" These are his *principles*. Unfortunately destiny too often plays with principles. In the very first years of his wedded life he had fallen seriously ill. A foreign tour alone could have saved him. But he had no money and "seriously Nora knew his principles in these points." But she

had the passion of the heroines of Romance to risk all and somehow save him. Her father was dying: she quietly borrowed the required sum from one Krogstad executing a promissory note: when pressed for better security she forged her father's name: she found nothing wrong there. She was going to repay the money anyhow. What did it matter whether she forged or not? She told her husband that her father had provided her with the money necessary for the journey. The foreign tour saves him in the long run. Her big purpose so successfully achieved, she repays the sum in instalments partly derived from her own pocket money but largely earned by herself by means of some drudgery or other. Almost the entire sum has been repayed. It is now Christmas: Nora, the 'bird,' the 'squirrel' 'my little lark' is busy arranging the Christmas purchases. An old friend of hers, one Mrs. Linden, arrives and asks Nora to use her influence with her husband to get for her some minor post in the Bank. It fits in perfectly with Helmer's scheme. He has already been planning to dismiss Krogstad, who is also in the Bank, and the applicant Mrs. Linden comes very handy. This is signal for inordinate complications. Krogstad reminds Nora of the legal implications of forgery and threatens to take steps if she does not intercede immediately on his behalf and prevail upon her husband to reinstate him in office. She is in tense bewilderment: she is struck dumb when told that "the law takes no account of motives." What! *she* to be condemned for her little error of judgment—no, it was not even that: she had made sacrifices and saved her husband, that's all. In rage and visible emotion she asks Krogstad:

"Do you mean to tell me that a daughter has no right to spare her dying father trouble and anxiety?—that a wife has no right to save her husband's life?"

And anon she adds with innocent conviction:

"I don't know much about the law but I'm sure you'll find, somewhere or other, that that is allowed."

The lofty erection of this conviction experiences its first rude shocks from Helmer himself. He is earnestly entreated by Nora to keep poor Krogstad in office. Helmer, however, is stubborn. He cannot sacrifice his principles on any account : and to have a forger in his office—it is unthinkable. Nora slowly understands that a forger is not, however divine the motives that had prompted the deed, so lightly to be dismissed. The dramatic irony of the scene that follows is overwhelming. He is giving hint after hint and each cuts her and pierces her at the most vulnerable spots. "Every breath the children draw contains some germ of evil." "Nearly all cases of early corruption may be traced to lying mothers." "It gives me a positive sense of physical discomfort to come in contact with such people." "And here has this Krogstad been poisoning his own children for years past by a life of lies and hypocrisy—that is why I call him morally ruined." All the while Helmer is thinking of Krogstad : but poor Nora is thinking naturally of herself alone. She now knows that the world is not what she had fondly imagined it was. She throws back her head in defiance when all by herself and passionately exclaims : "It is not true! It can never, never be true ! "

Alas! she knows not; it is only too true and she will learn the bitter lesson and drink the cup of disillusionment soon, only sooner than she expects. Undaunted still, she pleads for Krogstad and brings forward strange reasons : 'This man writes for the most scurrilous newspapers..... He can do you no end of harm.' Helmer is unyielding and adamant. Under her very nose he despatches Krogstad's dismissal. She is annihilated : Helmer but laughs at her deep concern, thoughtless and meaningless as he considers it to be. Meanwhile Krogstad has received the fatal communication and hurries to meet Nora. A painful scene surcharged with tragic consequences follows. Driven to sheer desperation she says that she would commit suicide. But the pitiless Krogstad, also driven to desperation, piles her with pungent and deadly sarcasm : "Under the ice, perhaps? Down

into the cold, black water ? And next spring to come up again, ugly, hairless, unrecognisable..." The interview makes matters worse : it accelerates the catastrophe. Krogstad moved on by the impulsion of an irresistible rancour drops a letter into Helmer's letter-box. Nora can do no more. She is helpless, miserable and stirred deep in the profundities of her soul. Mrs. Linden makes now her timely appearance. She learns quickly how matters stand. She promises to use her influence (she had been Krogstad's lover once) over the money-lender and persuade him to demand his letter back unread ; only Nora should manage to keep her husband away from the letter-box for some time. Nora's spirits revive : she clutches at this last straw with all the doggedness of the condemned. But as luck would have it Krogstad is away from town and would not be back till next evening. Nora for her part has made Helmer promise not to go near the letter-box till next night, till after the dance should be over. As the hours pass an inexplicable toughness of character is in speedy formation within Nora. She does not care now a straw whether Krogstad demands the letter back or not. As she herself says : "Things must take their own course. After all, there's something glorious in waiting for the miracle." The 'miracle' she alludes to here is the ideal line of conduct she believes her dear Helmer will pursue once in possession of the facts. She has no doubts on this point : she is convinced that Helmer would not hesitate to take the entire responsibility for the forgery on his own shoulders and say to all the world : "No, my wife did not do it : she did it only egged on by me : I am the culprit." Has he not himself said : "Do you know, Nora, I often wish some danger might threaten you, that I might risk body and soul, and everything, everything for your dear sake ?" Act III opens at this stage. Mrs. Linden and Krogstad are closeted together down below : the Helmers are dancing and playing the tarantella, Krogstad and Mrs. Linden strike a practicable bargain : they are both shipwrecked souls and it were best if they cling to one raft. Krogstad proposes to get

his letter back : but the ' idealist ' in her would have none of it. " Helmer must know everything :...They must have done with all these shifts and subterfuges." And so we are to watch the grim catastrophe that has all but completed its woeful distillation. Helmer after postponements and indecisions opens the letter-box and sits late at night to devour his correspondence. She hurries into her apartment with wild eyes and prepares for final exit : her ideal Torvald Helmer shall not save her, she had better die herself ! " Oh, that black, icy water ! Oh that bottomless ! If it were only over !" At this very moment in the bridal chamber sits Torvald, tired, reading with supercilious indifference Krogstad's letter. What ! this is quite a new thing altogether ! He flings the door open letter in hand. He has been too active for Nora. Straightforwardly she makes her confession. His fury knows no bounds : he mutters curses and abuses in oratorical profusion. The ' miracle ' simply fizzles out. To him Nora is no erring, if also loving, wife to be caressed and protected : she is a liar, a hypocrite, a criminal. " Oh, the unfathomable hideousness of it all ! " he cries in self-centred anguish : it almost seems incredible; he would fain not stare at its native monstrosity. As the impossible situation gets actually upon our nerves and we inaudibly hear the earth crash under our feet and the sounds rise to culminate and anon fade into unsubstantial nothingness, a ring below announces a visitor. It is the porter in ' Macbeth ' over again. Helmer goes to the door and comes back with a letter. It is addressed to Nora : but he breaks open the seal and reads. To his unimaginable dismay it is Nora's promissory note with a brief note of explanation and apology from Krogstad. He tears the I. O. U. and the letters as well to small pieces. Those scruples he just now made so much of, with the assurance that his name would suffer no damage now or ever, vanish like exploded bubbles. He now talks big of her love for him, of his having surely forgiven her, of his ready willingness to give her a helping hand in all her difficulties in the years to come. But the rollicksome gaiety of Nora is gone,

never more to return. She has too severely paid her toll for all her adherence to the ideals of the "womanly woman." While the frantic husband is talking incoherent words to soothe the woman he has so deeply wronged she mechanically takes off her masquerade dress and reappears in everyday costume. He cannot understand her action and asks her why. "I shall not sleep to-night," she says bluntly. He starts, so strange is her attitude, colourless, rigid and indifferent. And now the extraordinary thing happens: the apparent denouement has passed off and yet the play does not end. Something bewildering from the point of view of stage technique is introduced. Nora, still in that same cold expressionless tone, but nevertheless in ominous language, asked Torvald to sit down. "You and I have much to say to one another." What next? One pantingly asks. Well, what follows is discussion: in question and counter-question and in Nora's affirmations are given out a constructive social doctrine. Nora proposes to leave her husband there and then and enter the wider world to feel for herself her bearings to it. Her ideals shattered, her romantic fancies thoroughly disillusioned, her last shred of hope—that 'miracle' itself—torn irremediably, she is a new woman. Her soul is enkindled with the fire of a new and a more natural life. The 'open sesame' of idealists—the watchwords of duty, propriety, morality—leaves her cold. To Helmer's reminder "Before all else you are a wife and a mother" comes the pert retort: "That I no longer believe. I believe that before all else I am a human being just as much as you are...I can't be satisfied with what most people say, and what is in books. I must think things out for myself, and try to get clear about them." She is no squirrel, no bird of his: Helmer understands this at last. The precious word 'society' falls flat too when aimed at vanquishing her: she coolly remarks, "I must make up my mind which is right ...society or I." She tells him mildly but nevertheless emphatically that in reality "she has been living here these eight years with a strange man!" She ought really to tear herself to pieces

for this abomination of her life! He is deadly pale: he is horrified: he blinks stupidly. By the side of this masterful woman he is a helpless child. She snaps his objections with an abrupt and decisive movement. They exchange their wedding rings. There is to to be perfect freedom on both sides, she says: They are no more to write to each other. With a militant farewell she goes out. Helmer sinks exhausted into his chair: she could no more hear her Helmer's groans.

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

(To be coutinued)

ON SENTIMENT

Some things are indefinable; "sentiment" is one of them. Exactly to convey its meaning is not possible. All one can do is to try to explain it as lucidly as one can. Not that this is any the easier. But nothing is lost in making an attempt.

Sentiment is a thing *within* us. It is a kind of feeling. It is akin to pity: pity in its silent form. One does not vociferate sentiment,—that is to say, the genuine article. One often enough, of course, makes known one's *sentiments*. But that is different, as everyone knows: "sentiments" merely standing for "opinions." It is a reflexion on the English language that the singular and the plural of the same word should, in certain instances, carry different meanings. But that is neither here nor there.

Sentiment, then, is not a loud thing: one does not cry it out from the house-tops. Like most beautiful things, it is *felt*, not expressed. It cannot be acquired: one has it, or one has it not, like the *ars poetica* or a caul. Often, indeed, one cannot vouchsafe a reason for cherishing a sentiment: one is driven along with it as by an invisible but irresistible force. An explanation can, of course, be sought; and it is invariably referred to usage, inheritance, and the like. Whatever it may be, this is certain, that it is inborn, and that we have not the making of it in our own hands.

There are conflicting views as to the value of sentiment in the scheme of things. I do not propose to go through them at great length. Suffice it to say that some admit its value, some do not. My own opinion is that there is no place for sentiment in the world as it stands. The world of to-day is essentially a bad world. At any rate, it is a merciless world: a world for the strong, the pushful, the vain-glorious: a world that does not recognize the under-dog. Now, if I have accurately depicted the world, what place is there for sentiment in it? Does not

sentiment in its most general form mean a merciful kind of feeling towards the unfortunates, the down-trodden, the physically unfit? Where is such a merciful feeling to-day? And if, perchance, there is, what amount of encouragement does it receive? These are questions to which no satisfactory answers can be given. It is not enough to cite a few stray cases, to mention with *aplomb* what this heiress has done, or that millionaire has accomplished,—we must, as the saying goes, get down to bed-rock and discover whether the generality of mankind is in a hopeful, benefiting way. The answer, I fear, will be in the negative.

There are those, of course, who assert that sentiment is bad, *per se*. In no age is its influence good. It makes for an ill-fitted world. Thorough competition, the rigorous elimination of the unfit,—it is these that tend to improve the world, to increase its efficiency. Let there be a show of the slightest softening of the heart, the merest indication of the stretching of the helping hand to those who cannot help themselves: and see what a rent will be made in the otherwise faultless stitching of the world! Matters should be allowed to take their own course. They invariably do, in the animal and the vegetable kingdoms. It is only man—the accursed beast that he is—that constantly meddles with the ordained course of affairs, that puts his finger in every pie, and hasn't even the consolation of carrying his point in the end. Now, in this connection, a remark or two of my own may not be quite out of place. Darwin's "Origin of Species" has done an incalculable amount of harm. For this, Darwin himself is not to blame. But his book has been misunderstood woefully: most innovations have been. "We must never forget that, alongside of any great truth, there is certain to be a sham and a counterfeit of that truth" (Charles Kingsley). "Wherever," said Cardinal Newman, "the true Jerusalem is built, there is a Samaria close at hand." Even so has been the case with Darwin's theory. There is a substratum of truth in what he said about the struggle for existence, natural

selection, and so forth. But he never meant to apply them to human conditions. That, nevertheless, is what has been done. People have copied his premises wholesale in our own institutions. Now, this is a perversion of truth as glaring as any in the annals of history. Darwin had not in his mind thoughts to stamp out sentiment from the affairs of men. Men are on a level apart. And the evolution of man has not been on parallel lines with that of animals and plants. The whole evolution hypothesis has undergone modifications since the time of Darwin; and Darwin himself, though he was the first to lay down succinctly a scientific basis to the theory of evolution, was mistaken on the main points. But on that I need not dwell here. The point is that the bodily importation of phenomena from the lower kingdoms to that of our own is a fatal blunder, and has been the main instrument in originating the evils that are besetting the world at the present moment.

I have thought it necessary to refer to Darwin and his book, because it strikes me that to him (all unconsciously) must be traced most of the loose-thinking of to-day that passes current for unalloyed wisdom. As I have said, the man of sentiment is strangely out of place in the present state of society. Society is in the melting-pot: it does not know its own bases. All is fish that comes to its net. Clearly, it is not governed by moral principle. Money and Power—these are the only gods that it worships. The old-fashioned codes of honor, morality, and such-like superfluous attributes of the human being, are clean swept out. Modern society cares not for what players call the rules of the game; but it cares extremely about winning. It has become a sort of commercial transaction; and commerce in any form fights immensely shy of sentiment. Commerce and sentiment indeed! Never was a conjunction so palpably inappropriate; why, they are as poles asunder.

Poetry is three parts sentiment. There can be no true poetry without it. Poetry soothes the soul: it imparts to it a peculiar quiescence and security. It is the very balm in Gilead

to many an aching heart. People took to poetry in the old days as a duck takes to water. But what is the state of affairs now? To ask the question is to give the answer.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that there can be too much of a good thing. Sentiment may be carried to excess. And then it becomes insufferable. It may become a *mode*, a fashion, a catchword. There is always a danger of sentiment degenerating into "sentimentality." Often it does. Now, sentiment is as different from sentimentality as, say, pure gold is from any of its alloys. Sentimentality is easy of acquisition: sentiment is born with one. The former is a counterfeit of sentiment. Invariably it is an apology for it and a bad one at that. It borders upon hypocrisy. As Mr. G. W. E. Russell says, "Sentimentality is a synonym for affectation; but sentiment is one of the great realities of life, and when it is uttered in fluent and harmonious verse, it takes men captive even in spite of themselves." Sentimentality, in short, consists in the outward show of things. It is a way of doing things, not because the doing of it is necessary, not because it renders any material relief to one's feelings, but because it conforms to an earthly code, because it satisfies a human convention. Often enough there is little real feeling behind it, small charge of power behind the shot.

There is, again, what is known as "sentimentalism." It is found mostly in books. Certain novels are full of it. It appeals to the bulk of readers. And even some reputed authors, it must be admitted, pander to the public taste in this connection. The point may be stated in this way. There is a widespread prejudice in favour of the good ending of a story. No matter what the previous structure of it may be, the incidents must be so adjusted that the closing is happy. It should wind up with the ringing of bells, and the joining of hands. Some people would fain turn "that tangled wilderness, the world, into the trim Dutch-garden of the story-tellers." "Life is real, life is earnest,"—but what of that? Stories are outside of life; and

whatever happens there is beyond our own limited understanding. Now, it is only too easy, as a certain writer has well put it, to write for those avoid of sentimentalism, to express what Thomas Huxley calls "sensualistic caterwauling." But in the case of a serious author there must be room for all life, but not for a lean or lush statement of life. In other words, even fiction must approximate to reality.

C. L. R. SASTRI

DO YOU BELIEVE IN THE FAIRIES?

Do you believe in the fairies
In little elfin things,
That fly across the fields at night
With shimmering silvery wings.

Oh! I believe in the fairies
And all the elves, I do.
Know that they they come just laden
With heavenly things for you.

Laden with gifts of virtue
And gems of honor bright,
They deck each happy mortal
Whom they fly past each night.

And if you believe in the fairies
They 'll bring you a gift most true
Love, from their treasure house
Right into the heart of you.

CHERRY JALASS

THE DREAM OF HOUR

Into the hush of evening
    A thrush poured melody;
Far up the rustling lane
    In some dim wood,
An owl hooted, and then,
    A night-jar called......
High on the hills, where burned
    The golden fires of sunset,
A cuckoo woke and threw his eerie
    Call echoing thro' the trees.
The long golden ripples of grass
    Drew purple cloaks...then grey,
As the quiet dusk-hour waned......
    Fields rich in clover-bloom
Wound their fragrant scent
    Like yellow smoke
Around the closing arms of night.
    Lulled into peace
The sleepy songsters sought their nests,
    All tongues were still,
And silence held the world in thrall,
    Until a nightingale hereby
Awoke, and spelled by the moon
    Tossed tiny notes of song
Like flecks of silver at the night.
    And then my wild mad soul
Ravished with his ecstasy, fled!
    Fled along the golden path
That reaches to the moon......there,
    Hand in hand with love
We walked among the moon-swept stars,
    Following the trail
Of pure sweet dreams, and lovely thoughts,
    That call and point
The long white road to Paradise.

LELAND J. BERRY

A JAPANESE TEMPLE

It was a glorious autumn day with a soft, cool, air blowing through the swaying masses of susuki when I set out to walk to the ancient Japanese temple of Kita-yama. Eagerly I set out from the station, my way lying through the rice-fields, where the harvest hung like thatch on bamboo hoardings. Here and there I caught glimpses of the golden fruit of the persimmon trees and was reminded of the Garden of the Hesperides. In the distance were low hills aflame with colour as only the hills of Japan can be, while, behind them all, rose the snowcapped summits of the Asahi range of mountains.

The temple rested on the slopes of a small hill, its warm colours blending with the surroundings. I was struck by a strangeness about it which I found it difficult to place. Suddenly I realised that gates were lacking, so that it seemed as if the temple was indeed a part of its surroundings. Later I learnt that many years ago a great saint was priest there and he ordered the removal of the gates so that no suggestion of a barrier should be made.

The priest was a man of culture and his room, although bare of everything that spells comfort to the Western mind, awoke in me a feeling of contentment. Here one might linger while the golden hours fleeted swiftly by. The paper-covered shogi were wide open affording a view of stately pine trees, standing guard over the tomb of some benefactor of the temple, which was placed on the summit of a tiny knoll. On the other side of the room stood two dainty six-fold screens, each fold a delicate painting representing a month. At the end of the room was the alcove, or toko, where the Japanese display their household treasures. In the alcove I saw a vase and behind a painting of Kobo-daishi, the founder of their sect.

I was shown around the temple by the bo-san or priest. Its main contents were tablets, vases, and artificial sprays of

lotus flowers commemorating the departed, yet still cherished souls. Someone who had come to do homage to a departed one must have just gone as I entered for there were several fresh sprays and the sticks of incense which are lighted by each visitor were still burning, casting a faint elusive fragrance throughout the tiny temple.

I passed into the Ihai-dan, the room of the ihai, or small commemorative tablets, listing the names of the family dead. Here the same ceremony of the incense and flowers is performed, although not so often.

The autumn day was brought to a close in a neighbouring vineyard on the side of a hill, where, as custom decreed, I sat awhile, eating the ambrosial grapes which had been freshly picked for me. Then silently rose and went slowly down the flame-enshrined slopes of the hill through the gathering dusk toward the rick-shaw which awaited me to take me back to the station and civilisation.

A. CAILLET-BAXTER

TURBERVILE'S EPITAPHES, EPIGRAMS, SONGS AND SONETS

In studying the life and literary products of an author, one must be acquainted with the epoch of history, and the time in which he lived. So closely related are literature and history that neither one can be understood without the knowledge of the other, since each epoch is characterized by qualities of thought and feeling peculiar to its age.

George Turbervile belonged to an old Dorsetshire family, the D'Urbervilles of the novel of Thomas Hardy, "Tess of the D'Urbervilles," and he was born in 1540 during the Tudor and the Elizabethan period. He was educated at Winchester and New College. He left the latter before he took a degree, and entered one of the Inns of the Court, where he was admired for his poetry. He became the Secretary to Thomas Randolph, Esq., who went as Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia. In 1568 he wrote "Poems describing the places and manners of the country and peoples of Russia." Turbervile, like his friend and fellow worker, Barnabe Googe, composed very little original poetry, although he translated quite a bit. Ovid's "Heroical Epistles," Mantaun's "Ecologues" and Mancinus's "Plaine Path to Perfect Vertue" were all translated by him between 1567 and 1568. By 1605 Ovid's "Heroical Epistles" had run through four editions—1567, 1569, 1600, and one without a date.

In 1567 his only volume of original poetry, "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets" was published. Here he used the metre of Surrey. This metre was of English origin, which was probably a development of the ballad quatrain. It has been called "poulter's measure" because of the dozen of eggs which varied then between twelve and fourteen. It is the "common time" of the hymn book or a combination of two sixes and a fourteener. Since there is no doubt about the accent, it is quite

easy to write; it also saves rimes. But it is very lyrical in quality. The following lines illustrate:

"The more I gazed upon hir face,
I lykte my love the more.
Forthwith I thought my hart out of his romme was rapt,
And wits (that woonted were to wayte on reason) were intrapt."

That Turbervile was a man of taste is shown in his lines to Surrey where he praises him because

"Our mother-tongue by him hath got such light,
As ruder speech thereby is banished quite"

and because he puts "each word in place." Turbervile very much admired the refining influence of Surrey and tried, with some success, to carry it on in his own "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets." His praise of Surrey shows no small amount of skill in managing the heroic couplet with ease.

"What should I speake in prayse of Surrey's skill,
Unless I had a thousand tongues at will?"

Also:

"If I should now forget,
Or not remember thee,
Thou (Spenser) mightest a foul rebuke
And shame impute me.
For I to open shew
Did love thee passing well;
And thou were he at parture whom
I loathed to bid farewell."

One of his poems, "The greene that you did wish mee to weare," is quite deservedly well known because of its abundance of beauty and spirit.

"The greene that you did wish mee to weare,
Aye for your loove,
And on my helme a braunch to beare
Not to remoove,
Was ever you to have in mind,
Whom Cupid hath my feere assignde.
As I in this have done your will,
And minde to doo;

So I request you to fulfill
my fansie too:
A greene and loving hart to have,
And this is all that I do crave."

The following, quoted from Turbervile's "Lover," is a splendid example of a delightful and delicate use of very short lines, which Googe was never able to accomplish:

"I having never earst
The craft of Cupid tride,
No yet the wylie wanton wayes
Of Ladie Venus spide."

Even the hyper-critic cannot object to Turbervile, for the sixteenth century poet disarms criticism by his humble estimate of his own power. To the reader he says:

"Here have I (gentle reader) according to promise in my Translation, given thee a fewe Sonets, the unripe seeds of my barraine braine, to pleasure and recreate thy wearye mind and troubled hed withal; trusting that thou wylte not loth thy bestowing thy time at vacant houres in persuing the same, waying that for thy solace alone (the bounded dutie which I owed the noble Cowntesse reserved) I undertake this slender toyle, and not for anye pleasure I did myselfe in pending thereof...... If there be anything herein that maye offend thee, refuse it...... Reade the good, and reject the evill."

His "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets," contains many beautiful gems of thought which are varied both as to their nature and their color. While the greater number has love for the theme there are other topics also. Anyone who is acquainted with Turbervile will not feel like his

"Man in deepe despaire with hemp in hand,
Went out in haste to end his wretched daises;"

for the following will be his reward:

"And where he thought the gallo tree should stand,
He found a pot of gold."

In the description of the manner in which nature set about to form the body of Ladie Anne, Ladie Countesse Warwicke, there is much charm. Conscientious "Fox that would eat no grapes !" because "this yard is none of mine" finds his brother in Aesop's Fables. The Aesop fox, however, would eat no grapes because they were sour. That all things are as they are used, is a bit of interesting philosophy, which shows how things wrought "by Nature's art, or cunning skill, so wisely wrought, could by man be converted, too worser use than Nature thought."

The lyric poet fixes his attention on the emotion contained in his own heart; he tells us what he feels and thinks. His poetry, then, is personal or subjective: it is concerned in their simplest forms, with passion and emotion, and the successful lyric poet is the one who is able to express his inner feelings independent of time or space. The lyric may be sad or happy, subdued or passionate; but the emotion, no matter what it is, must be real and genuine; it must come from the very heart of the poet and not from his lips only. It is in Turbervile that we find this sweet sincerity:

"Queen Mary felt a want,
If Pembroke were away
So greatly she assied him,
Whilest she did have the sway.
* * * *
Our noble prince, our peeres,
Both poure and riche may rue,
And each one sorrow Pembroke dead
That earst him living knew."

Of his poetry, Turbervile writes with charming diffidence in the epilogue to his "Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets," where he describes himself as paddling along the banks of the stream of Helicon, like a sculler against the tide, for fear of the "mighty hulkes" that ventured out so far. There is a great deal of charm and spirit in the blithe and ballad-like lilt of his

verse. The culture of England in the sixteenth century was the culture of Italy. No one, in those days, who was the least bit cultured, was lacking in a knowledge of the Italian language, and everyone who claimed to be genteel was familiar with the literature of Italy. Turbervile did no small amount of service to literature in his familiarizing the employment of Italian models. He himself shows that he has a wide knowledge of Latin literature and of Greek mythology. His knowledge of Italian was not wanting, and as a pioneer in the use of blank verse, he is remarkable.

Although Turbervile lived in an age when the most learned might, upon the least provocation, be sent to the block, he showed great courage in some of his lines. He concludes his volume with an apology for it :

> " For why, in deede this hastie hatched wurke
> Resembleth much the shapeless lumpe of flesh."

Anyone who will become familiar with Turbervile's " Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets," will not " loth the bestowing thy time at vacant houres in persuing the same."

LOUISE A. NELSON

MATTER METHOD AND MORAL EDUCATION

The educative process cannot be defined in terms of a circle. Neither the child nor the curriculum can be made the centre. The original nature of man and the social values inherent in civilization are both involved at every point and throughout every stage of the educative process. The child is not a fixed thing—his original nature is to be reconstructed and developed until it harmonizes with civilized human nature. The curriculum is not a fixed thing to be imposed upon the pupil—the subject-matter has to be selected continually with reference to meeting the needs of the pupil, while at the same time reflecting the higher aims, purposes and interests of civilized humanity. The two foci, child and curriculum, must not represent two distinct and unrelated points, but rather at the same time centres of mutual tension, and also the pivots about which every thing else swings. This conception will enable us to avoid many of the fallacies common to undue concentration of attention upon either the child or the subject-matter.

We are altogether too prone to think of the subject-matter of education wholly in terms of certain bodies of knowledge to be taught to children. But subject-matter originates within the experience of the group, meeting needs that are real to that group. And the values of life that every age and every nation have sought to perpetuate and to pass on to the rising generation, include much more than specific bodies of fact. They include certain skills, habits, virtues and ideals. These are as important for individual and social welfare as geography, arithmetic, grammar and other subjects which we stress so conscientiously. There are habits of personal bearing, of promptness, of neatness, etc., that have definite social value. The virtues of courage, of patience, of perseverance, of regard for the rights of others, of self-reliance, are all things to be inculcated. So it is with such great ideals as religious

toleration and freedom of thought. It would be a crime against posterity to let them die out. They represent fundamental social values of greater importance perhaps than the knowledge of a vocation. Closely related to ideals are attitudes, and sentiments such as sympathy for the needy, the suffering, and the wronged, etc.

There is decided advantage in thinking of these also as belonging in the curriculum of the school, for they are then much more likely to get the attention they deserve. We tend to think of the curriculum too much in terms of examinable results that can be determined by written tests. We need a much more comprehensive conception still—one that will include all classes of values the attainment of which makes better men and women. The ideal is just as truly a part of the subject-matter of education as the facts of arithmetic, and in a given life-situation may meet the need just as truly as in some other situation the knowledge of some fact will be effective. Unless the ideal is considered part of the subject-matter of education, responsibility for its inculcation will sit very lightly upon the staff of the school.

According to the principles of functional psychology we prepare best for the work of life outside of school, by setting up in school those bonds of connection which we want continued when children leave school. This means that the subject-matter of school must be identical and continuous with the subject-matter of life. The curriculum ought to bring the pupil into contact with the world at many vital points. Hence the reason why we cannot waste time and energy on materials and values which no longer perform any useful function. A curriculum has to be built which has large social adult values, appeals to the interests of children, is suited to their growth wants, and at the same time is sufficiently differentiated to meet the needs of pupils of varying levels of ability. The acceptance of this point of view will mean a thorough overhauling of our present school curriculum which has come to be

what it is though the prestige of tradition, scissors and paste imitation, or the *a priori* opinions of some powerful person or persons. Then superstition and dogmatism will give place to research and reason, and first things will be first in the school curriculum.

Method.

The physician's method of treatment of his patient is determined by a diagnosis of the case. So it must be with the teacher and his class. Diagnosis is the first step in method. The word "diagnosis" is derived, we are told, from Greek forms which mean " to know through, or thoroughly." We must know thoroughly the facts of the teaching situation before we can help pupils in their learning processes. If teachers attempted diagnosis as a method they would not be so often lost in dealing with cases of obstinate disobedience or of little children who write 3 and 7 backwards!

Diagnosis implies also judgment, or evaluation of the natural and acquired tendencies and the needs which they are likely to satisfy. Not all impulses are of equal worth. We have also to know what impulses count most at a given stage of life as well as to know which have largest present strength. The eager enthusiasm of the adolescent for all that is new in style and in manners is the reflection of an impulse that leads to the rapid socialization of the individual and his free and easy incorporation into the world of adult interests and activities. Knowing the significance of the impulse we can pardon some of its crudities and excrescences and assist it to develop in right lives!

If all that had to be taught was certain subjects, arithmetic, reading, writing, it would suffice to know what procedure would most efficiently get them into the heads and hands of these ignorant candidates! But if it is true that the purpose of education is the changing of conduct, and if it is true that the school is to concern itself with the whole child then it would seem that the problem of method is deserving of

some more thought. Hitherto, appraisal of the effect of class room procedure has generally been concerned with only a part of what usually takes place. "Has the child learnt addition ?" The annual or periodical examination answers the question. But what of the total effect upon the child of this class-room procedure through which he is supposed to learn addition? During that time the child was forming attitudes, with relation to addition, arithmetic, teacher, school, himself and so on. He was learning several things besides addition. His character was being built by his action and reaction with his environment. "Well, if all arithmetic is of this type, I do not mind learning it ;" "I never thought arithmetic could be as bad as this ;" "No more arithmetic for me," are expressive of what is more than can be measured by the usual examination. In fact so impossible is it not to be forming likes and dislikes that it could be safe to say that the reader is even now forming attitudes as to whether to go on in the same old way, or to venture on a definite departure !

The fact is that there are concomitant learnings as well as primary learnings. The latter are those that have to do directly with the subject in hand—addition, sewing, gardening, etc.,—and the former with the judgment of the worth of the work being carried on. Concomitant learning is a by-product of school activity. In the school-room procedure the pupils are actually engaged in making multiple responses to the multiple stimuli of their environment. Willy-nilly, some habits are being developed, some attitudes are being strengthened, and some appreciation of the good and beautiful, or satisfaction with falsehood and evasion is being provided.

What sort of a person, a boy will be is determined by the attitudes, habits and appreciations which are being built up through the Method—in this larger sense—adopted by the school. This new recognition that while a particular subject is learnt certain other learnings are going on, more than doubles the possibilities and responsibilities of the teacher and the school.

Moral education.

This way of looking at every day instruction in school will provide a more natural approach to the problem of moral education. It avoids the artificial and unreal air with which it is usually surrounded. Often the boresome lectures and classes in moral and religious instruction are evidence of failure in the other more natural means. No one can be employed as a teacher or head-master in a school and not be a teacher of moral and social conduct. At that impressionable period in the pupil's life lessons in character can be taught in innumerable ways not provided for in the school time-table. Whatever the teacher does in and for the class is having an effect, for good or for bad, upon the pupils. Further, moral instruction which tells people merely "how to live" is not so desirable as opportunities for ethical living and experience in real life situations. In view of the emphasis laid on examinations and examinable matters, healthy habits and attitudes are crowded out, and only measurable results are attended to and cultivated. Undesirable concomitants are therefore easily built up both in the pupil and the teacher.

Among the means for developing character may be suggested the wise selection of content and methods of instruction in all subjects of study, the social contacts of pupils with one another, and with their teachers, the opportunities afforded by the organisation and administration of the school for the development on the part of the pupils of a sense of personal responsibility and initiative, and above all, the spirit of service and the principles of true democracy which should permeate the entire school head-master, teachers and pupils. Activities and projects needing co-operative solution, and the Socialized Recitation, whereby the class as a whole develops a sense of collective responsibility, are invaluable as means for developing desirable attitudes. The value of supervised games cannot be overestimated.

No attempt has been made here to deal with any single aspect exhaustively or to present a comprehensive survey of the

changing conceptions in education. Only a few important tendencies have been described to illustrate the new approach to the age-old problems of the function of the school, the aim of education, the curriculum, method and moral education. Progress along these and other lines is bound to be slow until research and experimentation are encouraged and Education is placed and studied on the same professional basis as are Medicine and Engineering. Quackery in the field of the instruction of youth should be no more tolerated than in the field of medicine! A Bureau of Research which will go into the special and detailed study of problems mentioned here, and others, such as Texts-books, Physical Education, Sex Education, is an urgent necessity if we are to discontinue a parasitic educational existence and begin to make contributions of our own. Special training with adequate facilities must be provided for head-masters, Inspectors and Research workers, as well as teachers. The course given in our Teacher-training institutions needs to be supplemented with special courses for others who are also engaged in educational work. This is one of the implications of the functional study of Education. Mere experience cannot be depended upon to provide improved technique. This is the day of specialization. And school men dare not remain any longer out-of-date.

G. S. KRISHNAYYA

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE LAYTON REPORT, II.

V

The foregoing analysis will show that while the revenue that the Central Government will require for performing its limited functions is comparatively stationary and would actually fall, the more substantial and elastic heads of revenue are assigned to it ; and on the contrary while the provincial governments are entrusted with functions that would require ever-increasing expenditure the resources that are given to them are highly inelastic. It would therefore appear that a little reshuffling is the simple and obvious remedy. But an examination of the specific instances will show that the most fruitful sources of revenue are those which can best be regulated and collected by a central agency, which will levy them on a uniform basis. For instance it is imperative that in the interest of trade and commerce customs duty throughout India should be uniform. It is however a more debatable question whether income-tax should be uniform or vary from province to province. In any case the Central Government cannot afford to lose the entire income derived under this head. If therefore the more fruitful sources of provincial income can best be collected and controlled by a central agency, how can we possibly manage to finance the provincial governments, with their ever-increasing needs ! Is a scheme of financial clean-cut an unrealisable and impractical ideal? Are we to return back again to the old system of divided heads and is provincial autonomy a vanishing dream?

In finding an answer to these questions, we must, first of all, get rid of the fetish of "divided heads." True, the system as it existed in the past crippled the independence of the provinces and in the interest of provincial autonomy, abolition of the system of "divided heads" was called for. But at the same time it would be fatal to ignore that there is nothing

inherently unsound in the system itself; and it is possible to devise a scheme of ' divided heads ' that will not injure the autonomy of the provinces. Indeed the scheme as adumbrated by Mr. Layton while adopting the system of "divided heads" has at the same time maintained the autonomy of the provinces. He has, it may be said, thus laid the foundation of a true federal finance which is applicable to the peculiar circumstances of India.

Granted then that the system of "divided heads" will continue, we have yet to find some automatic tests according to which the centrally collected taxes are to be distributed among the various provinces. The system of grants-in-aid, and still less the system of doles—according to which the Central Government or any other external authority would distribute the centrally collected taxes among the various provinces, according to some principle of estimated needs, is contrary to the genius of provincial autonomy, for this simple reason that the requirements of the provinces would be examined and determined by the centre or any other external authority. If the scheme of "divided heads" is not to prove to be a veritable nuisance to the provinces, as in the past it proved to be, some principle must be determined beforehand,—and this principle must be embodied in a statute, not easily alterable—according to which the proceeds will be automatically distributed, independently of the Central Government or any other external authority. And further these principles must also satisfy the sense of fairness. Mr. Layton lays down two such principles in his report :—

(1) Distribution according to population.
(2) Distribution according to origin.

The first is based on the principle of needs. No doubt it is a very sound principle, but Mr. Layton recognises its limitations.

For in the first place a province that feels that part of its taxation is used not for its own benefit but for the benefit of its neighbour is likely to resist the imposition of this tax. And conversely a provincial government which receives revenue which

it has not had the trouble of collecting or the unpopularity of imposing upon its own subjects, is apt to be less careful of expenditure and watchful against extravagance.

Secondly a rapidly developing province naturally feels that it should benefit from its own enterprise, initiative, economic development and from the enlargement of its own tax-producing capacity. Or in other words it must receive some benefit from an increase of revenue which arises within it. The final scheme therefore, according to Mr. Layton, should be based in part upon distribution according to origin and in part upon distribution according to population.

Mr. Layton therefore divides the revenues of India into four classes :—

(1) Revenue collected and spent by the centre.

(2) Revenue collected and spent by the provinces.

(3) Revenue collected by the centre and distributed to the provinces, according to the principle of origin.

(4) Revenue collected by the centre and distributed to the provinces, according to the principle of population.

The first head will contain the following items of revenue :—

(1) Customs.

(2) Income and super-taxes, less half the personal income-tax assigned to the provinces.

(3) Commercial stamps.

(4) Railway profits.

(5) Profits from other Central services.

If in future there arises any surplus in the Central budget it is recommended that a definite portion of the customs duty should be given to provinces according to the fourth principle. But under no circumstances would the Centre be authorised to divert any provincial tax for its own purpose.

The second head will contain the following items :—

(*i*) All the existing provincial sources of revenue.

(*ii*) Terminal taxes.

(iii) Sur-taxes on personal incomes chargeable to income-tax.

In the case of (ii) and (iii), maxima and minima will be laid down by the centre on the ground that excessive difference between neighbouring provinces would have harmful reactions on inter-provincial trade and the domicile of business.

Under the third group would fall the following heads :—

(1) 50 per cent of the yield of personal income-tax.
(2) Whole of income-tax on agricultural income.

Under fourth group will fall :—

(1) General excise including salt-tax.
(2) A portion of the customs duty if and when possible.

From a perusal of the way in which, according to Mr. Layton, more taxes can be raised to finance the ever-increasing needs of the provinces, we find that while some of them are fiscally sound others are open to serious objections. His recommendation to tax the agricultural income is welcome to all progressivists, who were complaining that one of the most fruitful sources of taxation had hitherto been left untapped. The exemption of agricultural income from taxation cannot be defended on any ground whatsoever, and Bengal in particular is thankful to Mr. Layton for recommending this abolition and giving us an opportunity to correct the inequity done to us by the Permanent Settlement. It is clear as daylight that the finance of Bengal will considerably improve, if some share of the unearned increment, that has been up to now absorbed hundred per cent. by the landlords, can be appropriated by the province for nation-building purposes. Moreover their recommendation to allow the provinces not merely half the share of the personal income-tax collected in the respective provinces but also a surcharge on personal income are undoubtedly a welcome innovation. For in order that the popular ministers may have sufficient scope for launching ambitious schemes of nation-building, they must be given not merely substantial sources of revenue but also sources that are

sufficiently elastic. The province must be permitted to levy a sur-tax on personal income not merely with the object of making its taxing system equitable on the whole but also with the object of raising more revenue and it is submitted that the maxima and minima rates should not be too narrowly determined. It is further submitted that in future when the finances of the central government will improve, instead of assigning to the provinces a share of customs duty, it would be better to give them whole of the proceeds of personal income-tax.

But the chief defect of Layton's recommendations lies in the fact, that a considerable part of the new taxes that he proposes to levy are indirect taxes. Thus according to his scheme various excise duties, and terminal taxes would contribute a very substantial quota for the financing of the provinces. The most general argument against it is that it is digressive in its incidence, falling more heavily on the poor than on the rich. The principle of equity in taxation demands that each of us should contribute to the public exchequer according to our respective ability and this leads to the principle of progression in taxation. It is to this ideal that every taxing system should aim and it is with this end in view that introduction of indirect taxes should be opposed. Already the poor and middle classes are paying a good deal of taxes in the shape of customs duty on all imported commodities of everyday use—such as cloth, kerosine, matches, etc., and excise duty on many other commodities, and it would be great hardship to tax them still further in the shape of terminal taxes and national excises.

In this connexion we may note that the lowering of the taxable limit from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 1,000 would be a serious hardship to the lower middle classes specially in a country like ours where no exemptions are allowed. People with that income constitute the poor "bhadralok" class who are the worst sufferers in the present economic condition of the country. They have a higher standard of living, their boys must be taught in the schools and colleges and the earning capacity of these

boys does not reach until a very late age. Over and above, these people are, more often than not, encumbered with poor relations. Moreover it should not be forgotten that they pay a good deal of indirect taxes. From all these considerations, it would appear that the proper course would be to raise instead of lowering the taxable minima, and compensating the loss, thus suffered, by steepening the tax rate on higher grades of income.

But the most serious objection must be taken against the imposition of the terminal taxes. It is the modern form of the old "Octroi" which was universally condemned as the greatest impediment to trade and commerce by constituting an internal customs barrier, as it were. The defects of terminal taxes were very early recognised and when some municipalities in Upper India levied this tax for municipal purposes, the Government of India expressed its disapproval of it. In one of its resolutions in 1915, the Government of India scathingly criticised this tax and advised the municipalities to substitute it by some other tax, preferably direct. Moreover at the present time this tax is almost the sheet anchor to municipal finance in some parts of Upper India. If this source of revenue is taken away from the municipalities and given to the provinces, in what way can the municipalities be compensated against the loss suffered thereby? The last defect of the terminal tax is that equally with other indirect taxes, it is degressive in its incidence falling more heavily on the poor than on the rich.

In this connexion, we may remark, that Mr. Layton failed to recognise the justice of the claim of the Government of Bengal for a substantial, if not the whole, share of the export duty on jute. Indeed there cannot be any objection—either theoretical or practical—for assigning this revenue to the province. Provincialising the customs duty is objected on the ground that it would hinder interprovincial trade, but no question of interprovincial barriers arises in assigning the export duty on jute to the producing province. The two objections generally urged against it are :

(I) Firstly that it should naturally be under the control of Centre.

(II) That the burden of duty does not fall on the people of the producing province.

The first objection may be met by providing that the duty will continue to be centrally administered but the whole or a specified portion of it will be allotted to the province.

As regards the second objection it may be replied in the words of the Taxation Enquiry Committee "that there exists a possibility, that in certain conditions of the trade a portion of the duty falls on the producer." But even assuming for arguments' sake that the burden does not fall on the producers, there is no reason why other provinces should object to Bengal's appropriating a share of it. The burden of the tax does not fall on the other provinces either, and if a province with a natural advantage wants to profit by it at the expense of foreign consumers, in equity no other province has any right to complain. Moreover jute is a provincial subject and its development and improvement is a provincial charge. Added to this its production affects the sanitation of the province and the province has to incur expenditure to neutralise its evil effects. The claim of Bengal then to a share of the export duty on jute is absolutely unchallengeable.

But when all is said that can be said against these detailed recommendations which can very well be modified without altering the broad framework, it must be admitted that the scheme of finance laid down by Mr. Layton is in its essentials the only feasible scheme that a federal India can, with profit, adopt, because no other scheme can possibly secure the benefit, of central control and collection on the one hand and provincial autonomy on the other.

VI

Let us now see whether under the new scheme sufficient scope is given to any nationalist party pledged to an ambitious

scheme of nation-building? Can the new scheme, as adumbrated by Mr. Layton, enable a popular minister who aspires to raise the education, sanitation and the general standard of living of the people of Bengal to the recognised civilised standard, to effectively carry out his policy ? Will the said minister be in as helpless and pitiable a condition as the ministers under the existing constitution, who at all times lament that though they have a very good programme ready in the pocket, the same cannot be executed for want of fund? Or in other words, does the new scheme allow the ministers to raise the requisite taxes, by assigning him some elastic and substantial sources of revenue? It was pointed out previously, that it was because the Moutagu-Chelmsford constitution tied the hands of the popular ministers by denying them any substantial and elastic sources of revenue, that the existing constitution became thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the people. In order therefore the new scheme may succeed, one thing that is absolutely essential is that the ministers in the provinces must have sufficient financial latitude.

In the first place a popular party in order to create confidence in the people must provide that at most within a decade primary education of a sufficiently high quality will become compulsory and free. The problem of raising the standard of secondary education is the next thing that a popular minister must adequately tackle. These two reforms are not merely desirable for their own sake, but it is submitted, that they will greatly increase the economic efficiency of the citizens as a productive unit, thereby greatly increasing the national wealth. It is only when primary education is diffused throughout the masses and a considerable number of the boys of school-going age have received education up to the secondary standard, that we can aspire to modernise and industrialise Bengal, wherein, it is submitted, our economic salvation lies. So long as we do not get rid of the medieval methods in agricultural and manufacturing industries, Bengal must, on compulsion, be content to be

the exploiting field of more enterprising nations. But in order that people at large may accept and work the modern system of production, theymust have the necessary intellectual equipment. This is hardly possible to realise until people are educated up to a certain point. As an indispensable requisite of national progress, therefore, these educational reforms are urgently called for.

In the next place it is incumbent on any popular minister to prevent the huge human waste that is going on year after year. To prevent people dying in thousands from preventable diseases a great improvement in the national sanitary services is required. The job is itself Herculean involving a great improvement in sanitary conditions, and requiring a properly staffed sanitary organisation throughout the length and breadth of the province. It is obvious that it will greatly improve the quality and quantity of human factors of production—which in its turn will greatly increase national wealth. In considering the problem of Bengal's sanitation we are inevitably drawn to Bengal's irrigation system. It is held by many high authorities, that many rural diseases, speically malaria, are directly attributable to the unsatisfactory irrigational system of the province. No sanitary improvement is therefore possible unless a well devised irrigational scheme is launched, which will at once improve the health and wealth of the province. The duty of a nationalist Government therefore would be to immediately appoint a committee of experts, which will be in charge of framing such a scheme aud the nationalist Government should not flinch from incurring the necessary capital outlay (which if large will be raised by borrowing) and incurring recurring expenditure which will be met from the annual revenues. This expenditure is all the more worth while because it will not only improve sanitation but by improving agriculture considerably enhance national prosperity.

There are many other problems which a national Government will in the course of the next few years be called upon to

tackle. But the reason why they are not set out in detail is that the important problems stated above are so difficult and comprehensive at present as to absorb the whole energy and resource of the Government for some years to come. The Government will find it difficult to turn its attention to any other scheme for the present.

It is clear that the national programme as above stated would involve an increase of expenditure to at least 5 crores annually. How are we to get the same? In what manner will the Government raise the extra expenditure? In what way additional taxes be distributed among the various heads of revenue and among the various classes? This in other words raises the question of ways and means.

In the first place primary education will be financed partly by an education cess and partly by grants from the provincial exchequer. An education cess of 5 pice a rupee, divided equally between the land-lord and the tenants, will raise a crore and a quarter. We recognise that this cess will undoubtedly be regarded by the poor agriculturist as a great hardship, and it would have been much better if some other way could be found to finance this scheme of compulsory primary education. But at the same time, we must realise as a political realist, that it is not possible for the Government with its existing financial resources, to contribute to the whole cost of primary education. So if primary education is to be universalised, the ryots must be prepared to bear along with the Zemindars, the major share of the cost. A grant of a further crore from the provincial exchequer will meet the need of primary education for the present. It is suggested that by a system of civil conscription every educated man may be compelled to devote one or two years of his life for national work at a small allowance. It is only by this method that a poor country can secure the performance of its essential services at a cheap cost. All the other services, *viz.*, secondary education and sanitation will be financed wholly by the provincial exchequer.

How are we then to get the additional four crores we need. In the first place according to Mr. Layton's scheme the salt

proceed will be distributed among the provinces on population basis. If the salt duty remained as before Bengal will get a crore of it. In the second place, half share of the personal income-tax, collected from the province will be given to Bengal. Personal income-tax, collected in Bengal exceeds a crore of rupees. Half of it, that is, at least 50 lacs, Bengal will get. There still remains a big gap to be filled, to the extent of two crores and a half. This will have to be raised by means of surtaxes on personal incomes, death duties as well as by taxing the agricultural income, for we are definitely of opinion that no terminal or other indirect taxes are to be levied, so long as it is possible to raise money by direct means. The poor and the lower middle classes, as we have already noted, are already over-taxed, whereas the well-to-do has much greater taxable capacity. The higher grades of income are so lightly taxed at present, that in order to make the taxing system of the province equitable, a progressively increasing rate of income-tax should be levied on higher grades of income.

The present rate of income-tax is as follows :—

(1) Income Less than Rs. 2,000	No tax.
(2) Income from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000	5 p. in the rupee
(3) Income from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000	6 p. ,, ,,
(4) Income from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000	9 p. ,, ,,
(5) Income from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000	12 p. ,, ,,
(6) Income from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 40,000	15 p. ,, ,,
(7) Income from Rs. 40,000 upward	18 p. ,, ,,

It is submitted that the tax rates of comparatively higher grades of income are comparatively low, and it can be very well raised. It is suggested that the following sur-taxes may well be believed by the province of Bengal :—

Income.	Sur-tax.	Income-tax.	Total inc.-tax.
Less than Rs. 2,000	*Nil*	*Nil*	*Nil*
From Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 5,000	*Nil*	5 p.	5 p.
From ,, 5,000 to ,, 10,000	3 p.	6 p.	9 p.
From ,, 10,000 to ,, 20,000	6 p.	9 p.	15 p.
From ,, 20,000 to ,, 30,000	9 p.	12 p.	21 p.
From ,, 30,000 to ,, 40,000	12 p.	15 p.	27 p.
From ,, 40,000 to ,, 50,000	15 p.	18 p.	33 p.

At first sight it may appear that the sur-taxes are preposterously high, but if we compare the rates of income-tax in the case of some higher grades of income in the other countries we will find the rates herein suggested comparatively low. It may be argued that this will result in such a wide divergence in the tax rate between two neighbouring provinces that it would harmfully affect the place of domicile of many Bengalees. It may be contended that if the income-tax rate be comparatively small in other parts of India, Behar and Orissa say, many of the Bengalees will transfer their domicile to Behar and Orissa, rather than pay the high rate of income-tax. This possibility however should not be exaggerated. In the first place, Bengal is greatly advanced industrially, and as such affords the greatest opportunity to enterprising people to make their fortune. It is highly improbable that those people will transfer their domicile simply in order to avoid paying a high rate of income-tax. For with equal plausibility it may be argued that because the cost of living in a big town like Calcutta is much higher than in a small village, Calcutta is always threatened with depopulation. But people do not leave Calcutta to secure the cheap cost of living in the village for the simple reason that it is Calcutta that gives him scope to earn a decent living. In the second place we may rest assured that all other provinces will levy a sur-tax on income; and even if their rate be somewhat lower than one recommended for Bengal, the divergence will not be so great as to affect seriously the place of domicile of a large number of Bengalees. It is hoped that more than 50 lacs of rupees can be collected by this means.

Next we come to agricultural income, which hitherto was absolutely exempted from taxation. It has been estimated that at least a sum of 12 crores of rupees is intercepted by landlords and other intermediaries in the province of Bengal. It was however contended by Sir P. C. Mitter before the Taxation Enquiry Committee that this is apportioned among at least 35 lacs of intermediaries. From this Sir Provash contended that the average income of a Bengal Zemindar does not exceed Rs. 28.

Arguments like this based on averages are thoroughly misleadings for, as it has been rightly contended by Professor Neogi, that with equal plausibility it may be argued that since the average income of an Indian is only Rs. 80 or so, Indians as a class are too poor to pay any tax at all. What is material in calculating the taxable capacity of a people is not their average income but the distribution of that income among the various social strata. The amount of tax, that can be gathered under this head, therefore depends on the manner of its distribution; and as this distribution is not definitely known, no clear idea as to the amount of the tax that can be raised on agricultural income can possibly be made. But it may be assumed that at least a sum of 50 lacs can be gathered under this head. Next we come to death duties. This is one of the most substantial sources for the province to tap. If Bengal can manage to induce the Federal Assembly to pass a death duty on the model of Great Britain fixing the rate at a progressively high rate, a substantial yield can be expected from this head. But the opposition such a scheme would receive from the propertied class is expected to be very stiff indeed and it will take a good long time to educate public opinion in its favour. In any case it is not prudent to expect more than Rs. 50 lacs under this head. There still remains a gap of a crore of rupees, and no further local taxes can possibly be raised. Unless therefore Bengal is allowed a share in the export duty on jute, or unless Bengal is allowed to appropriate the whole of the personal incomer tax, or a substantial portion of the super-tax, the nationalist party with an ambitious scheme will feel seriously handicapped. It is therefore imperative in the interest of Bengal's finance, that while keeping intact the broad framework of federal finance that Mr. Layton has recommended for adoption, some modification in the allocation of the heads of revenue needs must be made between the centre and the provinces, so that we may in the course of a decade may have scope to convert this God forsaken province of ours, into a place worth living in.

PROKASCHANDRA MALLIK

MUIOPOTMOS

After one has read " Muiopotmos," he is justified in saying that Spenser is a most poetical entomologist. The poem is indicative of its subject, for it relates the adventures and the fate of that particular butterfly. According to the story, Clarion, the son of Muscaroll, was the fairest butterfly that ever basked in the warm rays of the sun.

> "Of all the race of silver winged flies
> Which doo possesse the Empire of the aire,
> Betwixt the centred earth and azure skies,
> Was none more favourable, nor more faire,
> Whilst heaven did favour his felicities,
> Then Clarion, the eldest sonne and haire
> Of Muscaroll; and in his father's sight
> Of all alive did seeme the fairest wight."

Young Clarion, who desired to roam through his father's territory, left one bright day in search for pleasure. For this occasion, he dressed himself up in highly polished armor.

> "His breastplate first, that was of substance pure,
> Before his noble heart he firmly bound,
> That mought his life from yron death assure,
> And ward his gentle corpes from cruell wound;
> For it by arte was framed to endure
> The bit of balefull steele and bitter stownd,
> No lesse than that which Vulcane made to shield
> Achilles life from fate of Trojan field."

About his shoulders he placed the hide of a wild beast he had killed, and on his head he wore a shining helmet. The two main weapons of this warrior extended far in front on each side ; they were like two sharp spears ; and his scintillating wings were prismatic.

The poem then relates the origin of the exquisite beauty of the wings of thebutterfly tribe Briefly it is as follows: One

day in early spring, Venus went out walking with her nymphs. She asked them to gather for her all the flowers they could find so that she could decorate her forehead with them. Astery, who was quicker than the other maidens, picked a larger and prettier bunch; and, because of this, she came into the good graces of Venus, the Goddess of Beauty. As this made the other nymphs jealous, they declared that Cupid had picked some of Astery's flowers for her. Venus believed what the maidens told her instead of first finding out whether it was true or not ; and, in a sudden fit of jealousy, she transformed the sweet and gentle little Astery into a butterfly.

> "And all those flowres, with which so plenteouslie
> Her lap she filled had, that bred her spight,
> She placed in her wings, for memorie
> Of her pretended crime, though crime none were:
> Since which that flie them in her wings doth beare."

Ever since this metamorphosis of the innocent little Astery, the tribe of "Butterflie" has been noted for its exquisitely beautiful flower-painted wings.

The poem now takes us back to Clarion who had already begun his trip over the fields. He flew over the woods, rivers, mountains, and meadows. Finally, he discovered a bed of flowers where he stopped to taste of every blossom ; then he sunned himself in order to dry his moist wings.

> "What more felicitie can fall to creature
> Then to enjoy delight with libertie,
> And to be Lord of all the works of Nature,
> To raine in th' aire from th' earth to highest skie,
> To feed on flowers and weeds of glorious feature,
> To take whatever thing doth please the eie?
> Who rests not pleased with such happiness,
> Well worthy he taste of wretchednes."

But, like a sudden storm in summer, Clarion's happiness was turned into sadness. An ugly, poisonous spider with a body

puffed out with rankling poison, was hiding among the flowers waiting to get the unsuspecting hero into his clutches, for he was very jealous of Clarion's happiness and was, therefore, all the more determined to poison him. Aragnoll, the name of the spider, is a patronymic word, and, in the lexicon of the fairies, means "the son of Arachne."

The poem next relates why spiders have such hatred for butterflies. At one time Arachne was considered to be the most skilful woman with the embroidery needle among all the women of the earth; she was very confident of her powers and, one day, she challenged Pallas, the Goddess of Wisdom and Skill. Pallas, of course, accepted the challenge. Each one made a piece of embroidery which represented some famous event in history. Arachne's embroidery represented the story of Jupiter who was pictured as a bull carrying off Europa: it was so extremely beautiful, realistic, and faultless that even Pallas and Envy herself could say nothing against it. Now Pallas tried her skill. Her embroidery represented the debates of the Gods respecting the fate of Athens. This piece of embroidery was also flawless, but yet not so perfect as to decide the close contest. Finally, in one part of the scene, Pallas embroidered among the leaves of an olive tree which she had introduced into the scene, a most beautiful butterfly, which one could easily mistake for a real one. Arachne felt conquered as she watched Pallas finish this perfect detail. She gazed at the exquisite workmanship a long time. As she stared like a poor bird that has come under the wicked influence of a repulsive snake, her beautiful body was changed into a bag of venom: her white legs became crooked, crawling shanks, and her beautiful face became foul and loathsome. This now cursed creature remembered that old festered grudge which his mother felt, and, because his heart swelled with revengeful malice when he spied Clarion, the harmless butterfly, he immediately began to weave a very tangled web in order securely to bind down the little butterfly. The web was so fine that the meshes could scarcely be seen. As the butterfly

flitted from flower to flower, he was caught by the malicious spider. The more Clarion struggled, the more he became entangled. The ugly, hairy tyrant who lay in wait like a cat that watches for a mouse rushed forth from his den, and, with full force, he stuck his poisonous fangs into the butterfly's heart. Thus we have "Muiopotmos, or the Fate of the Butterfly."

The entire conception of this poem is essentially beautiful, and the rhythm is as smooth and as graceful as was the butterfly himself as he flitted about on that summer morning. James Russell Lowell has said, in speaking of this poem: "He (Spenser) first shows his mature hand in the Muiopotmos, the most airily fanciful of his poems, a marvel for delicate conception and treatment, whose breezy verse seems to float between a blue sky and golden earth in imperishable sunshine. No other English poet has found the variety and compass, which enlivened the octave stanza under his sensitive touch."[1]

The poem is more than just an interesting fairy story, however. Palgrave says, "Muiopotmos has long been a puzzle to the readers of Spenser. A poem of fantastic beauty, built upon a trifle as a subject, a light and fanciful story of over four hundred lines with no apparent lesson or moral; Muiopotmos is altogether so unlike our sage and serious Spenser that critics have been baffled in their efforts to account for it." The poem probably was composed in the year 1590, as can be seen in the title page. It is known that in that year, the mina of Spenser was on the life of the court. "Colin Clout's Come Home Again," which contains the impressions that the poet received through his Court experiences was written in 1591, as can be seen by his dedicatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh. Spenser's visit to the court in 1589-1590 with Sir Walter Raleigh, would increase the poet's tendency to use contemporary material in allegory. In the very first lines of the poem, we

[1] Prose Works, Riverside Edition, Volume I, page 310

read about a "dolorous debate" between "two mightie ones of great estate, Drawne into armes." These "two mightie ones" have been led by their ambition and hatred from "small jars" to such a state that one could no longer stand the hatred of the other—and finally both are "drawne into armes." Spenser next asks the tragic muse why Clarion, or one of the "two of great estate," came "to lowest wretchedness." At the end of the second stanza we read.

"And is there Such rancour in the harts of mightie men?"

Who were the "two of great estate?" Who was Clarion? What was the "deadly dolorous debate" about?

During the summer of 1589, a short time before the writing of this poem, Spenser came from his residence in Ireland to London with Sir Walter Raleigh. "Colin Clout's Come Home Again was dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, and the dedication is dated at Kilcolman Castle, Ireland, December 27, 1591. The occasion for this poem is thoroughly explained by the contents. After Spenser had spent some time in London attending to the publication of his poems, he returned to his adopted home in Ireland and wrote this poem in commemoration of his journey and of the reception which he had met with at court. In the year 1587, however, hostilities, which had begun between Sir Walter and the Earl of Essex, were renewed on their return to court after the expedition to Portugal, and culminated in December, 1588, in Essex's challenging Sir Walter to a duel, which the Council prevented and kept secret from the Queen. The first stanza of Muiopotmos might well picture the relations of these two men at that time:

"I sing of deadly dolorous debate,
Stir'd up through wrathfull Nemesis despight,
Betwixt two mightie ones of great estate,
Drawne into armes, and proofe of mortall fight,
Through prowd ambition and hart-swelling hate,

Whilest neither could the others greater might
And sdeignfull scorne endure ; than from small jarre
Their wraths at length broke into open warre."

Then Raleigh, who was practically driven from the court by Essex, went to Ireland. Spenser, of course, was anxious to know the reason for Sir Walter's distress. The reason may, perhaps, be found in the poem where Clarion is caught in the web of Aragnoll. We find Sir Walter Raleigh, like the young Clarion, very early in life arming himself for adventure. We know that Raleigh was not satisfied to finish his career at Oxford but he left college and set out on campaigns in France when he was scarcely seventeen. In 1580 he was commissioned as a captain of a hundred foot soldiers to go against the insurgents at Munster. He was happy in this Irish service, for a time at least, but only for a time. He was sent home in December 1581, and, at that time, he visited the court. Whether it was because he threw his velvet coat into the mud so that the Queen could walk over it that brought him into her good graces, it is hard to tell, but it is known that he was chosen to be her own servant. "To the gay gardens his unstaid desire" took him and there he became filled with the "vertues, good or ill that grew in this garden" until he, too, was entangled in the web which Envy had woven for him. Raleigh's charm and intelligence helped to put him in the Queen's favor over against Leicester and Hatton, her previous favourites. Raleigh had more influence with her than his intriguing predecessors. Even though his early activities were not definitely honoured by official position, for some time he held early in 1582, an enviable position in the Queen's favour. He had the honour, also, of advising Burghley and of having his advice recorded by the Lord Treasurer. In 1584 he was knighted. In 1585 he became Warden of the Stannaries, and was later appointed to the Lieutenancy of Cornwall and the Vice-Admiralty of the Counties of Cornwall and Devonshire. In 1586 he was appointed Captain

of the Yeomen of the Guard, an office which Hatton held for several years. These offices brought him no money, even if they did give him much honour; but in the year 1586 he received the Irish Grant with its 12,000 acres and other shares and privileges. In 1587 he obtained lands in Lincolnshire, Derbyshire, and Notts. In his "Life of Sir Walter Raleigh," Stebbing says, "Five years separated the needy Munster captain from the Lord Warden of the Stannaries, the magnificent Captain of the Queen's Guard, the owner of broad lands in England and Irish seignories. He had climbed high, though not so high as the insignificant Hatton. He had progressed fast though another was soon to beat him in swiftness of advancement. He had gathered wealth and power. He was profuse in the application of both. Much of his gains went in ostentation. He was fond of exquisite armour, gorgeous raiment, lace, embroideries, furs, diamonds, and great pearls." There seems to be a parallel to this in the opening stanzas of Muiopotmos where Clarion meets his entanglement in Aranoll's web. Stebbing further says, in speaking of Raleigh, "His unusual wit, charming personality, and great energy probably made him the best hated man of the world—in Court, city, and country," and entangled him in that ugly web from which he tried to untangle himself for the last thirty years of his life. Even though Raleigh was very frank himself, he was annoyed by others who were constantly plotting against him. Others were jealous, too, because the Queen kept Raleigh at cards, or one game or another the whole night, and because "he cometh not to his lodgings till birds sing in the morning." Things went from bad to worse. Essex could not hide his hatred for Raleigh and, in December, 1588, he challenged Raleigh to a duel for some very trivial grievance. But these two could not be reconciled and Raleigh left the court in the spring of 1589 for Ireland where Spenser met him in the following summer. Spenser may be referring to these events in the introductory stanza of Muiopotmos. This poem tells us that the "file"

is of the royalty and is the "fruitfull hope" of his father that he will one day be worthy of his inheritance. It has been said that the name "Clarion" may indicate the family name "Clare" from which Raleigh was said to have descended. The fourth and fifth stanzas may suggest Raleigh's rovings :

> "Whence downe descending he along would flie
> Upon the streaming rivers, sport to finde;
> And oft would dare to tempt the troublous winde."

As one reads the description of the butterfly's wings with their "thousand colours be jewled like the heavens," one is reminded of Raleigh's passion for exquisite armor. The gay gardens in the poem might suggest the court of Queen Elizabeth.

Spenser always took Chaucer for his guide, and he used antiquated expressions as he found his example in Chaucer. It can easily be seen how Spenser, with his poetic ear, yielded to the poetry of Chaucer. Spenser very rarely invented a new word, but he gave the old words a new twist. There seems to be a similarity, too, between Chaucer's "Sir Thopas" and the "Nun's Priest's Tale." In the "*Faerie* Queene" (3-7-48) Spenser mentions Sir Thopas's name and he also mentions it in "Present State of Ireland." Then, too, Sir Thopas was very popular in Spenser's day, for Warton tells us (Observations on Faerie Queene, I, p. 73) that the poem was sung to the harp in the age of Queen Elizabeth. When comparing Clarion, the hero in Muiopotmos, to Sir Thopas, one finds the following resemblances :

Both heroes are introduced as young knights whose fathers are lords of the domain, both are described as being fair, both are liked by a particular maiden, both like to stroll along a river, both are dressed in armor, and both leave on a summer's day.

There seems to be a greater similarity between Muiopotmos and the Nun's Priest's Tale. Arganoll is similar to Russel, the

fox. Even though there are more parallel lines found in the Nun's Priest's Tale, there are a number of similarities to be found in Sir Thopas.

LOUISE A. NELSON

ALONG THE CANAL

Last night, wrapt in the mist of incense,
I wandered beneath the trees by the canal ;
Sweet sound, soft sound of a piano,
Now heard, now unheard, from far away.

Now a banjo touched idly into song,
Alluring, throbbing.
Who can be lonely?
Can I be lonely?
Have I lost the trick of living
My dreams in my inmost being?

JINKICHI MATSUDA

THE '*ASHAR*' CLOUD

(1)

Clouds gather to-day as of old and the night deepens.
I sit looking out into the dark, and the feel of a vague drizzle without makes me restless.
The smell of the wet earth tells of an elder day when men loved and wept and parted,
And my eyes ache with tears without a name.

(2)

Timbrels sound in the skies and the rain is clamorous.
What cosmic stir is this that in the welter of the elements provokes the forgotten Past?
The opening day of *Ashar* is no slice of Time meseems,—
It is the Eternal packed into the finite,
For œons untold gather into it with all their love and pain.
Hence to-night the moans of the lovers that were and are to be, seem upgathered into one quick present—into one live groan of the rainy night;
And my heart throbs darkling.

(3)

Lightnings flash and the Past re-lives.
On the peak of mystery stands even to-day that Ancient Lover, pale and slender—a tall faint ray of light.
His love is in the anguish of fulness and would not brook the bonds of quiet.
With eyes upraised he is scanning the sky for his old friend.
Bounding over the lear of things to night,
Who would carry his message to the end Bening,
Where his eternal Lady lies on the dizzy verge of the infinite

The Wild Carrier—he would not listen and glides glimmering
away.
So tears swell and anguish deepens.
And a voice comes from the cloud land—
"The poet is dead—thy speech is prosy-cold,—it moves me not."
I sit in the dark dimly guessing its meaning.

(4)

The poet is dead indeed! But his verses live.
The slow and slumbrous rhythm dripping with the tears of old is
yet the throbbing monody of the lorn—the lyric cry of
the hearts that part in pain.
And age-long rhythm this—which we hear in the whizz of the
earth at midnight as she rolls longing for her Infinite
Maker:
In tunes unheard does the lily sing this song to her Sun-God for
ever and for ever.
The sea heaves its bosom to the skies, and in its lingering mono-
tone we hear this pain everlastingly.
The poet is dead indeed—but his verse is here—old yet new,—
and true for ever.
But the cloud—it would not listen.
And out of the sky comes a hint—
"The poet has slept ;—his accents live are still, and other voice
than his—it moves me not."
So thro' ages the Ancient Lover stands and weeps and faints
away into the dark.
And the tearful sky wails out—
"The poet sleeps and his voice sleeps with him."

H. BHATTACHARYYA

"LIFE AND LETTERS"[1]

I

INTRODUCTION.

Our theme.

Life is here taken comprehensively, and not very scientifically, to include the totality of what man's consciousness can comprehend or has to deal with. Roughly this totality consists of (1) Man and (2) Nature, as the contents of consciousness.

Now, "Nature" is purely objective, though individuals having different ideas about Nature or attitude to it, may offer us a *subjective* apprehension of the universal outside each ego, and as such treated as the *object*, which individual man, as *subject*, may study and represent, in consequence. The Wordsworthian conception of Nature is a case in point.

But "Man" is both the subject as well as the object. As subject it is the perceiving, feeling, willing, thinking self, intimately in touch with the world of so-called not-self (or non-ego), represented generally as the *external* world. But it perceives itself too or feels and thinks about itself. Thus we have in the last analysis of Man—

(*a*) each Individual Personality ;

(*b*) Groups of such *Persons*—social, political, racial or national; and

(3) Humanity as a whole (more or less an abstraction), which, again, is nothing static but something eternally progressive, enriching its contents by means of myriad types of tribes, races, nations that have historically developed in course

[1] Inaugural Address given on 11th October, 1930, to the Punjab Literary League, [illegible], the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University, A. C. Woolner, Esq., M.A., C.I.E., F.A.S.B., in the Chair.

of time and made contributions to the sumtotal of man's consciousness.

All these three being accepted as the object of man's thinking self form the idea of man.

II

Scheme of the Thesis.

It would, of course, be highly desirable to define, if that were easy, the two terms "life" and "letters," with a view to ensure precision. But cut-and-dried definitions are more dangerous than useful: Scientific ones, I frankly admit, beyond my powers. Yet clarity and accuracy are necessary, though, on the whole a writer or a speaker enjoys in a way a certain advantage, if allowed to leave things undefined and vague. That frees a person from restraint, relevancy and cautious pronouncement. Had I been a platform orator, addressing a nondescript audience of miscellaneous groups, practically chance-gathered in an open-air meeting, the temptation to profit by such a freedom might have been irresistible. Being what I am, where I am, and having before me a select audience, constituted mainly by persons of culture who are bound to be critical, if not hyper-critical, I realise the serious responsibility I have chosen to place on my unworthy self, and, must, at any rate, make an honest attempt, though it may be with little success, to acquit myself properly.

The scope of the discourse.

Hence, avoiding scylla and charybdis, I propose to steer along the golden mean between the extremes of an exact scientific definition and absolutely no definition. Let us have a working one—one that is more a comprehensive *descriptive* formula than what logic or science would accept as a definition.

Life.

By life, for the purposes of my discourse, I would *principally* mean that part of man's existence which particularly relates to his psychic existence. This will mainly include man's instincts, impulses, passions, desires,

feelings, emotions, sentiments, thoughts and ideas and volitions. Here are concrete indications of the elements in human existence that will constitute *for me* and *on this occasion*, man's psychological and spiritual, *i.e.*, mental, moral and religious existence. To be still more accurate, I may add that I propose to exclude man's life, estimated purely from biological and physical points of view.

Literature.

By literature I *mainly* mean poetry in general and as much of prose composition as aims at something more than mere statement, mere affirmation or negation ; mere description ; mere allegation, proof, demonstration, disputation and argument as such ; information, either pure and simple or conveyed to others so as to persuade or dissuade, convince, lead to acceptance and rejection, create an atmosphere or a psychological condition in the reader or listener favourable for propaganda ; preachment solely for converting one of an opposite view of life into that of the man who employs language for that end (*i.e.*, didacticism).

Let me in this matter try to be a little more clear.

Further narrowing for an approach to definition.

I exclude, for instance, as non-literary, all advertisements, though advertising is to-day both scientific and aesthetic, and fascinatingly irresistible for weak minds, prone to be *impressed* more by a thoroughly trained expert advertiser's craftsmanship than, sometimes, the eloquent appeals of John the Baptist, who for such minds does, indeed, cry in the wilderness! I use purposely the expressions—" impressed," " craftsmanship " and " appeal " ; for they associate advertisements *with literature* by their connotations. I, surely, exclude railway time-tables, however attractive they may be made and whatever amount of highly useful information may be packed close in them from cover to cover, which themselves are a delight to the eye, and possibly, a joy, though not for ever, at least for a quarter of a

I do not use the word literature, once more, in the sense in which we so familiarly speak of the available *literature* on *Malaria* or *Tuberculosis*.

Here, again, the negative process of elimination cannot claim to be exhaustive. Instances of elimination only are given.

I certainly *include*, however, *diaries*—not like the one I daily keep, or, for the matter of that, kept by a police court Muktar, who in these hard times of keen competition may be constrained to extend to clients the benefit of a year's credit system of payment of fees, made liberally too tempting to litigants, *in statu pauperis*, by being purged of that much-needed but more-maligned interest at the rate of twelve *per centum*, theologically condemned as usury, though commercially acknowledged to be indispensable. Need I mention in this connection Samuel Pepys, whose "Diary" records, with vividness of keen interest equally the too small and the too great, communicating to dry details an immortal vitality, events of the years from 1659 to 1669, and who is legitimately compared with the more literary, but equally garrulous, Boswell, whose art is consummate in retailing small talk about great men, or John Evelyn whose "Journal," continued from 1641 to 1697 (further extended to the year of his death, 1705-6) has saved the good name of the Cavalier, whom Puritans like Milton were too hasty to set down as "invariably a drunken brute"—"the spawn and shipwreck of taverns and dicing houses"? Or the allied, though distinguishable, "*Journal Intime*" of the now famous Geneva Professor of aesthetics and philosophy, Amiel's Diary, kept from 1848 to 1881, which has extorted even from the finished product of Oxford culture, whom Victor Hugo's poetry "left cold," praise, not faint enough to damn, for "powers of great force and value"[1] and "unquestionable sincerity"[1] and "superiority in culture and instruction generally"[1] over the not undogmatic Arnold's favourite, Senancour?

1 Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism* Second Series

Other inclusions.

This suggests to one that literature cannot shut out of its province *Reveries*, say of Senancour known as Obermann, of Rousseau, the *Pensées* of Pascal or Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius, the Confessions of St. Augustine or of Rousseau, or even the "*dilettante*"[1] or "rococo"[2] Joubert's *Pensées*,[2] and the maxims of La Bruyère, or better still La Rochefoucauld. De Quincey's "Confessions" in this context is a misnomer or for the matter of that those "of a *Thug*." Revelations of the *underworld* have their attraction. Even detective stories have been legitimatized by Sherlock Holmes.

Mysteries, half fiction and half fact in prose, of court life in London or Paris, or histories of the Fudge Family and other tittle-tattle, even if not of the professed Tattler or Spectator, Idler or Rambler, when flavoured for the fastidious palate with humour or even wit, serve as appetizing sauce to solid dishes at the feast of reason and flow of soul and in a sumptuous bill of fare may without any apology be introduced as reasonable side-dishes.

We have also Miscellanies, Epistles, Letters to a son or Tales of a Grandfather, interesting talks of Professors at the Breakfast Table, fascinating observations on Urn Burials or Epidemic Errors and heterodoxies, having their well-assigned niches in the temple of the Sacred Nine.

Literature, as I contend, being almost as all-embracing as life itself, has actually made use of the finished products of other kinds of knowledge as her raw material. Witness, for example, the beautiful way of handling of the apparently unpromising geographical[3] details as material for romance in Homer's Odyssey, of mere details of existence in the life of shepherds and fishermen in the highly poetic *Idylls* of Theocritus, of really intractable materials in Virgil's *Georgics* or Ovid's *Fasti*.

1 Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism*, Second Series.

2 In the opinion of such an authority as Saintsbury.

3 Wordsworth and the Lake Districts of North England, Hardy and Wessex, Tenny-and Lincolnshire, Cowper and Olney, and Chaucer and Canterbury.

Coming nearer home, I appreciate and enjoy the richest poetry of mere topography in portions of *Raghubansam*, or better still, in that efflorescence of magnificent Kalidas's genius, the *Meghadutam*. The Atomic theory of the philosophers of Greece has furnished materials to Lucretius as much as the Old and the New Testament history to Milton, and, in later days, modern science first to Goethe and now to Robert Bridges. The dichotomy which puts in water-tight compartments science and letters by reference to their so-called antithesis, if not antagonism, utterly fails in the face of the synthesis achieved by higher types of literature which move and have their being in the realms of science and philosophy, bearing testimony to the wisdom of Wordsworth embodied in his grand critical dictum that poetry is the *impassioned expression upon the countenance of science*.

The Miltonic resonant chant of place names or of names of Biblical and classical personages in his poetry is to-day a common theme of school girls. Even a genealogical table if artistically manipulated will, at last, yield a rich literary harvest. Scott has in verse tales and prose romances immortalised places,[1] men and women, by using their names alone, rich in associations and suggestiveness and given a literary flavour to minute architectural details of a baronial castle or of a knight's accoutrement. Leaving, for want of time and space, out of account all camp-followers of literature, I may just mention next those who form, in substance and name, the literary 'Regulars.' In prose the place of honour belongs in our democratic age to fiction and short stories; then come essays, criticism, histories of literature and literary movements, prose comedies, biographies and memoirs.

In poetry we have the renowned varieties—Epic, Drama and Lyric—with their numerous sub-divisions and sub-varieties, which I have no time to even barely enumerate.

[1] Wordsworth and the Lake Districts of North England, Hardy and Wessex, Tenny[illegible] and Lincolnshire, Cowper and Olney, and Chaucer and Canterbury.

Summary.

In my humble opinion of man's three principal activities of (1) action, (2) thought, and (3) feeling, the pride of place is by right, of whatever in any recognised *literary form* represents man's *emotional* life in its intensity, depth and variety. Then comes what embodies thought, *i.e.*, man's *intellectual* life, as for instance, in the *Rerum Natura* of Lucretius or in Dante's *Divine Comedy*, which poetically sums up the whole range of mediaeval culture and civilisation and specially the theology of Aquinas.

We have a rich variety in a rare combination of Dichtung and Wahrheit which commends itself to a Goethe.

Action as such belongs to History proper. Yet Thucydides, Tacitus, Michelet, Carlyle, as the author of the French Revolution, even Macaulay and Green are as much *litterateurs* as historians, not to speak of Plutarch. The Philippics of Demosthenes, the Orations of Cicero (against Antony), the Impeachment of Hastings or the Speeches on American Taxation or Conciliation, the Reflections on the French Revolution, the Speeches of Bright, Parnell, O'Connor, Bradlaugh, Gladstone and Rosebury have their undisputed place.

Theology as an inspiration is responsible for a variety of literary productions among which Sermons, even lay ones, claim complete recognition. The pulpit is occasionally a great rival of the pen.

Controversies, such as the noted *Boyle and Bentley* or Milton's with Morus, or in our day of Bernard Shaw as a sociologist, cannot be excluded from any decent list. Pamphlets possessing the ease and grace, lent to them by able masters, perilously run close to literature and contributions to Magazines like the Edinburgh Review, now defunct, or the London Mercury, Criterion, Adelphi, the Atlantic Monthly, the Hibbert Journal, the Poetry Review, the Forum, etc., that are very much alive to-day, after all, are literature. But I exclude technical things that appear, for instance, in the Mind, Journal of Philosophical Studies, Journal of Ethics, Economics, History and the like.

III

A Word of Explanation.

My real aim in thus attempting to circumscribe literature proper, is to emphasize that nothing should enjoy the privilege and honour of being considered as literature which does not, *more or less, enlarge and widen, deepen and intensify, or enhance and heighten man's commonplace and habitual awareness of the universe.* Literature in other words, is that record of man's deeds, thoughts, imaginings, emotions and feelings or even extraordinary aesthetic sensations, which serves to make man become conscious of whatever—external or internal—produces and leaves on him *impressions*, in a *special manner*, by virtue of which particular type of consciousness man's self-realisation is helped, advanced, made thorough, profound and complete.

My object in trying to define Literature.

In this comprehensive view, literature will, with necessary exceptions, embrace even philosophical writings, scientific writings, histories (other than chronicles), provided such writings are more remarkable for the *manner* of presentation than for the matter. This manner is a matter of style ; and, *literary* works on philosophical or scientific themes are distinguished from pure science or pure philosophy (such for example, as mathematics, logic, physics, chemistry, anthropology—to name only a significant few) particularly by means of the *method* of treatment and the *mode* of presentation or interpretation of reality.

A comprehensive view taken.

IV

Form *versus* Matter : Literature an Art.

This mode is primarily a question of "form," and has to do with artistic fashioning. Fashioning, again, and form is subject to artistic technique. Thus

The literary mode.

literature *proper* has to be tested, estimated, valued, judged as an *art production.* It has, no doubt, its body of matter ; and the more substantial or profound or sublime and grand this matter is the greater is the utility of literature for solving the problem of life—that problem of problems with every one of us as to *how we are to live* so that our life may fulfil its end.

The place of Literature in the economy of Life.

The absence of literature will thus signify the absence of culture and civilization. If we imagine a condition of life for humanity in which man enjoying all other advantages of existence is deprived simply of this one thing, if we imagine a community or race otherwise comparatively speaking well developed and advanced, say in all the mechanical contrivances calculated to ensure to it satisfaction of all material needs—the picture that will have to be drawn of man's life in the circumstances, will at best show us man as a fully formed first rate biological animal. In Browning's highly condensed language—"a finite and finished clod, untroubled by a spark"; this is what man degenerates into if he can bring himself to believe that he has little concern with literature and act up to his conviction.

I am likely to be cheaply disposed of in the present time of ungoverned *furor* in certain classes of highly trained expert minds, exclusively dedicated to what, from the point of view of utilitarian calculation of profit and loss to humanity, is sure to be acknowledged as the only useful intellectual discipline and the only useful kind of knowledge and its profitable pursuit. I refer to the hasty condemnation of what erroneously is described as an over-literary bias in men of culture. But I am confident that while addressing the Intelligentsia of the Punjab I have absolutely no need of setting up a defence of the Humanities.

Why Literature must be essential for Civilised Man.

Man, in *such* a community or new imaginary literature-free commonwealth if any could be conceived, may find life rich in assets, sufficient for self-preservation and race continuity,

that is, sufficient for the satisfaction of his two fundamental and primary instincts. But the first and earliest derivative or secondary instinct, born of these two primitive ones, *viz.*, his well-nigh *native* hankering after the beautiful and the sublime, will get little scope for satisfaction and growth. His *aesthetic sense* will remain stunted. He will have no more of it than the lower animals, specially birds, display, for example, while their males compete with one another at pairing time, as has been elaborately shown by Darwin and of which a fine poetical representation has been given to us by the recently dead poet-laureate, Robert Bridges, in his last work, *The Testament of Beauty* (published in October, 1929).

Let me quote one or two significant passage :—

" Lov'st thou in the blithe hour
of April dawns—nay marvelest thou not—to hear
the ravishing music that the small birdës make
in garden or woodland, rapturously heralding
the break of day ; when the first lark on high hath warn'd
the vigilant robin already of the sun's approach,
and he on slender pipe calleth the nesting tribes
to awake and fill and thrill their myriad-warbling throats
praising life's God, until the blisful revel grow
in wild profusion unfeign'd to such a hymn as man
hath never in temple or grove pour'd to the Lord of heav'n?
Hast thou then thought that all this ravishing music,
that stirreth so thy heart, making thee dream of things
illimitable unsearchable and of heavenly import,
is but a light disturbance of the atoms of air,
whose jostling ripples, gather'd within the ear, are tuned
to resonant scale, *and then by the enthron'd mind receiv'd*
on the spiral stairway of her audience chamber
as heralds of high spiritual significance?

Birds are of all animals the nearest to men
for that they take delight in both music and dance,

> and gracefully schooling leisure to enliven life
> wer the earlier artists." [1]

I invite your attention specially to two significant suggestions in the extract—one contained in the portion I have on purpose put in italics and the other in the poet's view that birds, and not, as Evolutionists assert, the anthropoid apes, are the nearest of kin to man. The poet's emphasis is, in other words, on the proud privilege of man, in the scale of the different species along the line of *ascent*, to employ his enthroned mind, which *utilizes sense impressions as heralds of high spiritual significance*. This is denied by Nature to all species below man, even though modern scientific investigations assign to animals powers and functions that go a large way to demolish the barriers formerly set up between animals as such and man viewed as a *rational* animal. And this great privilege is, in this part of his wonderful poem, made by Bridges to consist in man's artistic sense or sense of beauty.

Now, my contention too is that the *literary* man, or better still, man when in his evolution from his primitive savagery he emerges out of the condition which made him no better than his cousin-german, the Ourang or the Chimpanzee, stands for ever distinguished or "*differentiated*" from all other animals, nay even from the *natural* man, by this vital urge in him, implanted by Nature in his very germ-plasm as what Bergson calls the *élan vital*, by his "*conscient*" aesthetic sense. Whereas in birds, let us say with Bridges, this natural sense of beauty, so useful for sexual selection leading to possibilities of better breed, is at best inconscient, that is merely instinctive. This purposive, motivated, self-conscious, aesthetic sense, somewhat better evolved in the higher organism itself,—this sense of harmony and order, of proportion, of due subordination of perplexing and baffling variety to unity, of affiliation of mere otherwise un-co-ordinated and meaningless huge

[1] *The Testament of Beauty*, Book I, ll. 63-81 and 106-9. *Italics* mine.

mass of details to what is essential, central and significant ; —this it is what, I want to emphasize, breaks man's homogeneity as an animal with the entire animal world, making it possible for him, by the aid of this his differentiating trait, *specifically human*, to rise higher and higher in the limitless scale of ascent, till eventually he reaches the fruition of life in and through that self-realisation which is only a different name for the realisation of the God in man.

And this *conscient* aesthetic sense urges man to be a creator of beauty instead of resting satisfied with being simply an appreciator of it—as is the case, let us repeat, with the " birds that, of all animals," the poet Bridges tells us, are " the nearest to men."

The *literary* man is a seer and a creator ; he is a thinker as much as a " maker,"—poet, vates, prophet, fashioner, artist, technician, an artistic worker in the medium called language, in words, in verbal symbols of ideas and emotions.

I may stop here just for a moment to draw a conclusion.

Conclusion.

We have seen by now that literature is not simply for humanity an indispensable civilizing factor, a cultural agency. We have seen also that it is an *integral* part and parcel of man's very existence from that remote period of his earliest history when man broke off continuity (*i.e.*, homogeneity) with the rest of the animal kingdom and embarked on his voyage through strange seas of new ideas, thoughts, sentiments, emotions and feelings of which he has kept a record in literature taken in its widest range and most comprehensive sense.

Even primitive man's life is not a life minus literature, though with the primitive man literature is in its germ.

All myths, legends, tribal chants, folk-tales, folk-songs, fairy tales, choral dance songs, songs in honour of wine, of soma juice, ambrosia, or of woman, are *in essence* literature.

Our own Vedic Hymns addressed to Nature forces adored as deities by our ancient poet-sages in their forest homes

carry us back to the world's early literature. Such is the history of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Crete, Israel, China, of the Aztecs, Mexicans, Peruvians, Red Indians, Polynesians, Alaskans and Esquimaux. If the savage did decorate his scalpel, chiefly meant for flaying his enemy alive, with rude and rough figures, engraved or etched on it, to satisfy his innate *human* art instinct, the primitive man's fancy or imagination too was never left idle. It created a world of its own corresponding to the world of physical phenomena to embody his fantasies, imaginings, his inexplicable sense of presences around him, his awe, his sense of the grand and the beautiful. To think of man divorced from the most rudimentary type of literary activity is at once to brutalize him. His life, considered by us at the level just removed a single step beyond man taken biologically alone, is a life incapable of being dissociated from literature, be it the most elementary, even as a piece of downright logical abstraction;—for, verily, life and literature, in any true sense of these two terms, are individual, inseparable, *one whole* with two naturally inter-related aspects of a single reality. As there can be no transaction called buying divorced from selling so there is no *living* for man as a being other than the veriest brute apart from *literary activity* in some form or other.

ESSENTIAL UNITY OF LIFE AND LETTERS.

Two facts of one Reality (the Art of Living and the Art of recording life's experiences in what we call Literature).

Every thoughtful student of human evolution to-day recognises the fact that evolution of the social structure, in a progressive race or nation, ultimately determines the trend of the evolution of ideas, which, in its turn, is responsible for the evolution in aesthetics. Again, our social

structures are largely shaped by the dominant material conditions of life. It follows logically therefore that the relation is very intimate of traits considered to be moral or spiritual in man and what are considered as things mainly ministering to man, merely as a biological animal, which, after all, happen in man's progressive growth, as reflected in letters and arts, to play a very important part in determining and regulating the direction that man's highest intellectual and artistic pursuits must take. Such pursuits unscientific minds are too prone to exclusively associate with things supposed to be above man's material cravings, needs, activities, which such minds too hastily dismiss as things of a lower order. The right attitude is the attitude of a man of broad culture who can attempt, if not achieve, a synthesis between the claims of so-called matter and mind, by being true to these kindred points of heaven and home in human history.

Two ways of realising the Reality constituted by Life and Letters: the way of Acceptance and the way of Revolt or Challenge (which life comprehends and literature represents):

It has to be noted also that this process of evolutionary growth includes periods of revolutions, when, for the time, man is cut off suddenly from his old moorings and sent apparently adrift, at the mercy of destructive storm and stress, into a pathless sea of new experiments and weird adventures, where no chart or compass is available to guide his voyage into a peaceful haven of easy and comfortable achievements. Cosmos does not prosper without the aid of chaos as its very material;—nay, it evolves out of the very body and soul of its antagonist. Homogeneity is disturbed in all departments of life (as opposed to death and stagnation) by the impact of opposed forces which alone gives rise to differentiations. Antithesis breaks up thesis to make synthesis possible, when homogeneity is replaced by harmony. Such ever has been the path of progress. Very briefly and summarily stated, *in letters*, whether in the Orient or the Occident, the course of development in this evolutionary process has been from the

classical through the romantic to the naturalistic and realistic, as a counterpart of the movement of socio-political factors of life from the aristocratic or patrician towards the proletariat or plebeian, through the intermediate stage of the middle-classes. This, in short, is the history of the advent of what we are proud of as the *modern* phase in letters corresponding to the scientific spirit of to-day, fast elbowing out the theological or the metaphysical. In other words, we can represent the trend of the action and reaction between life and letters, along its well-defined stages, implying equally well-worked phases of thought movement in man, with which is naturally associated in *intimate relationship* the various aspects of aesthetic apprehension and embodiment in concrete *forms*, either in terms of Hegelian or (for the matter of that) Spencerian interpretation of the history of humanity, or in terms of August Comte, modified, where necessary, to suit our standpoint and purpose.

Method of study of Literature in actual use.

It is well-known that the highly suggestive and fruitful historical and comparative method of study, inaugurated in the scientific-minded nineteenth century, has to-day been enhanced in its usefulness and promise of richer results by the up-to-date critical method which proposes to approach the study of the highly complicated and complex phenomenon of literature, in its most comprehensive sense, from three distinct points of view. This rather "*modernist*" division into three ways of what is fundamentally a single one is, however, a mere question of convenience, favourable to a division of labour among experts. These ways are not surely antagonistic to one another but complementary. There is essentially greater co-operation than competition among them—only each one, for convenience' sake, works out its own separate *specialised* province of intensive study, to which a set of experts in their own allotted fields may fruitfully devote their time and attention. These experts never forget that all roads must eventually lead to Rome.

The three outstanding ways are :—(1) the genetic and

historical which traces results back to origins and indicates affinities and affiliations;

(2) the Psychological with its emphasis *on the subjective* or individualistic element as in all lyrics, rhapsodies, confessions, reveries, journal *intime, pure prose* effusions like, for example, Lamb's Essays or some of Landor's Imaginary Conversations, *pure poetry* (as in portions of Keats and some of the Pre-Raphaelites like Rossetti), in literature of self-portraiture (like the Prelude), or self-disclosure with just a dash of abandon, spontaneous or somewhat artificial, or at least conventional (as in the *letters* of Cowper, Lady Mary W. Montague, Pope, Senancour, Keats or in Byron's rhetorical Childe Harold's Pilgrimage or Goethe's Eckermann Conversations and in the literature of mysticism as represented by Eckhert, or Madame Guyon ;

(3) the social with its more defined and elaborate reference to the *actualities* of life relating to the age in which a particular literary man of note flourishes whose writings sum up the main currents of social movements representing the *zeit-geist.*

"The Middle Ages emphasize the religious attitude, the feudal nobility, the aristocratic attitude, the bourgeoisie, the moral attitude. To-day it is the social attitude that is emphasized. The chaos of our emotional and mental life revolves about the chaos of our economic world. Only a clear conception of social values can clarify our approach. Art that is social in vision becomes art that is dynamic in form."

There is "the clear emergence of social aesthetic out of moral chaos." This coincides with a "new attitude towards life." Poetry and drama are "an expression of social life." The drama is to subserve social ends. This new spirit, new ideal, new demand (specially on the stage[1] and the drama) is present in many currents in contemporary literature. Killerman's *The*

1 *Cf.* Tolstoy's "What is Art?" and Nietzsche's "The Gay Science," and the condition of the Munich Stage during 1924 to 1926.

Ninth of November and *The Sea* ; Barbusse's *Chains* ; Theiss' *Gateway to Life* ; Vergos' *Mastro-don-Gesualda* ; Kaisers' *Die Burger von Calais* ; Duhamel's *Les Hommes Abandonnes* and *Civilization* ; Sternheim's *Burgher Schippel* and *Tabula Rasa*—all these show the movement toward social attitude away from the individual. Grisor's poem "The Factory," Steinbach's poems on "Women and Revolution," Pretzang's "Daughters of Labour," the works of Werfel and Toller show clearly the tendency to stress the social instead of the individualistic element. The post-Revolutionary Poetry (since 1917) of Russia, nay the entire Soviet literature of to-day, is distinctly proletarian, reflecting the dominant outlook on life of the Russian masses. I can only mention Arsky's *Collective Will*, Demyan Bedny's *The Workmen's Hymn*, Filipehenko's *The Masses*, Ionov's *The Communists* and Obradovich's *The Factory*.

Permit me just for one moment to go a little deeper—without, I hope, being open to the charge of becoming metaphysical. In this connection let me also indulge in a personal explanation. My theme has at every stage of my thinking on it irresistibly tempted me to dive below the surface to offer you whatever philosophy I am humbly capable of bringing to bear upon it. But believe me, kindly, when I frankly add that I have resolutely placed myself under a rigid self-denying ordinance with a view to rigorously shut out whatever might be condemned by my indulgent audience as too deep or subtle. If I have erred I have erred on purpose on the side of making my humble performance as popular as is consistent with the nature of its subject-matter. Nay, I am really afraid that I have allowed this steady aim to dominate to such an extent as to, perhaps, render myself open to the charge of superficiality which for once, I am prepared to plead guilty to rather than be dismissed either as an over-subtle analyser of things or as a dreamer of too poetic dreams smuggled cleverly into a popular discourse.

VI

A Little Bit of Analysis.

How and why Life is bound to be reduced for man to Literature.

No very deep or profound thinking or elaborate and searching analysis is needed to enable us to realise a radical truth to which we in our great hurry often remain blind. A moment's pause—if we can, in the language of the poet, only "stand and stare," which is practically tantamount to the Wordsworthian "wise passiveness" in us—sufficeth to make us aware of a fascinating fact that in *living* we focus our attention on the immediate present, while in *embodying as literature* what we live through, we treat that very substance of life as something *past*. In other words in literature, life which is always in a state of flux, in motion,—which is in a way fleeting, evanescent, mobile, which like the proverbial time and tide will wait for none—is recaptured so to say, made to stop for us to enable us to observe, analyse, think about, reason, feel over again in a more leisurely, detached, self-possessed manner, co-ordinate and connect into a whole what fragmentarily passes quickly before our gaze as an endless quick succession in a cinema performance of numerous independent partial pictures of parts of one indivisible whole-subject to be impressed on the audience.

Now, philosophically viewed, what exactly is the precise nature of what we are in the habit of calling and accepting as a phenomenon happening in what we call the present moment? Do we not, philosophers or no philosophers, know that time moves so fast and change constitutes, in Bergson's terms, the very essence of existence to such an extent, that by the moment we, as feeling and thinking beings, can manage with our comparatively slow-moving faculties to be *aware* in consciousness that a thing exists, or is happening, it *has already happened* and become "*was*"? If we are very accurate in thinking and accurate in expressing ourselves, we are bound to confess that

we have not the ability to catch "the present" *quâ* present; for by the time—be it the infinitesimal fraction of a second —*awareness* of a fact—of *factum*—is achieved by the human consciousness it has ceased to belong to the category of the present by having already passed into the category of what we remember. It has become a thing *in memory*; it is "past." This continuous, ever-moving, exceedingly, nay, bafflingly rapid movement, this quick-flowing stream of *actualities*, becoming transformed in the fraction of a single moment of time into memories, reminiscences, recollections,—this it is what makes the stuff of life as we live it; and, this, again, it is which forms the very substance of literature as concrete embodiment of this never-ending series of moment to moment self-consciousness, captured by the *art* of literary activity to be recorded as an immortal heritage for civilised man and woman.

Shakespeare was more an unerring, though sub-conscious or even unconscious, psychologist than a dreaming poet when he penned the ever-memorable lines which are unto us a profound record of man's highest experience—

"The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
Are of imagination all compact:
* * *

The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

M., N. D., V. I, ll. 7-8 and 12-17.

Surely I do not forget that Shakespeare is speaking of poetry and that poetry by itself does not make up the whole of literature. If necessary, I shall presently meet such objectors, if any. Let me observe however here, that among the fine arts poetry is pre-eminently that kind of art which is mainly concerned with "*relations of time*," which has for main principle

"the idea of motion, of succession" whereas painting, sculpture and architecture form a "class concerned with relations of *space*; we see and touch and measure its products."[1] And I am in my own way, now attempting to satisfactorily establish the intimate and inseparable kinship of life and letters by a single little bit of philosophic thinking which to my mind ought to be enough to bring home to my courteous and indulgent hearers, gathered at this meeting, the validity of my contention. Therefore the quotation from Shakespeare is in my present context perfectly relevant even though it is meant to be applied to poetry.

Moreover, poetry, according to Wordsworth "is the image of man and nature." So it does cover all that literature in a larger sense must deal with as its theme. In Emerson's language "poetry is the perpetual endeavour to express the spirit of the thing." It forcibly reminds me of Hegel's remark that "poetry is the real of the spirit" (*vide* his *Aesthetick*) and of Theodore Watts Dunton's equally cogent and impressive suggestion that "it is in expressing the countless shifting movements of the soul from passion to passion, that poetry shows inspite of her infirmities her superiority to the plastic arts" (Encycl. Brit., Vol. 19, 9th Ed.). So, it is truly the highest type of literature. Poetry, Ruskin will tell you, has concern with "the sacred passions—Love, Veneration, Admiration and Joy —— and their opposites—Hatred, Indignation, Horror and Grief." Thus so far as emotions go (as distinct from actions and thoughts) this *form* of literature known to us as poetry practically exhausts man's life of the emotions. And a predecessor[2] of our present poet-laureate (Masefield) held poetry to be "a transfiguration of life." Mr. M. H. Liddell says, "poetry is literature, usually of a high degree of Human Interest, which

1 Professor F. B. Gummere, Ph.D.

2 Alfred Austin in his Introduction to "The Human Tragedy," 1889 edition.

in addition to its Human Interest, has in it an added Aesthetic Interest, etc." [1]

VII

FUNCTIONS OF LITERATURE.

Having, with what success it is not for me to say, attempted to establish the fundamental unity of life and letters I next address myself to a meagre treatment of its functions within the limits severely imposed on a short study of a great subject.

Literature is described as a representation of man and nature. It is accepted as a criticism of life. For example in satires, comedies, farces, humorous sketches or skits, burlesques, parodies, mock epics and other kindred varieties, literature is pre-eminently a *criticism* of life. It is the artistic skill of a somewhat detached spectator of life's ludicrous elements, displayed in the art of applying critical ideas to the spontaneous play of life in its careless abandon. Herein literature functions somewhat like the much-needed scavenging department of a Municipal Administration without which hygiene and sanitation cannot be maintained. Literature keeps society in health by humorously pointing out where society is thoughtlessly indulging in aberrations that disturb social sanitation or even moral hygiene. Wherever and whenever decorum, decency, dignity, reserve, restraint, self-control, due proportion, orderliness or harmony runs the risk of being destroyed, or even temporarily disturbed, the exceedingly useful yet somewhat negative work of preserving individual life and social life from deterioration, degeneration, degradation, decay or decadence, must be seriously undertaken by literature. It is "reaction" or revolt that actively operates in this matter. We just refer to the excesses of Puritanism necessitating the restoration of social balance by the excesses of Restoration

[1] Introduction to the Scientific Study of Poetry.

literature in England, the excesses of Restoration ribaldry again requiring the fine and delicate humour of a Steele or an Addison or the more vigorous sledge-hammer strokes of Swift, the excesses of decadent feudalism demanding a *Don Quixote* or Voltaire's ruthless grimaces, the excesses of Richardson's sentimentalism demanding the very delicate Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility*, the excesses of Victorian compromise and self-complacency crying for the Georgian literature of our own day, the excesses of Tsarism in Russia making of the Russian fiction what it became with Dostoievsky, Tolstoy, Gogol, Gorky and even Chekhov. This is the reaction and response of literary effort of man to his intellectual, moral and sociological environment. It is the purifying function of the Time-spirit.

Useful to the extent of being indispensable though this function is, I do not look upon this as literature's highest service to life.

In a larger sense the greatest function of literature is in multiform expression. Impressionists, pure and simple will, I remember, at once frown on me. Neither can I ignore the sarcastic smile at me on the part of aesthetes pure and simple who care not for anything beyond their precious cult of Art for Art's sake. This school will carry the underlying principle of all representation of existence to the logical extreme of sheer aesthetic transformation or artistic translation of man's totality of experience into one of the many kinds of artistic medium and make that the be-all and end-all of all literary activity. It will value words as expressive symbols more for their sound or colour suggestiveness that helps to make an imagery telling, vivid, intense, impressive, appealing to *sensuous sensibility* than for their meaning or sense value enhancing by their *connotation* the significance of what is embodied in language.

I cannot further pursue this tempting analysis for obvious reasons.

But literary expression surely does not mean mere statement of facts or presentation of unmodified actualities ; it is not photography. The highest aspects of literary expression lies in *idealisation* of the real, which often is chaotic, uncontrollable, disorderly, baffling, mysterious, rebellious, unregenerate, extravagant, nay, even bizarre, or at least, grotesque and fantastic, or too homely, colourless, drab, humdrum, prosaic, fragmentary, and apparently meaningless.

The real in life as such, unidealised, when sublime and mysterious, gives birth to such literature—literature at a higher height, no doubt, as that of the Aeschylean tragedy or of the supreme irony of a Sophocles, not mellowed by the human tears we associate with Euripides. It is too sombre and over-serious. The Fates, the Eumenides, rule our world to our utter benumbing discomfiture. The gods too are subject to their inexorable decrees and yet as Epicurus held they lie beside their nectar careless of the affairs of mankind,—pitiless, relentless, self-absorbed, far far away on Olympian heights, or on the heights of smoke-enfolded Sinai, where even a prophet like Moses must in trepidation and reverent awe wait to receive the Commandments, for even the veritable chosen seed, with whom the Holy of Holies vouchsafed to enter into a Covenant.

It is by this necessary process of idealisation of the actual, this artistic transformation of whatever can appeal to the emotional self in us through the imagination, that poets can apparel all ordinary objects in a celestial light, can add to what is commonplace the light that is neither on the sea nor land, but which is the poet's consecration and his dream. When this is achieved, the yellow primrose on the river's brim ceases to be a mere yellow primrose, the cuckoo brings to us a tale of visionary hours, the nightingale becomes an immortal creature not born for death, the Grecian urn enables us to realise that Truth is beauty and Beauty is truth ; we discover then Helen's beauty on an Egyptian brow, the infant on the nurse's arms becomes the best philosopher, the one eye among us grown-ups, the blind, forever toiling

all our lives to find truths that naturally rest on the little child, glorious in the might of heaven-born freedom.

If literature is viewed as a mode of artistic representation, here lies its highest form and herein its highest function, *viz.*, of clothing the commonplace and unimpressive with imaginative glow and warmth, which lend enchantment to what man ordinarily views and calls the negligible commonplace and of thus making everything, a source of joy to us for ever—The artist's way of comprehending the universe, the Beauty-way, distinguished from the Truth-way of the philosopher or the scientist, or the Utility-way of the statesman or the moralist, or the reformer, not to speak of the industrialist.

But whether interpreted as functioning as *criticism* of life, or its *representation* in an idealistic, realistic or naturalistic fashion, or as the most appealing form of *expression* of the totality of experience, or a purely aesthetic *presentation* of all that is, literature, taken comprehensively and viewed from the right standpoint and understood correctly, in the main drift of all different schools of thought and of critical canons, is ultimately one and the same. We have to acknowledge that the totality of man's experiences, including his *reflexes* as subjective counterparts of *impressions* produced by external stimuli, acting on his senses and serving as objective sources of all *knowing* and feeling, in other words, Life, constitutes the very stuff of Literature, for, it is out of these experiences, oftener than not aesthetic ones, that literary men spin the very warp and woof which literature as an *Art* weaves into the finished fabric of verse or prose.

In this larger and broader view, which alone is the correct view, life is unto literature both law and impulse; for life sets the specialised activity of the literary artist in motion as an inspiring, compelling force, and at the same time regulates, shapes, the character, the type, the quality, the worth of the literary product.

The Bible, for instance, thus is more than a Scripture, being to those whose religion is different, an eternal fountain of

truth, beauty, goodness, love and joy, enshrined in a literary work of matchless merit. The Vedas are thus to non-Hindus the most ancient and antique repositories of man's sublime and beautiful imaginings, the Avesta, the Koran, the Book of the Dead, to name a few, equally possess their *universal* validity and appeal to man as man, irrespective of his creed, dogma, religious belief or practice, irrespective of his sect or church, his nationality, his social bias, his geographical limitation. It is thus that to-day all competent judges are agreed in considering as the heritage of the whole world such literary productions as for instance, the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Mahabharat, Ramayana, the Bible, the Koran, Avesta, the Tripitaka, Taoism, Confucianism as recorded in books, the Nibelungenlied, the Mabinogion, the Iliad, the Aeneid, the Divine Comedy, the Paradise Lost, the Shahnameh, Kumarasambhabam, Raghubamsham, Sakuntala, Kathasaritsagar, Aesop's Fables, the Arabian Nights' Tales, the Odes of Pindar, Horace, Ovid's Heroides, the cycles of Carlovingian or Arthurian Romances, the works of the Trouveres and Troubadours, of Petrarch and Boccaccio, of Rabelais, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Calderon, of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Seneca, Plautus, Terence, Racine, Corneille, Faust, the Prelude, the Idylls of the King or In Memoriam, Sartor Resartus, Leaves of the Grass, Adonais, Hyperion, Ring and the Book, Old Mortality, Oliver Twist, Esmond, Romola, the Egoist, Jude the Obscure, Forsyte Saga, the Dynasts, Justice, Strife, the Tragedy of Nan, Prometheus in Piccadilly, the Testament of Beauty, Gitanjali, Sadhana, Anna Karenina, Brothers Caramazov, Dead Soul, Mona Vanna, Treasure of the Humble, Hunger or the Great Hunger.

On principle and purpose I have put together names exactly as they have spontaneously occurred to my mind without any the least effort at orderly classification or chronological order just to convince you that life in its myriad varieties and aspects has become embodied in its fulness in a variety of forms and ways in the world's literature from remote antiquity down

to the year of grace 1929. I have attempted no classification here but thrown pellmell in a heap these noted names of men and books in a moment of abandon to give expression to a personal realisation of the unity and identity of life and letters.

A new function of Literature.

Literature is not merely, however, the product of life or its inert depository and receptacle; but it is in transitional periods of human history a great active force, a creative agency, a shaping power. I have barely time for a mere hint. In the history of the Occident, we have such evidence in the Renaissance, the French Revolution and the recent Great War. In these cases it is the diffusion of ideas, thoughts, ideals, views of life by potent writers that transformed, shaped, moulded and regulated life itself, giving to man and woman a new, if not strange, outlook on it. In the Orient, we had *shaping of life by literature*, when the Vedic *Karmakanda* was replaced by the Upanishadic *Jnanamarga* (the quest of the Absolute through illumined intuitive vision), and again at the advent of Buddhism, once more at that of the world-renowned great Shankaracharyya, again when the Tantric *Sadhan* (discipline) changed through the Tantra literature even the Yoga system of Patanjali, and finally, when the age of spiritual democracy was born in the much-misunderstood and stupidly called immobile East, our own dear and glorious Mother India, at the advent of a whole host of popular religious reformers whose religious songs will continue amidst all the fret and fury of modernism, industrial and political unrest and upheaval, to be to us the bed-rock of our spiritual life, which alone is life eternal and true; I mean, Sri Gauranga or Chaitanyadeva, Tukaram, Tulsidas, Kabir, Mira Bai, Namdad, but though mentioned last yet not the least but one of the highest, your own Guru Nanak, and Dayanand.

Thus, literature is the creature as well as creator of life, ever new, the fountain at which weary and worn travellers like my humble self, parched and athirst, will with pleasure and profit ever turn to slake the thirst of life, the thirst which is our

life-long yearning for more light, more abundance of vitality, for more beauty, for more joy, for more illumination and enlightenment and for that peace of the soul which passeth all understanding, the beatitude and bliss in which must find rest our ever active energising body and soul. Our vain struggles, unsure aims and purposes, baffled aspirations, partially fulfilled ideals, in the allotted three score years and ten, open in and through all that is immortalised in sublime and beautiful literary works of the whole world, which literature alone makes one kin, as through a wide arch an endless vista to our insatiable aspiring spirit, voyaging through eternity, in which vista is merged, absorbed to be more enriched, all our petty, ephemeral, haphazard and apparently futile endeavours, full of limitations, due to the infirmities of the flesh to which the embodied soul is subject. But the indwelling spirit of this our muddy vesture feels that it is eternally free in its endless quest of the One Person, the immanental World Soul or Universal Spirit, in whom is harmonised all Truth, all Beauty, all Love, all Joy, all Beatitude and Bliss, the One in the many, He that ever is as सत्यम् सुन्दरम् शिवमानन्दम्, for, verily, रसो वै सः and not in the fragmentary many only is He manifest but in Unity, in भुमा or the Infinite, which is the culmination of all finites.

Literature leads life along the path of the fragmentary many to this ultimate goal of Unity.

JAYGOPAL BANERJEE

Reviews

The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai—Translated from the Tamil by order of the Government of Madras. edited by H. Dodwell, M.A. (Oxon.), F.R.Hist.S, printed by the Superintendent, Government Press, Madras, priced at Rs. 3. The get-up of the book is good. The final instalment of the Diary covers a period just over a year, from January 1760, to the diarist's death on January 12, 1761. Ranga Pillai was for a considerable number of years the foremost Hindu resident of Pondichery, better informed on political matters than any other. He came of a family which had been peculiarly honoured by the French authorities. For a considerable time the diarist—the foremost Indian merchant in an essentially mercantile community was the main intermediary between the Governor and the Indians whom he governed. He also played the part of Foreign Secretary to the Governor, translating letters or getting them translated, suggesting appropriate answers, and himself corresponding with distant ministers. He might know no language but his own, but he had a rough and ready knowledge of several. He could interpret a Persian letter when read out to him. He could probably speak and write Telugu and Malayalam, besides his French and Portuguese. Of the men and circumstances of the time Ranga Pillai was a close and interested observer. Besides his mind was a store-house of diplomatic precedents. The editor himself says: "Viewed as a whole, this Diary which covers almost a quarter of a century is a curiously mixed document. No one will ever read it for its sake. Yet it has historical importance. During the greater part of these twenty-five years, the momentous struggle was being fought out in South India which finally settled the issue whether India was to be dominated from Paris or London." The book is certainly of importance to those who will study the early history of India from original sources. We congratulate the editor for bringing out such a useful work.

A. Guha

Karmayoga.—By Yogi Bhikshu. Published by Yogi Publication Society, Chicago, U. S. A. ; 1928 ; pp. 138, price Rs. 6-4 as.

The volme under review is a book of eleven lectures from the pen of an Asiatic Bhikshu who combines in himself the enthusiasm of a devotee,

the inspiration of a yogi, and the information of an eclectic. The author rightly points out that the very fabric of human nature is rooted in Karman or activity, and man like every other thing of the universe, from the minutest atom to the vastest mountain, is bound by the inevitable law of Karman, and thus cannot ever remain inactive (*akarmakrit*). He has not omitted the usual details of *niskama karma* or the performance of duty without thought for consequence, and *Vairagya* or indifference to the inroads of the passion of love and hatred and is fully alive to the fact that inaction should not be the motto of the karmayogi. Rather his is a life of useful activity which is cosmocentric rather than egocentric and the greater world is his home. Discomfort and annoyance, hunger and wet, pain and cold, squalor and filth cease to have any deterrent action whatever; death turns into a commonplace matter and its usual power to check our action vanishes. The greatest ideal of Karmayoga which the author should have emphasised is, in the words of Swami Vivekananda "non-resistance which is the most beautiful manifestation of power in actual possession, and the true life of work is indeed, harder than the equally true life of renunciation." His dissertation on the *Pranaba* or 'Aum' evinces the true spirit in which it, the symbol of all divinity and of all that is real, has to be uttered and realised with its moral and mystical effect on the pronouncer. The lectures are copiously illustrated by felicitous citations from the renowned theosophical writers like Madame Blavatsky, Fourneer, McSwiney and others, in addition to those from the usual Indian Yoga literature such as the Bhagavat Gita, the Yoga Sutras, and the Upanishads; and the author has added to the interest of the book by embodying in it the best thoughts of the Quoran, the Bible and the Avesta. The book contains much information and is a useful handbook on the subject in its own way.

HARIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

A Short History of Kashmir from Earliest Time to the Present Day—By Pandit Gwasha Lal, B.A. Priced at Annas 8, published by Zutshi and Company, Srinagar, Kashmir. The get-up of the book is bad. The author in this small treatise has attempted to present a short history of Kashmir from the pre-historic time to the current time. He notes that it is the first of its kind. According to the tradition recorded in the Nilmat Purana, Kasyapa, the son of Marici is the founder of this beautiful land. He next passes on to the early Hindu period and the

Buddhistic period. Next, he takes up Hindu period and Muslim period respectively. He has also given an account of Kashmir under the Sikh Government at Lahore. The Sikhs were defeated by the British at Sobraon in February, 1846. The victors got Kashmir and other adjoining districts as part payment of their war indemnity. They made over part of this new acquisition to Maharaja Golap Singh in return for 75 lacs by a treaty signed March 15, 1846 A.D. The author has further given an account of all noteworthy things to be seen at Kashmir. He has indeed touched briefly most of the things to be noted in connexion with the history of Kashmir. In this respect the book may prove useful to those for whom it is intended. But the book, to my mind, is wanting in method.

A. GUHA

A Higher English Grammar. By L. Tipping, M.A. Macmilan & Co., Limited, London, 1927.

As a writer of elementary text-books for learning English, Mr. Tipping's is a well-known name in this country and if experience is of any help in the task, he has it in a large measure. And whatever he does has the credit of something distinctive and in this Higher English Grammar there are some chapters which are novel in their kind and betray an originality of outlook rare to find in text-books, specially on Grammar. It is such chapters that substantiate the title claimed,—A *Higher* English Grammar. Mr. Tipping begins with sentences, not words, as is so generally done, and his procedure is supported by the fact that words are never the true unit of speech, either in form or thought. Our attention is drawn specially to the last four chapters beginning with " the English language;" these will give the student a glimpse into the nature of the language which he will know more intimately as he proceeds to study philology or history of the language. A business-like style, maintained throughout, raises the tone of the book and, not being crammed with details, it will be a *pleasant study* of Grammar if such a phrase is allowed to stand in respect of a branch of learning generally considered crabbed.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Vyathā o Vedanā. By Sri Hiranmaya Bandyopadhyaya. The Book Company Limited, 4/3 B, College Square, Calcutta, 1930.

This is just half a century of Bengali verse with a unity of theme, all addressed to the writer's newly married young wife (as the introduction tells us), whose absence he feels so acutely while residing in England for study, though seas and oceans intervene. Separation has been a favourite occasion for stimulating the poetic sentiment ever since the composition of the *Meghaduta*, if not earlier, and one feels naturally interested in the attempt. Unfortunately, the poems are more or less experimental and the echo of the original, specially of Rabindranath, is heard as we read the lines. The numerous faults in rhyming and lapses in music are hard to counterbalance, even by occasional beauty of phrase and sentiment. The grouping of the poems according to thought has been happy, but there are many printing mistakes which spoil the effect of poetical compositions in particular. Interesting, however, are the attempts at adapting exotic measures, *e.g.*, triolets in the dedicatory verses, and a large number of the poems—twenty out of a total fifty—are sonnets or variations of the form, which, it may be noted, supplied the poet with a suitable vehicle for encasing his poetic effusions with success. It is refreshing also to note that Mr. Banerji is quite simple in his diction, and the introductory essay, discussing varieties of the emotion and contributed by the poet's father—a scholar and teacher of repute—will be read with special interest and appreciation, and is a commendable feature of the volume.

P. S.

Baladitya: A Historical Romance of Ancient India. By A. S. Panchapakesha Ayyar, M.A. (Oxon.), I.C.S. Bombay, D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co. 1930. Priced at Rs. 4 or 7*s*. 6*d*. only.

A historical romance in English by an Indian is, on the face of it, a daring task undertaken, and it is still more risky to review it, But the reviewer in this instance feels a little comforted on perusal, and is in a position to state that the book before him is exempted from general imperfections. The period dwelt upon, the episode of the re-conquest of India by Indians from the Hun aggressors—one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of the past—has an eternal charm for the student of history, and the treatment has a topical interest as well. The Gupta period, as every one interested in the development of Indian culture knows, is one of the most brilliant epochs in Indian history, and many works of art and monuments of architecture amply testify to it.

One feels tempted to add that it invites comparison with the present era which also, in the opinion of many sound thinkers, is witnessing a renaissance of Hindu culture. Foreign aggression was the calamity which cast a shadow that hung over the fair country, and froze the genial activities of the people for a time.

At the commencement of the story we find Baladitya, descendant of the Gupta Emperor and King of Magadha, an outcast in his own country and hunted by the agents of Toramana, king of the Huns and the conqueror of the Guptas. After an adventurous escape from their clutches he and his friend Yasodharman, king of Malwa and Maha-Kosala, get into the forest of Viswakarani (which reminds one of Sherwood forest) and meet with a distressed damsel of dazzling beauty, Saraswati by name, and Hari Ram, the Robin Hood of the piece. The two friends then leave the forest and Baladitya goes straight to Bharukachcha, one of the greatest ports in those days, to book a passage to Keralaputra in the South. He falls in with Paramarthi whose introduction in the story gives to it a freshness of the seas, for Paramarthi is a merchant who has seen the world. The merchant proves a very useful acquaintance, for he has no difficulty in arranging passage by his ship, the *Vikrama*, not only for the king but also for Saraswati and his other companions. We are told that this *Vikrama* once defeated a big ship of the West, the *Pegasus*, near Rome The daughter of Paramarthi, Parvati, is full of vivacity and never lets enjoyment drop on the cruise to Kerala which lasts for a month. Mahasena, king of Kerala, bids Baladitya welcome,—for by this time the identity of the Gupta was known to his friends and companions—and promises practical help in winning back the kingdom of Magadha. Baladitya and Saraswati get married. In the *Swayamvara* ceremony at Kalingapattam, in which Princess Charumati, the pride of the Kalingas, is to choose a husband, the princes that assemble for the purpose are sounded and many of them promise to march in fight against the Huns so as to help Baladitya in coming to his own. Charumati weds Yasodharman, who is presented to court her on his own behalf, when he understands his friend has already married Saraswati. Preparations for fight are made, and the Huns and the Indians meet just outside Pataliputra; the battle wages doubtful, till Gunasagara effects a reinforcement which utterly defeats the Hun army and forces Mihirakula to run away. After this, Baladitya announced that he was a Buddhist and this alienates his friends Yasodharman and others who want to rally round the banner of Hinduism. The cleavage between the two friends widens, as Yasodharman is dissatisfied with Baladitya's pacifist tendencies and also because he has

wedded Saraswati who cannot boast of any royal blood. Everything, however, is settled right in the battle of Karur in which Yasodharman finally wrests the country free from Hunnish control. But there is a tragic gloom as we near the end; Baladitya's son Murari has received a mortal wound in the fight and dies after lingering for some time on the sick-bed in Malwa,—the news hastens the end of Baladitya, already striken hard with disease, who dies with the name of the Buddha on his lips. Yasodharman, in conformity with Hindu practice as laid down in the Shastras, after his conquest and consolidation of the empire and the restoration of his old feelings for the departed friends of his youth, leaves for Puri, accompanied by his wife, there to spend his days in holy meditation. "The call of Jagannath, the call of Jagannath has a strong hold on all of us. May it for ever remain so ! May the whole world feel the call of the Lord of the Universe, the call of the God of his temple, the God around us and, above all, the God within us all !" Let us say '*Amen*' to it.

The text is not relieved by any brilliancy in style, but the sentences, short and jerky as they are, are sometimes pithy and deserve to be remembered. "Forget all your eternal quarrels and jealousies and fight as one man in the cause of our country and culture." Again,—"To teach anything peculiar or distinguishing, a third-rate intellect is enough, but to bring out before one's mind clearly the full force and meaning and necessity of fundamental and cardinal and common truths always vaguely grasped by the human intellect and, by the very reason of their familiarity, possessing an elusive appearance of easiness, requires the very greatest genius." All these have applications beyond the immediate context.

In spite of the monotonous style of the author and other imperfections (one of the most glaring is the relative position of Vanga and Aṅga in the map of India before the battle of Karur), one is struck with the thoughtful sayings and the philosophical outlook in the book. In the cycle of events called history, some principles of uniformity may be detected, and it is one of the practical objects of the student of history to find them out so as to be able to predict the course of future events with some degree of probability. It is refreshing to find that our author has sometimes taken his stand on such high ground—his sentences have thus now and then a ring of prophetic truth. The author also deserves credit for the gift of construction and skilfully marshalling the many characters of varied ranks which his imagination has created.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

The Heroines of Ancient Persia. By Bapsy Paury, M.A Cambridge University Press, 15*s*.).

This is a book which contains the deeds and actions of the heroines of ancient Persia as depicted by the world-famous poet Firdausy in his immortal epic poems *Shahnamah* or *Book of Kings*. He shows us how women in days of yore have played an important part in the social and political life of the country, and how the same qualities of human nature which fascinates us to-day, have also existed in by-gone ages.

Mr. Bapsy Paury has in this book admirably dealt with the lives and chivalrous feats of the heroines of ancient Persia, one after another, in the order in which they appear in *Shahnamah*, in a manner that it will not only appeal to Oriental scholars, but even amuse and win the sympathy of chance readers. It is written in a beautiful and lucid style and is a valuable addition to literature dealing with Oriental subjects. The fourteen illustrations produced in this book are fine specimens of Persian paintings. The book is printed with care and finish.

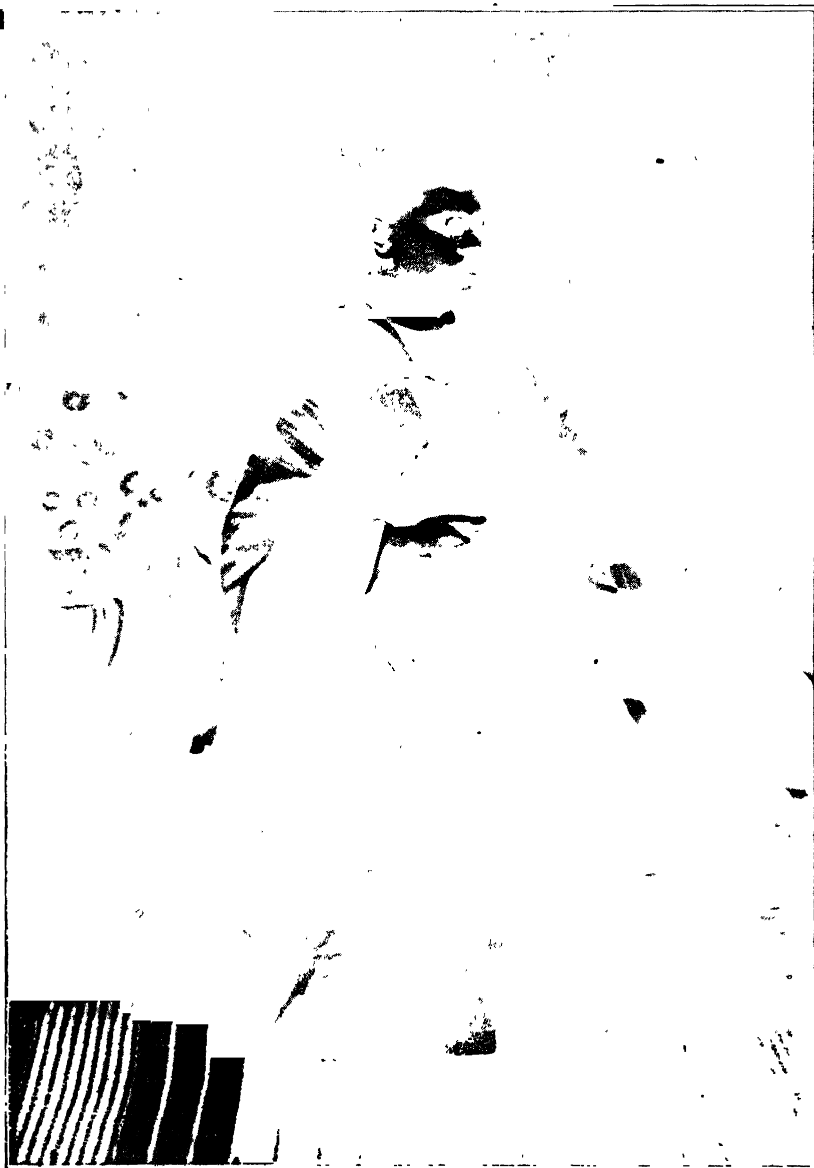
M. K. Shirazi

Ourselves

The Late Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee

With deep regret we record the death of Dr. Gauranganath Banerjee, Secretary, Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, with his wife and only son in most tragic circumstances by drowning in the Brahmaputra while on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Umananda Bhairab near Gauhati. Our hearts are too full to give adequate expression to our feelings. Dr. Gauranganath has passed away leaving a void in the University circle which cannot be filled up for some time to come. It is difficult to refrain from indulging in personal feelings upon the death of one with whom we have been on such affectionate terms. Our hearts are bleeding and the wound is still fresh.

Gauranganath was born at his maternal grandfather's house at Bhowanipur, Calcutta, in the year 1890. He was a student of the Hindu School and of the Presidency College whence he took his M.A. Degree with a First Class in History in 1912. He got his B.L. Degree in 1914 and the same year he was awarded the much-coveted Premchand Roychand Studentship for his researches in Ancient Indian History. Appointed a Lecturer in History in the Post-Graduate Department of the University in 1916 he continued his researches and was ultimately rewarded with the Doctorate in 1919. His thesis "Hellenism in Ancient India" has been well received by historians both in Europe and America. His career has throughout been marked by industry, steadiness and perseverance—characteristics which were evident even in his early boyhood. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who had a happy knack of choosing the right man for the right place, discerned in young Gauranganath qualities which led him to select him for the Secretaryship of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts when the post was vacated by Dr. H. C. Mookerji, in 1920. Dr. Gauranganath soon justified his



THE LATE Dr. GAURANGANATH BANERJEE

selection and he was popular with students and teachers alike. He continued diligently to cultivate his studies and many and varied were his contributions to the journals of the various learned societies of which he was a member.

His tastes were simple and his manners exceedingly courteous. He leaves behind two brothers: the eldest Babu Tarunanga Banerji is an advocate of the Calcutta High Court and the youngest Babu Anilanga Banerji, M.B., is a senior demonstrator in the Belgachia Medical College. His only daughter survives him. Our sympathy goes out to the members of the bereaved family who, in their great sorrow, will find some consolation in the fact that their sorrow is shared by every one who has come in contact with his amiable personality.

* * *

Sir C. V. Raman and the Nobel Prize

The Nobel Committee have at last succumbed to the Raman Effect and decided to award the Prize in Physics for the first time in its history to a swarthy son of the East. The Committee is to be congratulated on their decision. To the uninitiated the Raman Effect may mean anything or nothing. The new *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which, we are told, is specially intended for the layman, does not help us much. Professor F. N. da C. Andrade informs us that "when a beam of monochromatic light passes through a transparent substance, a certain amount of light is scattered from the path of the original beam, which is of greater wave-length than the incident light. This effect was discovered by Raman in 1928, and is known by his name." This may be quite transparent to the great pandits but it is not very intelligible to the man in the street. The average man grasps the importance of the discovery more easily when he is told that every laboratory worth its name is now engaged in investigating the significance of the Raman Effect, that the great scientists of Italy unanimously awarded

the Premio Matteucci Medal, the highest honour in their gift, to the great Indian scientist. The English savants tardily followed in their footsteps and decided to award the Hughes Medal of the Royal Society to Prof. Raman and soon afterwards the leading physicists of the western world recognised that no one has advanced the bounds of knowledge in recent times so conspicuously as the distinguished Palit Professor of Physics of the Calcutta University. Prof. Raman belongs to a dependent nation and we are not surprised that his merits have hitherto received but scant recognition from the Government of his country. Knighthoods now-a-days ordinarily go to back numbers and the tin gods of Simla certainly did not honour the greatest scientist of the age by bracketing him with mediocrities of all sorts. But Prof. Raman may very well afford to ignore the official assessment of his genius. He has added immensely to the prestige of his motherland when India stands before the bar of world opinion. It was a lucky day for the world of science in general and India in particular when young Raman made the acquaintance of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Raman had to his credit a very distinguished University career. He graduated with first class Honours at the early age of sixteen and easily took his M.A. Degree two years later, topping the entire University list. This was an achievement of which a young man in his teens might very well be proud, but he did something greater: he proved that he was capable of undertaking original investigations on his own account. The boy scientist had already published an excellent paper in the Philosophical Magazine of London and his contributions to science had attracted the notice of no less a personage than the late Lord Raleigh. But even the most promising youth in India is seldom permitted to adopt a carreer of his own choice and Raman entered the Finance Department of the Government of India. It was then that he met Sir Asutosh and became an active member of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. When the munificence of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghose

made the foundation of the University College of Science possible, Sir Asutosh unhesitatingly offered the young physicist from Madras the newly endowed Chair of Physics. The appointment evoked some amount of criticism from a narrow-minded journalist and Raman had to suffer many a pin-prick on more than one occasion from this self-appointed guardian of University interests in Bengal. It has now been established beyond an iota of doubt that Sir Asutosh was right and his critics wrong and we hope that the achievements of Raman will silence the tongue of calumny once for all. Prof. Raman is still in the prime of his youth. May he be spared long to serve his country and further the great cause of science to which he has devoted his life.

Sir Jagadishchandra Bose

We are glad to have received from Munich the pleasing news that Sir Jagadishchandra Bose has been honoured by the German Academy (Die Deutsche Akademie), which of late has done so much to foster intimate cultural relation with India and specially favoured the Calcutta University and its organ the Calcutta Review, with an Honorary Corresponding Membership of that learned society and offer our sincere congratulations to the great scientist of Bengal.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie secures a Special Fellowship for a Distinguished Medical Scholar

We are very glad to give publicity to the following interestting communication received from the German Academy of Munich, which will abundantly show what active and helpful measures are systematically being taken by that scholarly body in the interests of competent Indian graduates and research scholars willing and capable of profiting by the Academy's

cultural arrangements. We heartily express our gratitude to the promoters of such a laudable aim.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, through the co-operation of the Ministry of Education of Wurtemberg, recently secured a Research Fellowship for an Indian scholar who will carry on his research in the Medical College of the University of Tübingen. Among various applicants, the choice fell upon Dr. Khirode C. Chaudhuri, M.B. of Calcutta Medical College, who has been carrying on special studies in Vienna. In selecting Dr. Chaudhuri, his proficiency in German language was taken into consideration, while he was very highly recommended by Sir Nilratan Sircar, M.D., of Calcutta, Dr. Taraknath Das and various professors of the University of Vienna. Dr. Chaudhuri is now carrying on his research in the Children's Clinic and the Institute of Tropical Medicine of the University of Tübingen.

We wish to draw the attention of Indian medical men and women, that well-qualified and serious graduates of Indian Medical Colleges will find every opportunity for higher medical education and research work in German universities. They will be welcomed without any discrimination. A medical student in a German University, living modestly, will require *one hundred and fifty* to *two hundred pounds* for annual expenses.

India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie strongly suggests that prospective scholars—medical or otherwise—who wish to study in German Universities or Engineering Colleges, should acquire some knowledge of German before they leave India; India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie welcomes co-operation of Indians, interested in promoting Indo-German cultural relations.

All communications should be addressed to Dr. Franz Thierfelder, Hon. Secretary, India Institute of Die Deutsche Akademie, Munich (Germany) Residenz.

SREEGOPAL BASUMALLIK FELLOW IN VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY FOR THE YEAR 1930

Mr. Kokileswar Sastri, M.A., has been appointed the Sreegopal Basumallik Fellow in Vedanta Philosophy for the year 1930.

THE ANAUTH NAUTH DEB RESEARCH PRIZE FOR 1930

The Anauth Nauth Deb Research Prize for 1930 has been awarded, subject to the confirmation by the Senate, to Mr. M. K. Varadarajan on the thesis entitled "Sovereign Power of Indian States and their relation to the Paramount Power."

THE JUBILEE RESEARCH PRIZE IN ARTS FOR 1930

The Jubilee Research Prize in Arts for 1930 has been awarded to Mr. Sukumarranjan Dasgupta, M.A., on the thesis entitled "Village Reconstruction."

RESULT OF THE D.P.H. EXAMINATION, PART II, SEPTEMBER, 1930

The number of candidates registered for the Examination was 20, of which 1 was absent, 15 passed and 4 failed.

Dates of University Examinations, 1931

The following dates have been fixed as dates for commencement of the Matriculation, I.A., I.Sc., B.A., B.Sc. and B.L. Examinations, 1931.

Matriculation Examination ...	Monday, the 23rd March, 1931.
I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations ...	Wednesday, the 8th April, 1931.
B.A. and B.Sc. Examinations ...	Tuesday, the 21st April, 1931.
Preliminary Examination in Law	Monday, the 2nd February. 1931.
Intermediate Examination in Law	Friday, the 6th February, 1931.
Final Examination in Law ...	Wednesday, the 11th February, 1931.

Rules and Regulations for the Indian Civil Service Examination for January, 1931

HOME DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION

ESTABLISHMENTS

Simla, the 1st August, 1930.

No. F.334/29.—The following rules and instructions for the examinations for the Indian Civil Service to be held in India during 1931 are published for general information.

H. W. EMERSON,

Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of India.

NOTICE

Competitive examinations for admission to the Indian Civil Service will be held under the following rules at Delhi and Rangoon beginning on the 2nd January, 1931. Candidates accepted for admission to the examinations will be informed at what place in Delhi or Rangoon and at what hour they should present themselves.

The number of candidates to be selected at these examinations will be announced in the month of October.

A candidate in British India is required to submit his application through the Collector or Deputy Commissioner of his district[1] to the authority mentioned in Rule 3. No candidate will be admitted to the examination from whom the Collector or Deputy Commissioner[1] or the Political Officer or Agent has not received on or before the 22nd September, 1930, an application on the prescribed form accompanied by the necessary documents. Copies of the application form may be obtained from the authority mentioned in Rule 3.

No allegation that an application form or letter respecting such form has been lost or delayed in the post will be considered unless the person making such allegation produces a Post Office Certificate of Posting. Candidates who delay their applications until a late date will do so at their own risk.

A candidate for whom a declaration under Section 96A of the Government of India Act is necessary [see Rule 4 (*b*)] should take immediate steps to obtain the declaration.

RESOLUTION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 97 (6) of the Government of India Act, the Secretary of State, with the concurrence of the majority of votes at a meeting of the Council of India held this 1st day of July, 1930, hereby makes the following rules, for the regulation of admission to the Indian Civil Service through open competitive examinations to be held in India, namely :—

Rules for Competitive Examinations for the Indian Civil Service to be held in India.

(1) A competitive examination for admission to the Indian Civil Service shall be held in India at such time and place as the Governor General in Council may direct.

(2) The maximum number of candidates to be admitted to the examination may in the discretion of the Governor General in Council be limited to such number not being less than 200 as the Governor General in Council may decide. If a limit is imposed and the number of candidates exceeds that limit the Public Service Commission shall select from

[1] In the case of Calcutta the Commissioner of Police.

among the applicants those who shall be admitted to the examination and shall have regard in so doing to the suitability of the applicants for the Indian Civil Service and to the adequate representation of the various provinces of India.

(3) (i) A candidate shall apply to be admitted to the examination before such date and in such manner and in such form as the Governor General in Council may prescribe. The application shall be made to the proper authority of the area in which his parents reside at the time of the application or of an area in which they have previously resided for a period of not less than three years or in which he has himself resided, otherwise than as a student at a university only, for a like period.

(ii) The proper authority shall be, for a Governor's province the Chief Secretary, for Coorg, the North-West Frontier Province, Delhi or Ajmer-Merwara, the Chief Commissioner and for a State in India the Political Officer or Agent who shall be addressed through the Durbar.

(iii) No candidate shall make more than one application in respect of any one examination.

(4) A candidate must be a male and either

(a) a British subject of Indian domicile whose father (if alive) is a British subject or a subject of a State in India, or (if dead) was at the time of his death either a British subject or a subject of a State in India or a person in the permanent service of the Crown or a person who had retired from that Service; or

(b) a Ruler or a subject of a State in India in respect of whom the Governor General in Council has made a declaration under Section 96A of the Government of India Act:

Provided that in the case of a male British subject the requirements of this rule may be waived by the Secretary of State in Council if he is satisfied that their observance would occasion exceptional hardship and the candidate is so closely connected by ancestry and upbringing with His Majesty's dominions as to justify special treatment.

(5) A candidate must have attained the age of 21 and must not have attained the age of 23 on the first day of January in the year in which the examination is held.

(6) A candidate must be in good mental and bodily health and free from any physical defect likely to interfere with the efficient performance of the duties of a member of the Indian Civil Service. A candidate who is found after examination by a Medical Board not to satisfy these requirements will not be accepted for admission to the examination

(7) A candidate must satisfy the Public Service Commission that his

character is such as to qualify him for employment in the Indian Civil Service.

(8) [1]A candidate must hold a degree of a university approved by the Governor General in Council or the senior diploma of the Mayo College, Ajmer. In exceptional cases the Public Service Commission may, on the recommendation of the local Government, treat as a qualified candidate a candidate who though not possessing any of the foregoing qualifications, has passed examinations conducted by other institutions of a standard which, in the opinion of the Public Service Commission, justifies his admission to the examination.

(9) No candidate shall be admitted to the examination unless he holds a certificate of admission from the Public Service Commission.

(10) No recommendations except those invited in the form of application will be taken into consideration. Any attempt on the part of a candidate to obtain support for his application by other means, may disqualify him for admission.

(11) Candidates must pay the following fees:—

(*i*) Rs. 5 with the application form,

(*ii*) Rs. 16 before examination by a Medical Board, and

(*iii*) if accepted for admission to the examination Rs. 100 within three weeks after the notification of acceptance.

No claim for a refund of these fees will be entertained.

(12) The examination will include the following subjects. Each subject will carry the number of marks shown against it.

SECTION A.—To be taken by all candidates.

		Marks.
1.	Essay	150
2.	English	150
3.	General Knowledge	100
4.	Everyday Science	100
5.	Vernacular Language	150
6.	*Viva Voce*	200

SECTION B.—Candidates are allowed to take up subjects in this section up to a total of 800 marks.

[1] See note marked with asterisk at end of rules.

anguages and Civilisations.

		Marks.
7.	Arabic Language	200
8.	Arabic Civilisation	200
9.	Persian Language	200
10.	Persian Civilisation	200
11.	Sanskrit Language	200
12.	Sanskrit Civilisation	200
13.	Pali Language	200
14.	Pali Civilisation	200
15.	Vernacular Literature	200
16.	English Literature (General)	200
17.	English Literature (Period 1)	100
18.	English Literature (Period 2)	100
19.	English Literature (Period 3)	100
20.	English Literature (Period 4)	100
21.	Latin Language	100

History, Economics, Politics, Law and Philosophy.

		Marks.
22.	Indian History (Period 1)	100
23.	Indian History (Period 2)	100
24.	Indian History (Period 3)	100
25.	Modern European History (Period 1)	100
26.	Modern European History (Period 2)	100
27.	British History (Period 1)	100
28.	British History (Period 2)	100
29.	British History (Period 3)	100
30.	General Economics	200
31.	Economic History	100
32.	Public Economics	100
33.	Political Theory	100
34.	Political Organization	100
35.	Law	200
36.	Moral Philosophy	100
37.	Metaphysics	100
38.	Logic	100
39.	Indian Philosophy	100

[1] See rule 16 below.

Mathematics and Science.

		Marks.
40.	Lower Mathematics, Pure and Applied	200
41.	Higher Mathematics, Pure	200
42.	Higher Mathematics, Applied	200
43.	Lower Chemistry	200.
44.	Higher Chemistry	200
45.	Lower Physics	200
46.	Higher Physics	200
47.	Lower Botany	200
48.	Higher Botany	200
49.	Lower Geology	200
50.	Higher Geology	200
51.	Lower Physiology	200
52.	Higher Physiology	200
53.	Lower Zoology	200
54.	Higher Zoology	200
55.	Advanced Geography	200
56.	Astronomy	100
57.	Statistics	100
58.	Psychology	100
59.	Experimental Psychology	100
60.	Physical Anthropology	100
61.	Social Anthropology	100

SECTION C.—Extra numerum subjects.

Candidates are allowed to take one of these subjects but not more than one. A candidate who has taken any period of British History under Section B may not take British History under this section, and a candidate who has taken Advanced Geography under Section B may not take Geography under this section.

		Marks.
62.	British History	100
63.	Geography	100

(13) In subject 5 (Vernacular Language) a candidate may offer any one of the following languages:—Assamese, Bengali, Burmese, Gujarati, Hindi, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu.

For the examination to be held in 1931 and the six succeeding years, candidates will be allowed to offer French, German or Italian in substitution for Vernacular Language.

(14) The Civilisation (subjects 8, 10, 12 and 14) associated with a language can only be taken by candidates who also offer the language itself.

(15) In subject 15 (Vernacular Literature) a candidate may offer the literature of any one of the following languages:—Bengali, Burmese, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Telegu, Urdu.

(16) In English Literature (subjects 16 to 20 inclusive) a candidate may not offer subjects carrying a total of more than four hundred marks. Thus a candidate who offers English Literature (General) (subject 16) may not offer more than two periods of English Literature (subjects 17 to 20).

(17) Candidates who offer a natural science subject (subjects 43 to 54) must produce a certificate that subsequent to the passing of the Intermediate or an equivalent examination they have undergone laboratory training for a period of two years in an Institution authorised to prepare candidates in the subject for a University degree or for some other qualification accepted by the Public Service Commission as of adequate standard. The certificate must be signed by the head of the institution.

Provided that for the first examination to be held after January, 1930, the period required from candidates who offer the lower grade of the subject in question shall be one year instead of two.

(18) Candidates who offer Advanced Geography, Experimental Psychology or Physical Anthropology (subjects 55, 59 and 60) must produce a certificate that subsequent to the passing of the Intermediate or an equivalent examination they have undergone practical training in that subject for a period of one year in an Institution authorised to prepare candidates in the subject for a University degree or for some other qualification accepted by the Public Service Commission as of adequate standard. The certificate must be signed by the head of the institution.

(19) Candidates who offer Astronomy (subject 56) must satisfy the Public Service Commission that they have been trained in an Astronomical observatory for a period of at least three months or have had other experience of the use of the Astronomical instruments.

(20) From the marks assigned to candidates in each subject, such deduction will be made as the Public Service Commission may consider necessary in order to secure that no credit is allowed for merely superficial knowledge.

(21) If a candidate's handwriting is not easily legible, a deduction,

which may be of considerable amount, will be made on this account from the total marks otherwise accruing to him.

(22) Credit will be given for good English, including orderly, effective and exact expression combined with due economy of words, in all the subjects of the examination and not only in subjects 1 and 2 which are specially devoted to English language.

(23) A list of the competitors shall be made out in order of their proficiency as disclosed by the aggregate marks finally awarded to each competitor, and in that order, so many competitors up to the determined number of appointments,[1] as are found by the Public Service Commission to be qualified by examination, shall be designated to be selected candidates for the Indian Civil Service, provided that the Governor General of India in Council is satisfied that they are duly qualified in other respects. Should any selected candidate become disqualified, the Secretary of State for India will determine whether the vacancy thus created shall be filled or not. In the former case the candidate next in order of merit, and in other respects duly qualified, shall be deemed to be a selected candidate.

(24) Selected candidates will be on probation for two years in the United Kingdom.

Special Rule applicable to Burman Candidates.

(25) (*i*) The term "Burman candidate" means a candidate domiciled in Burma both at the date of his birth and at the date when he applies to be admitted to the examination.

(*ii*) A branch of the competitive examination confined to Burman candidates shall be held in Burma and no Burman candidate shall compete elsewhere in India.

(*iii*) Burman candidates shall apply to be admitted to the examination to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma before such date and in such form as the Governor General in Council shall prescribe and rules 3 (*i*) and 3 (*ii*) shall not apply to Burman candidates.

(*iv*) Burman candidates shall not be included in the list made out under rule 23 but a separate list of Burman candidates shall be made out with reference to the determined number of appointments available in Burma to which the provisions of rule 23 shall apply.

(26) Any rules for the regulation of admission to the Indian Civil Service through competitive examinations held in India which are in force at the time these rules come into operation are hereby repealed.

[1] Elsewhere than in Burma the number of appointments which will be announced for competition will not represent the total number of vacancies to be filled in India, as certain

**The following Universities have been approved by the Governor General in Council*, viz.—

Indian Universities.

Any University incorporated by an Act of the Central or a Provincial Legislature in India.

The Mysore University.

The Osmania University.

English and Welsh Universities.

The Universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Cambridge, Durham, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Oxford, Sheffield and Wales.

Scotch Universities.

The Universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and St. Andrews.

Irish Universities.

The University of Dublin (Trinity College).

The Queen's University of Belfast.

* * *

SYLLABUS FOR THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION TO BE HELD IN INDIA

1. *Essay.*—An essay to be written in English on one of several specified subjects.

2. *English.*—Questions to test the understanding of and the power to write English.

3. *General Knowledge* including knowledge of current events.

4. *Everyday Science.*—Questions to test whether the candidate has such an understanding of matters of everyday observation and experience in their scientific aspect as may be expected of an educated man who has not made a special study of any scientific subject.

vacancies will be reserved in accordance with the pledge given by the Hon'ble Home Member in the Council of State on the 2nd March, 1925, and will be filled, if necessary, by nomination for the purpose of adjusting communal inequalities which may arise from the results of the competitive examinations in London and India.

In the case of Burma the number of appointments announced for competition in 1931 will represent the total number of vacancies to be filled.

5. *Vernacular of European Language* (see Rule 13).—The test will include translation from the language, set composition in which an English passage is given to be put into the language, and free composition in which the candidate writes in the language in his own words on a prescribed subject.

6. *Viva Voce.*—The Examination will be in matters of general interest, not in matters of academic interest; it is intended to test the candidate's alertness, intelligence, and general outlook.

7-14. Languages and Civilisations.—Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of the language and its literature. The papers on civilisation will test the knowledge of geography, history, and social, political and religious evolution and developments. Questions may be set which require an acquaintance with archæological discoveries.

7. *Arabic Lauguage.*—Translation from Arabic into English and from English into Arabic and composition in Arabic on one or more specified subjects. The classical language must be used.

8. *Arabic Civilisation.*—The main stress in both history and literature will be on the period from the middle of the 6th Century A.D. to the middle of the 13th Century A.D.

9. *Persian Language.*—Translation from Persian into English and from English into Persian and composition in Persian on one or more specified subjects. The classical language must be used.

10. *Persian Civilisation.*—The main stress in both history and literature will be laid on the period 1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D. Candidates will be expected to have a general knowledge of Persia before 1000 A.D. and from 1500 A.D. to the present time.

11. *Sanskrit Language.*—Translation from Sanskrit into English and from English into Sanskrit and composition in Sanskrit on one o more specified subjects.

Questions may be set on Vedic Grammar relating to grammatical forms occurring in the passages set for translation or to general grammatical questions suggested by them. Both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit passages will be set for translation: composition will be required in classical Sanskrit alone. A knowledge of the Prakrit used in plays will be expected. The Devanagari script must be used.

12. *Sanskrit Civilisation.*—The history of the Civilisation and thought of India from the Vedic period to 1200 A.D.

13. *Pali Language.*—Translation from Pali into English and from English into Pali and composition in Pali on one or more specified subjects.

14. *Pali Civilisation.*—The history of Buddhistic Civilisation in India from the time of Buddha to 1000 A.D.

15. *Vernacular Literature.*—Candidates will be expected to know the best known works in the vernacular though questions on works of lesser importance will not be excluded. They will also be expected to possess a knowledge of the history of the literature and such knowledge of general social history as will enable them to understand the literature.

16. *English Literature—General.*—Candidates will be expected to show a general knowledge of the history of English Literature from the time of Chaucer to the end of the reign of Queen Victoria and to give evidence of wide reading in English Literature. A liberal choice of questions will be given. Neither in the general papers nor in the period papers will questions be asked on the history of the language.

17-20. *English Literature—Periods 1 to 4.*

Special attention should be paid to the authors named and a candidate will be expected to be familiar with some of their works.

A candidate will also be expected to have studied the literary history of this period and to have done some independent reading outside the authors named. In marking the paper importance will be attached to evidence of wide reading and independent judgment.

Period 1, 1580 to 1680:—Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Bacon, Bunyan.

Period 2, 1680 to 1780:—Dryden, Pope, Gray, Addison, Swift, Fielding, Johnson, Sheridan, Burke.

Period 3, 1780 to 1832:—Scott, Wordsworth, Lamb, Keats, Shelley, Byron, Jane Austen.

Period 4, 1832 to 1901:—Macaulay, Carlyle, Dickens, Thackeray, the Brontës, Tennyson, Robert Browning, Matthew Arnold, R. L. Stevenson, Thomas Hardy.

21. *Latin Language.*—The papers will be of a fairly elementary character. Translation from English into the language and from the language into English. Questions may be asked on the Grammar of the language.

HISTORY.—*Subjects 22 to 29.*—Candidates in these subjects should be acquainted with geography in its relation to history and be prepared to draw sketch maps. When a fixed date is given for the beginning of a period candidates will be expected to know in general outline how the initial position was reached.

22. *Indian History—Period 1.*—India from the first Aryan immigra-

tion to the end of the 12th century. Questions may also be set on the history of Buddhism outside of India.

23. *Indian History—Period 2.*—India from the beginning of the 11th century to 1748 (death of the Mogul Muhammad Shah). Questions may also be set on the contemporary history of the principal Moslem powers outside of India.

24. *Indian History—Period 3.*—India during the British period from 1600 to 1919 together with the contemporary history of the British Empire.

25 and 26. *Modern European History—*
Period 1, 1453—1740.
Period 2, 1740—1920.

The history of countries outside Europe will be included so far as a knowledge of that history is necessary to the understanding of European History.

27. *British History—Period 1*, 1485—1714.

28. *British History—Period 2*, 1714—1815.

29. *British History—Period 3*, 1815—present day.

30. *General Economics.*—Candidates will be expected to have a knowledge of economic theory and should be prepared both to illustrate the theory by the facts and to analyse the facts by the help of the theory. The history of economic thought will be included.

31. *Economic History.*—Candidates will be expected to have a knowledge of both British and Indian economic history; such knowledge will be expected of conditions in other countries as is necessary for the understanding of the subject. Special attention will be paid to the economic development of India during the British period.

32. *Public Economics.*—A knowledge will be expected of the main forms of State action, central and local, in the economic sphere, and of public finance.

33. *Political Theory.*—Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of political theory and its history, political theory being understood to mean not only the theory of legislation, but also the general history of the State and its connection with kindred studies such as Jurisprudence, Public International Law and Economics. A knowledge of original authorities is required.

34. *Political Organisation.*—This will include Constitutional Forms (Representative Government, Federalism, etc.), and Public Administration, central and local. Candidates will be expected to understand the origin and development of existing institutions.

35. *Law.*—Constitutional Law of the British Empire, Jurisprudence, Torts, Indian Law of Contract, Indian Evidence Act, Indian Penal Code.

36. *Moral Philosophy.*—The subject covers the history and the theory of Ethics, Eastern add Western, and includes moral standards and their application, the problems of moral order and progress of Society and the State, and theories of punishment.

37. *Metaphysics.*—The subject covers the history of Western Philosophy and should be studied with special reference to the problems of space, time and casualty, evolution and value, the nature of God.

38. *Logic.*—This will include formal logic, scientific method, epistemology in its bearing on logical problems and the history of logic. Questions may be set on the logic of mathematics, symbolic logic and the logic of probability.

39. *Indian Philosophy.*—The subject covers the philosophical conception of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita; Buddhist and Jaina developments; the six systems of Indian Philosophy, *viz.*, the Nyaya, the Vaisesika, the Sankhya, the Yoga, the Purva Mimansa and the Vedanta, treated historically and critically.

40. *Lower Mathematics, Pure and Applied.*—Logarithms, numerical equations, graphs, approximation, infinite series, complex numbers, solution of triangles.

Geometry in two and three dimensions according to the method of Euclid. Analytical geometry in two dimensions (method of Descartes). The construction of plans, elevations and sections of solid bodies (method of Monge). The method of vectors, including scalar and vector products with applications to the other parts of Lower Mathematics.

Differential co-efficients, maxima and minima, integrals, the application of the infinitesimal calculus to curves.

Projectiles, harmonic motion, momentum, energy, power. Equilibrium of rigid bodies in two dimensions, link polygons, virtual work. Simple machines, *e.g.*, tackle cranes, engine governors, brakes. Fluid pressure, expansion of a perfect gas, air pump.

41. *Higher Mathematics, Pure* :—

Lower Pure Mathematics together with—

The Geometry of Curves and Surfaces. Elementary analysis, including simple functions of a complex variable and contour integration. Differential equation in one independent variable; elementary treatment of partial differential equations with special

reference to the differential equations of mathematical physics. Existence theorems are excluded.

Calculus of Finite Differences including Numerical Integration and summation of Linear Differential Equations. Advanced questions will not be set.

A considerable choice of questions will be given so that full marks may be obtained by covering about half the range stated.

42. *Higher Mathematics, Applied*:—

Lower Applied Mathematics together with Statics (Advance) including graphical treatment. Dynamics to the Equations of Euler and Lagrange and including the theory of the vibration of strings and other simple systems.

Hydrodynamics including the elementary theory of the motion of solids through a liquid, and surface waves.

Electricity and Magnetism.

Thermodynamics. Kinetic theory of gases, rediation.

The questions on Hydrodynamics, Electricity and Magnetism, and Thermodynamics will not be such as to require of the candidates an advanced knowledge of these subjects.

A considerable choice of questions will be allowed so that full marks may be obtained by covering about half the course.

NATURAL SCIENCE.—*Subjects 43 to 54.*—The standard of the higher division of a science will be the standard of a three years' honours course subsequent to the intermediate The standard of the lower division will be that of a pass degree course.

43. *Lower Chemistry.*

44. *Higher Chemistry.*

45. *Lower Physics.*

46. *Higher Physics.*

47 and 48. *Lower and Higher Botany.*—Botany includes vegetable physiology.

49 and 50. *Lower and Higher Geology.*—Geology includes mineralogy.

51. *Lower Physiology.*

52. *Higher Physiology.*

53. *Lower Zoology.*

54. *Higher Zoology.*

55. *Advanced Geography.*—Geography of the world with special reference to India. Topics are not excluded which concern geography jointly with other subjects such as Economics, History, Physics, Botany and Geology. There will be a practical test which will necessitate a knowledge

of cartographical methods and notations, and for this test drawing instruments may be required.

56. *Astronomy.*—Celestial co-ordinates, spherical triangles. Astronomical instruments. Time, longitude, latitude. Orbital motion of the earth, aberration, precession, nutation, libration parallax. Celestial mechanics, solar system. Eclipses. Atmospheric refraction.

The stars and constellations. Nautical Almanac. Descriptive discussion of sun, moon, planets. Descriptive discussion of double stars, nebulæ, clusters, variable stars, comets. Star magnitudes and distances. Stellar movements.

Application of spectroscopy to astronomy. Solar spectrum. Star spectra and classification. The temperatures, absolute magnitudes and diameters of stars.

57. *Statistics.*—Frequency distributions, averages, percentiles, and simple methods of measuring dispersion, graphic methods, elementary treatment of qualitative data, *e.g.*, investigation of association by comparison of ratios, the practice of the simplest graphic and algebraic methods of interpolation.

(2) Practical methods used in the analysis and interpretation of statistics of prices, wages and incomes, trade, transport, production and consumption, education, etc., the more elementary methods of dealing with population and vital statistics, miscellaneous methods used in handling statistics of experiments or observations.

(3) Elements of modern mathematical theory of statistics, frequency curves and the mathematical representation of groups generally, accuracy of sampling as affecting averages, percentages, the standard deviation, significance of observed differences between averages of groups, etc., the theory of correlation for two variables.

58. *Psychology.*

59. *Experimental Psychology.*

60. *Physical Anthropology.*—The subject includes prehistoric archæology and technology. Candidates will be expected to have such knowledge as may be required by laboratory and museum work, consisting mainly in the handling and study of specimens and exhibits. The subject should be studied with special, but not exclusive, reference to peoples of rude culture and to prehistoric civilisation.

61. *Social Anthropology.*—Candidates will not be expected to have an extensive experience of laboratory and museum work. The subject should be studied with special, but not exclusive, reference to peoples of rude culture and to prehistoric civilisation.

EXTRA NUMERUM.

62. *British History.*—Candidates will be expected to show a knowledge of the general course of the political, social and industrial history of Britain from the earliest times and of the British Empire. Candidates will not be expected to know the history of Scotland or Ireland except in its relation to England or the Empire. More credit will be given for an understanding of the broad lines of historical and constitutional developments than for a knowledge of details or minor events which had no lasting effect on that development.

63. *Geography.*—The general and political geography of the world. A special knowledge of the geography of India and neighbouring countries will be expected. Questions on physical and economic geography may be set. The paper will not be of an advanced character.